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# INTRODUCTION

TO THE

## HAGIOGRAPHIC HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

---



**B**ESIDES the prophetic-historic writings—Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings—which describe from a prophetic point of view the development of the kingdom of God established by means of the mediatorial office of Moses, from the time of the bringing of the tribes of Israel into the land promised to the fathers till the Babylonian exile, the Old Testament contains five historical books,—Ruth, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. These latter stand in the Hebrew canon among the *כתובים*, i.e. in the hagiography, and are at once distinguished from the above-mentioned prophetic-historic writings by this characteristic, that they treat only of single parts of the history of the covenant people from individual points of view. The book of Ruth gives a charming historical picture from the life of the ancestors of King David. The Chronicles, indeed, extend over a very long period of the historical development of the Israelite kingdom of God, embrace the history from the death of King Saul till the Babylonian exile, and go back in the genealogies which precede the narrative of the history to Adam, the father of the human race; yet neither in the genealogical part do they give a perfect review of the genealogical ramifications of the twelve tribes of the covenant people, nor in their historical portion contain the history of the whole people from the death of Saul till the exile. Besides the tables of the first progenitors of



humanity and the tribal ancestors of the people of Israel, borrowed from Genesis, the genealogical part contains only a collection of genealogical and topographical fragments differing in plan, execution, and extent, relating to the chief families of the most prominent tribes and their dwelling-places. The historical part contains, certainly, historical sketches from the history of all Israel during the reigns of the kings David and Solomon; but from the division of the kingdom, after the death of Solomon, they contain only the history of the kingdom of Judah, with special reference to the Levitical worship, to the exclusion of the history of the kingdom of the ten tribes. From a comparison of the manner of representing the history in the Chronicles with that in the books of Samuel and the Kings, we can clearly see that the chronicler did not purpose to portray the development of the Israelitic theocracy in general, nor the facts and events which conditioned and constituted that development objectively, according to their general course. He has, on the contrary, so connected the historical facts with the attitude of the kings and the people to the Lord, and to His law, that they teach how the Lord rewarded fidelity to His covenant with blessing and success both to people and kingdom, but punished with calamity and judgments every faithless revolt from His covenant ordinances. Now since Israel, as the people and congregation of Jahve, could openly show its adherence to the covenant only by faithful observance of the covenant laws, particularly of the ordinances for worship, the author of the Chronicles has kept this side of the life of the people especially in view, in order that he might hold up before his contemporaries as a mirror the attitude of the fathers to the God-appointed dwelling-place of His gracious presence in the holy place of the congregation. He does this, that they might behold how the faithful maintenance of communion with the covenant God in His temple would assure to them the fulfilment of the gracious promises of the covenant, and how falling away into idolatry, on the contrary, would bring misfortune and destruction. This special reference to the worship meets us also in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which describe the deliverance of the Jews from exile, and their restoration as the covenant people in the land of their fathers. The book of Ezra narrates, on the one hand, the return out of the Babylonian exile into the land of their fathers of a great part of the Jews who had been led away by Nebuchadnezzar,—partly in the first

year of the reign of Cyrus over Babylon, with Zerubbabel, a prince of the royal race of David, and Joshua the high priest as leaders; partly at a later period with the scribe Ezra, under Artaxerxes. On the other hand, it relates the restoration of the altar of burnt-offering, and of the divine service; together with the re-erection of the temple, and the effort of Ezra to regulate the affairs of the community according to the precepts of the Mosaic law, by doing away with the illegal marriages with heathen women. And Nehemiah describes in his book what he had accomplished in the direction of giving a firm foundation to the civil welfare of the newly-founded community in Judah: in the first place, by building the walls of Jerusalem so as to defend the city and holy place against the attacks and surprises of the hostile peoples in the neighbourhood; and secondly, by various measures for the strengthening of the capital by increasing the number of its inhabitants, and for the more exact modelling of the civil, moral, and religious life of the community on the precepts of the law of Moses, in order to lay enduring foundations for the prosperous development of the covenant people. In the book of Esther, finally, it is recounted how the Jewish inhabitants of the various parts of the great Persian kingdom were delivered by the Jewess Esther (who had been raised to the position of queen by a peculiar concatenation of circumstances) from the destruction which the Grand Vizier Haman, in the reign of King Ahashverosh (*i.e.* Xerxes), had determined upon, on account of the refusal of adoration by the Jew Mordecai.

Now, if we look somewhat more narrowly at the relation of these five historical books to the prophetic-historic writings, more especially in the first place in reference to their contents, we see that the books of Ruth and the Chronicles furnish us with not unimportant additions to the books of Samuel and Kings. The book of Ruth introduces us into the family life of the ancestors of King David, and shows the life-spring from which proceeded the man after God's own heart, whom God called from being a shepherd of sheep to be the shepherd of His people, that He might deliver Israel out of the power of his enemies, and found a kingdom, which received the promise of eternal duration, and which was to be established to all eternity through Christ the Son of David and the Son of God. The Chronicles supplement the history of the covenant people, principally during the period of the kings, by detailed accounts of

the *form* of the public worship of the congregation; from which we see how, in spite of the continual inclination of the people to idolatry, and to the worship of heathen gods, the service in the temple, according to the law, was the spiritual centre about which the pious in Israel crowded, to worship the Lord their God, and to serve Him by sacrifice. We see, too, how this holy place formed throughout a lengthened period a mighty bulwark, which prevented moral and religious decay from gaining the upper hand, until at length, through the godless conduct of the kings Asa and Manasseh, the holy place itself was profaned by the idolatrous abomination, and judgment broke in upon the incorrigible race in the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, and the driving out of Judah from the presence of the Lord. But the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther are the only historical writings we possess concerning the times of the restoration of the covenant people after their emancipation from the captivity, and their return into the promised land; and even in this respect they are very valuable component parts of the Old Testament canon. The first two show how God the Lord fulfilled His promise, that He would again receive His people into favour, and collect them out of their dispersion among the heathen, if they should, in their misery under the oppression of the heathen, come to a knowledge of their sins, and turn unto Him; and how, after the expiry of the seventy years of the Babylonian exile which had been prophesied, He opened up to them, through Cyrus the king of Persia, their return into the land of their fathers, and restored Jerusalem and the temple, that He might preserve inviolate, and thereafter perfect, by the appearance of the promised David who was to come, that gracious covenant which He had entered into with their fathers. But the providence of God ruled also over the members of the covenant people who had remained behind in heathen lands, to preserve them from the ruin which had been prepared for them by the heathen, in order that from among them also a remnant might be saved, and become partakers of the salvation promised in Christ. To show this by a great historical example is the aim of the book of Esther, and the meaning of its reception into the canon of the Holy Scriptures of the old covenant.

If, finally, we consider the style of historical writing found in these five books, we can scarcely characterize it in its relation to the prophetic books by a fitting word. The manner of writing

history which is prevalent in the hagiography has been, it is true, called the national (*volksthümlich*) or annalistic, but by this name the peculiarity of it has in no respect been correctly expressed. The narrative bears a national impress only in the book of Esther, and relatively also in the book of Ruth; but even between these two writings a great difference exists. The narrative in Ruth ends with the genealogy of the ancestors of King David; whereas in the book of Esther all reference to the theocratic relation, nay, even the religious contemplation of the events, is wholly wanting. But the books of the Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, have no national impress; in them, on the contrary, the Levitico-priestly manner of viewing history prevails. Still less can the hagiographic histories be called annalistic. The books of Ruth and Esther follow definite aims, which clearly appear towards the end. Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah contain, it is true, in the genealogical, geographical, and historical registers, a mass of annalistic material; but we find this also in the prophetic-historic works, and even in the books of Moses. The only thing which is common to and characteristic of the whole of the hagiographic historical books, is that the prophetic contemplation of the course of history according to the divine plan of salvation which unfolds itself in the events, either falls into the background or is wanting altogether; while in its place individual points of view appear which show themselves in the pursuit of parænetico-didactic aims, which have acted as a determining influence on the selection and treatment of the historical facts, as the introduction to the individual writings will show.





**THE BOOKS OF THE CHRONICLES.**



## INTRODUCTION.

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### § 1. NAME, CONTENTS, PLAN, AND AIM OF THE CHRONICLES.

**T**HE two books of the Chronicles originally formed one work, as their plan at once makes manifest, and were received into the Hebrew canon as such. Not only were they reckoned as one in the enumeration of the books of the Old Testament (cf. Joseph. *c. Apion*, i. 8; Origen, in Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* vi. 25; and Hieronym. *Prolog. galeat.*), but they were also regarded by the Masorites as one single work, as we learn from a remark of the Masora at the end of the Chronicle, that the verse 1 Chron. xxvii. 25 is the middle of the book. The division into two books originated with the Alexandrian translators (LXX.), and has been transmitted by the Latin translation of Hieronymus (Vulgata) not only to all the later translations of the Bible, but also, along with the division into chapters, into our versions of the Hebrew Bible. The first book closes, chap. xxix. 29 f., with the end of the reign of David, which formed a fitting epoch for the division of the work into two books. The Hebrew name of this book in our Bible, by which it was known even by Hieronymus, is דברי הימים, *verba*, or more correctly *res gestæ dierum*, events of the days, before which עֶפְרָיִם is to be supplied (cf. *e.g.* 1 Kings xiv. 19, 29, xv. 7, 23).

Its full title therefore is, Book of the Events of the Time (*Zeitereignisse*), corresponding to the annalistic work so often quoted in our canonical books of Kings and Chronicles, the Book of the Events of the Time (Chronicle) of the Kings of Israel and Judah. Instead of this the LXX. have chosen the name *Παραλειπόμενα*, in order to mark more exactly the relation of our work to the earlier historical books of the Old Testament, as containing much historical information which is not to be found in them. But the name is not used in the sense of *supplementa*,—"fragments of other historical works," as Movers, *die Bibl. Chron.* S. 95, interprets it,—but in the signification "*prætermissa*;" because, according to the explanation in the

*Synopsis script. sacr.* in Athanasii Opera, ii. p. 84, παραλειφθέντα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις (i.e. in the books of Samuel and Kings) περιέχεται ἐν τούτοις, "many things passed over in the Kings are contained in these." Likewise Isidorus, lib. vi. Origin. c. i. p. 45: *Paralipomenon græce dicitur, quod prætermisorum vel reliquorum nos dicere possumus, quia ea quæ in lege vel in Regum libris vel omissa vel non plene relata sunt, in isto summatim et breviter explicantur.* This interpretation of the word παραλειπόμενα is confirmed by Hieronymus, who, in his *Epist. ad Paulin.* (Opp. t. i. ed. Vallars, p. 279), says: *Paralipomenon liber, id est instrumenti veteris epitome tantus et talis est, ut absque illo, si quis scientiam scripturarum sibi voluerit arrogare, seipsum irrideat; per singula quippe nomina juncturasque verborum et prætermissæ in Regum libris tanguntur historiæ et innumerabiles explicantur Evangelii quæstiones.* He himself, however, suggested the name Chronicon, in order more clearly to characterize both the contents of the work and at the same its relation to the historical books from Gen. i. to 2 Kings xxv.; as he says in *Prolog. galeat.*: דְּבַר הַיּוֹם, i.e. *verba dierum, quod significantius chronicon totius divinæ historiæ possumus appellare, qui liber apud nos Paralipomenon primus et secundus inscribitur.* Through Hieronymus the name Chronicles came into use, and became the prevailing title.

*Contents.*—The Chronicles begin with genealogical registers of primeval times, and of the tribes of Israel (1 Chron. i.–ix.); then follow the history of the reign of King David (chap. x.–xxix.) and of King Solomon (2 Chron. i.–ix.); the narrative of the revolt of the ten tribes from the kingdom of the house of David (chap. x.); the history of the kingdom of Judah from Rehoboam to the ruin of the kingdom, its inhabitants being led away into exile to Babylon (chap. xi.–xxxvi. 21); and at the close we find the edict of Cyrus, which allowed the Jews to return into their country (xxxvi. 22, 23). Each of the two books, therefore, falls into two, and the whole work into four divisions. If we examine these divisions more minutely, six groups can be without difficulty recognised in the genealogical part (1 Chron. i.–ix.). These are: (1) The families of primeval and ancient times, from Adam to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and his sons Edom and Israel, together with the posterity of Edom (chap. i.); (2) the sons of Israel and the families of Judah, with the sons and posterity of David (ii.–iv. 23); (3)

the families of the tribe of Simeon, whose inheritance lay within the tribal domain of Judah, and those of the trans-Jordanic tribes Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh (iv. 24-v. 26); (4) the families of Levi, or of the priests and Levites, with an account of the dwelling-places assigned to them (v. 27-vi. 66); (5) the families of the remaining tribes, viz. Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, the half-tribe of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Asher (only Dan and Zebulun being omitted), with the genealogy of the house of Saul (vii. viii.); and (6) a register of the former inhabitants of Jerusalem (ix. 1-34), and a second enumeration of the family of Saul, preparing us for the transition to the history of the kingdom of Israel (ix. 35-44). The history of David's kingship which follows is introduced by an account of the ruin of Saul and his house (chap. x.), and then the narrative falls into two sections. (1) In the first we have David's election to be king over all Israel, and the taking of the Jebusite fort in Jerusalem, which was built upon Mount Zion (xi. 1-9); then a list of David's heroes, and the valiant men out of all the tribes who made him king (xi. 10-xii. 40); the removal of the ark to Jerusalem, the founding of his house, and the establishment of the Levitical worship before the ark in Zion (xiii.-xvi.); David's design to build a temple to the Lord (xvii.); then his wars (xviii.-xx.); the numbering of the people, the pestilence which followed, and the fixing of the place for the future temple (xxi.). (2) In the second section are related David's preparations for the building of the temple (xxii.); the numbering of the Levites, and the arrangement of their service (xxiii.-xxvi.); the arrangement of the military service (xxvii.); David's surrender of the kingdom to his son, and the close of his life (xxviii. and xxix.). The history of the reign of Solomon begins with his solemn sacrifice at Gibeon, and some remarks on his wealth (2 Chron. i.); then follows the building of the temple, with the consecration of the completed holy place (chap. ii.-vii.). To these are added short aphoristic accounts of the cities which Solomon built, the statute labour which he exacted, the arrangement of the public worship, the voyage to Ophir, the visit of the queen of Sheba, and of the might and glory of his kingdom, closing with remarks on the length of his reign, and an account of his death (viii.-ix.). The history of the kingdom of Judah begins with the narrative of the revolt of the ten tribes from Rehoboam (chap. x.), and then in chap. xi.-xxxvi. it flows on according to the succession of the

kings of Judah from Rehoboam to Zedekiah, the reigns of the individual kings forming the sections of the narrative.

*Plan and Aim.*—From this general sketch of the contents of our history, it will be already apparent that the author had not in view a general history of the covenant people from the time of David to the Babylonian exile, but purposed only to give an outline of the history of the kingship of David and his successors, Solomon and the kings of the kingdom of *Judah* to its fall. If, however, in order to define more clearly the plan and purpose of the historical parts of our book in the first place, we compare them with the representation given us of the history of Israel in those times in the books of Samuel and Kings, we can see that the chronicler has passed over much of the history. (a) He has omitted, in the history of David, not only his seven years' reign at Hebron over the tribe of Judah, and his conduct to the fallen King Saul and to his house, especially towards Ishbosheth, Saul's son, who had been set up as rival king by Abner (2 Sam. i.-iv. and ix.), but in general has passed over all the events referring to and connected with David's family relations. He makes no mention, for instance, of the scene between David and Michal (2 Sam. vi. 20-23); the adultery with Bathsheba, with its immediate and more distant results (2 Sam. xi. 2-12); Amnon's outrage upon Tamar, the slaying of Amnon by Absalom and his flight to the king of Geshur, his return to Jerusalem, his rising against David, with its issues, and the tumult of Sheba (2 Sam. xiii.-xx.); and, finally, also omits the thanksgiving psalm and the last words of David (2 Sam. xxii. 1-xxiii. 7). Then (b) in the history of Solomon there have been left unrecorded the attempt of Adonijah to usurp the throne, with the anointing of Solomon at Gihon, which it brought about; David's last command in reference to Joab and Shimei; the punishment of these men and of Adonijah; Solomon's marriage with Pharaoh's daughter (1 Kings i. 1-iii. 3); his wise judgment, the catalogue of his officials, the description of his royal magnificence and glory, and of his wisdom (1 Kings iii. 16-v. 14); the building of the royal palace (1 Kings vii. 1-12); and Solomon's polygamy and idolatry, with their immediate results (1 Kings xi. 1-40). Finally, (c) there is no reference to the history of the kingdom of Israel founded by Jeroboam, or to the lives of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, which are related in such detail in the books of Kings, while mention is made of the kings of the kingdom of the ten tribes only in so far as they came into

hostile struggle or friendly union with the kingdom of Judah. But, in compensation for these omissions, the author of the Chronicle has brought together in his work a considerable number of facts and events which are omitted in the books of Samuel and the Kings. For example, in the history of David, he gives us the list of the valiant men out of all the tribes who, partly before and partly after the death of Saul, went over to David to help him in his struggle with Saul and his house, and to bring the royal honour to him (1 Chron. xii.); the detailed account of the participation of the Levites in the transfer of the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem, and of the arrangements made by David for worship around this sanctuary (chap. xv. and xvi.); and the whole section concerning David's preparations for the building of the temple, his arrangements for public worship, the regulation of the army, and his last commands (chap. xxii.-xxix.). Further, the history of the kingdom of Judah from Rehoboam to Joram is narrated throughout at greater length than in the books of Kings, and is considerably supplemented by detailed accounts, not only of the work of the prophets in Judah, of Shemaiah under Rehoboam (chap. xii. 5-8), of Azariah and Hanani under Asa (xv. 1-8, xvi. 7-9), of Jehu son of Hanani, Jehaziel, and Ebenezer son of Dodava, under Jehoshaphat (xix. 1-3, xx. 14-20 and 37), and concerning Elijah's letter under Joram (xxi. 12-15); but also of the efforts of Rehoboam (xi. 5-17), Asa (xiv. 5-7), and Jehoshaphat (xvii. 2, 12-19) to fortify the kingdom, of Asa to raise and vivify the Jahve-worship (xv. 9-15), of Jehoshaphat to purify the administration of justice and increase the knowledge of the law (xvii. 7-9 and xix. 5-11), of the wars of Abijah against Jeroboam, and his victories (xiii. 3-20), of Asa's war against the Cushite Zerah (xiv. 8-14), of Jehoshaphat's conquest of the Ammonites and Moabites (xx. 1-30), and, finally, also of the family relations of Rehoboam (xi. 18-22), the wives and children of Abijah (xiii. 21), and Joram's brothers and his sickness (xxi. 2-4 and 18 f.). Of the succeeding kings also various undertakings are reported which are not found in the books of Kings. In this way we are informed of Joash's defection from the Lord, and his fall into idolatry after the death of the high priest Jehoiada (xxiv. 15-22); how Amaziah increased his military power (xxv. 5-10), and worshipped idols (xxv. 14-16); of Uzziah's victorious wars against the Philistines and Arabs, and his fortress-building, etc. (xxvi.

6-15); of Jotham's fortress-building, and his victory over the Ammonites (xxvii. 4-6); of the increase of Hezekiah's riches (xxxii. 27-30); of Manasseh's capture and removal to Babylon, and his return out of captivity (xxxiii. 11-17). But the history of Hezekiah and Josiah more especially is rendered more complete by special accounts of reforms in worship, and of celebrations of the passover (xxix. 3-31, 21, and xxxv. 2-15); while we have only summary notices of the godless conduct of Ahaz (chap. xxviii.) and Manasseh (xxxiii. 3-10), of the campaign of Sennacherib against Jerusalem and Judah, of Hezekiah's sickness and the reception of the Babylonian embassy in Jerusalem (chap. xxxii., cf. 2 Kings xviii. 13-20, xix.); as also of the reigns of the last kings, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. From all this, it is clear that the author of the Chronicle, as Bertheau expresses it, "has turned his attention to *those times* especially in which Israel's religion had showed itself to be a power dominating the people and their leaders, and bringing them prosperity; and to *those men* who had endeavoured to give a more enduring form to the arrangements for the service of God, and to restore the true worship of Jahve; and to *those events* in the history of the worship so intimately bound up with Jerusalem, which had important bearings."

This purpose appears much more clearly when we take into consideration the narratives which are common to the Chronicle and the books of Samuel and Kings, and observe the difference which is perceptible in the mode of conception and representation in those parallel sections. For our present purpose, however, those narratives in which the chronicler supplements and completes the accounts given in the books of Samuel and Kings by more exact and detailed information, or shortens them by the omission of unimportant details, come less into consideration.<sup>1</sup> For both additions and abridgments show only that the chronicler has not drawn his information from the canonical books of Samuel and Kings, but from other more circumstantial original

<sup>1</sup> Additions are to be found, e.g., in the list of David's heroes, 1 Chron. xii. 42-47; in the history of the building and consecration of Solomon's temple; in the enumeration of the candlesticks, tables, and courts, 2 Chron. iv. 6-9; in the notice of the copper platform on which Solomon kneeled at prayer, vi. 12, 13; and of the fire which fell from heaven upon the burnt-offering, vii. 1 ff. Also in the histories of the wars they are met with, 1 Chron. xi. 6, 8, 23, cf. 2 Sam. v. 8, 9, xxiii. 21; 1 Chron. xviii. 8, 12,



documents which he had at his command, and has used these sources independently. Much more important for a knowledge of the plan of the Chronicle are the variations in the parallel places between it and the other narrative; for in them the point of view from which the chronicler regarded, and has described, the events clearly appears. In the number of such passages is to be reckoned the narrative of the transfer of the ark (1 Chron. xiii. and xv., cf. 2 Sam. vi.), where the chronicler presents the fact in its religious import as the beginning of the restoration of the worship of Jahve according to the law, which had fallen into decay; while the author of the books of Samuel describes it only in its political import, in its bearing on the Davidic kingship. Of this character also is the narrative of the raising of Joash to the throne (2 Chron. xxiii., cf. 2 Kings xi.), where the share of the Levites in the completion of the work begun by the high priest Jehoiada is prominently brought forward, while in Kings it is not expressly mentioned. The whole account also of the reign of Hezekiah, as well as other passages, belong to this category. Now from these and other descriptions of the part the Levites played in events, and the share they took in assisting the efforts of the pious kings to revivify and maintain the temple worship, the conclusion has been rightly drawn that the chronicler describes with special interest the fostering of the Levitic worship according to the precepts of the law of Moses, and holds it up to his contemporaries for earnest imitation; yet this has been too often done in such a way as to cause this one element in the plans of the Chronicle to be looked upon as its main object, which has led to a very onesided conception of the character of the book. The chronicler does not desire to bring honour to the Levites and to the temple worship: his object is rather to draw from the history of the kingship in Israel a proof that faithful adherence to the covenant which the Lord had made with Israel brings happiness and blessing; the forsaking of it, on the contrary, ensures ruin and a curse. But Israel could show its faithfulness to the covenant only by walking according to the

cf. 2 Sam. viii. 8, 13, etc. More may be found in my *Handbook of Introd.* § 139, 6. Abridgments by the rejection of unimportant details are very frequent; e.g. the omission of the Jebusites' mockery of David's attack on their fortress, 1 Chron. xi. 5, 6, cf. 2 Sam. v. 6, 8; of the details of the storming of Rabbah, 1 Chron. xx. 1, 2, cf. 2 Sam. xii. 27-29; and of many more, vide my *Handbook of Introduction*, § 139, 8.

ordinances of the law given by Moses, and in worshipping Jahve, the God of their fathers, in His holy place in that way which He had established by the ceremonial ordinances. The author of the Chronicle attaches importance to the Levitic worship only because the fidelity of Israel to the covenant manifested itself in the careful maintenance of it.

This point of view appears clearly in the selection and treatment of the material drawn by our historian from older histories and prophetic writings. His history begins with the death of Saul and the anointing of David to be king over the whole of Israel, and confines itself, after the division of the kingdom, to the history of the kingdom of Judah. In the time of the judges especially, the Levitic worship had fallen more and more into decay; and even Samuel had done nothing for it, or perhaps *could* do nothing, and the ark remained during that whole period at a distance from the tabernacle. Still less was done under Saul for the restoration of the worship in the tabernacle; for "Saul died," as we read in 1 Chron. x. 13 f., "for his transgression which he had transgressed against the Lord; . . . and because he inquired not of the Lord, therefore He slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David the son of Jesse." After the death of Saul the elders of all Israel came to David with the confession, "Jahve thy God said unto thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel; and thou shalt be ruler over my people Israel" (1 Chron. xi. 2). David's first care, after he had as king over all Israel conquered the Jebusite hold on Mount Zion, and made Jerusalem the capital of the kingdom, was to bring the ark from its obscurity into the city of David, and to establish the sacrificial worship according to the law near that sanctuary (1 Chron. xiii. 15, 16). Shortly afterwards he formed the resolution of building for the Lord a permanent house (a temple), that He might dwell among His people, for which he received from the Lord the promise of the establishment of his kingdom for ever, although the execution of his design was denied to him, and was committed to his son (chap. xvii.). Only *after* all this has been related do we find narratives of David's wars and his victories over all hostile peoples (chap. xviii.-xx.), of the numbering of the people, and the pestilence, which, in consequence of the repentant resignation of David to the will of the Lord, gave occasion to the determination of the place for the erection of the temple (chap. xxi.). The second section of the history of

the Davidic kingship contains the preparations for the building of the temple, and the laying down of more permanent regulations for the ordering of the worship; and that which David had prepared for, and so earnestly impressed upon his son Solomon at the transfer of the crown, Solomon carried out. Immediately after the throne had been secured to him, he took in hand the building of the temple; and the account of this work fills the greater part of the history of his reign, while the description of his kingly power and splendour and wisdom, and of all the other undertakings which he carried out, is of the shortest. When ten tribes revolted from the house of David after his death, Rehoboam's design of bringing the rebellious people again under his dominion by force of arms was checked by the prophet Shemaiah with the words, "Thus saith the Lord, Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren, for this thing is done of me" (2 Chron. xi. 4). But in their revolt from the house of David, which Jeroboam sought to perpetuate by the establishment of an idolatrous national worship, Israel of the ten tribes had departed from the covenant communion with Jahve; and on this ground, and on this account, the history of that kingdom is no further noticed by the chronicler. The priests and Levites came out of the whole Israelite dominion to Judah and Jerusalem, because Jeroboam and his sons expelled them from the priesthood. After them, from all the tribes of Israel came those who gave their hearts to seek Jahve the God of Israel to Jerusalem to sacrifice to Jahve the God of their fathers (2 Chron. xi. 13-16), for "Jerusalem is the city which Jahve has chosen out of all the tribes of Israel to put His name there" (xii. 13). The priests, Levites, and pious people who went over from Israel made the kingdom of Judah strong, and confirmed Rehoboam's power, for they walked in the ways of David and Solomon (xi. 17). But when the kingdom of Rehoboam had been firmly established, he forsook the law of Jahve, and all Israel with him (xii. 1). Then the Egyptian king Shishak came up against Jerusalem, "because they had transgressed against the Lord" (xii. 2). The prophet Shemaiah proclaimed the word of the Lord: "Ye have forsaken me, and therefore have I also left you in the hand of Shishak" (xii. 5). Yet when Rehoboam and the princes of Israel humbled themselves, the anger of the Lord turned from him, that He would not destroy him altogether (xii. 6, 12). King Abijah reproaches

Jeroboam in his speech with his defection from Jahve, and concludes with the words, "O children of Israel, fight not ye against the Lord God of your fathers, for ye shall not prosper" (xiii. 12); and when the men of Judah cried unto the Lord in the battle, and the priests blew the trumpets, then did God smite Jeroboam and all Israel (xiii. 15). "Thus the children of Israel were brought under at that time, and the children of Judah prevailed, because they relied upon the Lord God of their fathers" (xiii. 18). King Asa commanded his subjects to seek Jahve the God of their fathers, and to do the law and the commandments (xiv. 3). In the war against the Cushites, he cried unto Jahve his God, "Help us, for we rest on Thee;" and Jahve smote the Cushites before Judah (xiv. 10). After this victory Asa and Judah sacrificed unto the Lord of their spoil, and entered into a covenant to seek Jahve the God of their fathers with all their heart, and with all their soul. And the Lord was found of them, and the Lord gave them rest round about (xv. 11 ff.). But when Asa afterwards, in the war against Baasha of Israel, made an alliance with the Syrian king Benhadad, the prophet Hanani censured this act in the words, "Because thou hast relied on the king of Syria, and hast not relied on Jahve thy God, therefore has the host of the king of Syria escaped out of thy hand. . . . Herein thou hast done foolishly," etc. (xvi. 7-9). Jehoshaphat became mighty against Israel, and Jahve was with him; for he walked in the ways of his father David, and sought not unto the Baals, but sought the God of his father, and walked in His commandments, and not after the doings of Israel. And Jahve established his kingdom in his hand, and he attained to riches and great splendour (xvii. 1-5).

After this fashion does the chronicler show how God blessed the reigns and prospered all the undertakings of all the kings of Judah who sought the Lord and walked in His commandments; but at the same time also, how every defection from the Lord brought with it misfortune and chastisement. Under Joram of Judah, Edom and Libnah freed themselves from the supremacy of Judah, "because Joram had forsaken Jahve the God of his fathers" (xxi. 10). Because Joram had walked in the ways of the kings of Israel, and had seduced the inhabitants of Jerusalem to whoredom (*i.e.* idolatry), and had slain his brothers, God punished him in the invasion of Judah by the Philistines and Arabs, who stormed Jerusalem, took away with them all the fur-

niture of the royal palace, and took captive his sons and wives, while He smote him besides with incurable disease (xxi. 11 ff., 16-18). Because of the visit which Ahaziah made to Joram of Israel, when he lay sick of his wound at Jezreel, the judgment was (xxii. 7) pronounced: "The destruction of Ahaziah was of God by his coming to Joram." When Amaziah, after his victory over the Edomites, brought back the gods of Seir and set them up for himself as gods, before whom he worshipped, the anger of Jahve was kindled against him. In spite of the warning of the prophets, he sought a quarrel with King Joash of Israel, who likewise advised him to abandon his design. "But Amaziah would not hear; for it was of God, that He might deliver them over, because they had sought the gods of Edom" (xxv. 20). With this compare ver. 27: "After the time that Amaziah turned away from following Jahve, they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem." Of Uzziah it is said (xxvi. 5), so long as he sought the Lord, God made him to prosper, so that he conquered his enemies and became very mighty. But when he was strong his heart was lifted up, so that he transgressed against Jahve his God, by forcing his way into the temple to offer incense; and for this he was smitten with leprosy. Of Jotham it is said, in xxvii. 6, "He became mighty, because he established his ways before Jahve his God."

From these and similar passages, which might easily be multiplied, we clearly see that the chronicler had in view not only the Levitic worship, but also and mainly the attitude of the people and their princes to the Lord and to His law; and that it is from this point of view that he has regarded and written the history of his people before the exile. But it is also not less clear, from the quotations we have made, in so far as they contain practical remarks of the historian, that it was his purpose to hold up to his contemporaries as a mirror the history of the past, in which they might see the consequences of their own conduct towards the God of their fathers. He does not wish, as the author of the books of Kings does, to narrate the events and facts objectively, according to the course of history; but he connects the facts and events with the conduct of the kings and people towards the Lord, and strives to put the historical facts in such a light as to teach that God rewards fidelity to His covenant with happiness and blessing, and avenges faithless defection from it with punitive judgments. Owing to this peculiarity, the historical narrative

acquires a hortative character, which gives occasion for the employment of a highly rhetorical style. The hortative-rhetorical character impressed upon his narrative shows itself not only in many of the speeches of the actors in the history which are interwoven with it, but also in many of the historical parts. For example, the account given in 2 Chron. xxi. 16 of the punitive judgments which broke in upon Joram for his wickedness is rhetorically arranged, so that the judgments correspond to the threatenings contained in the letter of Elijah, vers. 12-15. But this may be much more plainly seen in the description of the impious conduct of King Ahaz, and of the punishments which were inflicted upon him and the kingdom of Judah (chap. xxviii.); as also in the descriptions of the crime of Manasseh (chap. xxxiii. 3-13; cf. especially vers. 7 and 8), and of the reign of Zedekiah, and the ruin of the kingdom of Judah (chap. xxxvi. 12-21). Now the greater part of the differences between the chronicler's account and the parallel narrative in the books of Samuel and Kings, together with the omission of unimportant circumstances, and the careful manner in which the descriptions of the arrangements for worship and the celebration of feasts are wrought out, can be accounted for by this hortatory tendency so manifest in his writing, and by his subjective, reflective manner of regarding history. For all these peculiarities clearly have it for their object to raise in the souls of the readers pleasure and delight in the splendid worship of the Lord, and to confirm their hearts in fidelity to the Lord and to His law.

With this plan and object, the first part of our history (1 Chron. i.-ix.), which contains genealogies, with geographical sketches and isolated historical remarks, is in perfect harmony. The genealogies are intended to exhibit, on the one hand, the connection of the people of Israel with the whole human race; on the other, the descent and genealogical ramifications of the tribes and families of Israel, with the extent to which they had spread themselves abroad in the land received as a heritage from the Lord. In both of these respects they are the necessary foundation for the following history of the chosen people, which the author designed to trace from the time of the foundation of the promised kingdom till the people were driven away into exile because of their revolt from their God. And it is not to be considered as a result of the custom prevalent among the later Arabian historians, of beginning their histories and chronicles *ab ovo* with

Adam, that our author goes back in this introduction to Adam and the beginnings of the human race; for not only is this custom far too modern to allow of any inference being drawn from it with reference to the Chronicle, but it has itself originated, beyond a doubt, in an imitation of our history. The reason for going back to the beginnings of the human race is to be sought in the importance for the history of the world of the people of Israel, whose progenitor Abraham had been chosen and separated from all the peoples of the earth by God, that his posterity might become a blessing to all the families of the earth. But in order to see more perfectly the plan and object of the historian in his selection and treatment of the historical material at his command, we must still keep in view the age in which he lived, and for which he wrote. In respect to this, so much in general is admitted, viz. that the Chronicle was composed after the Babylonian exile. With their release from exile, and their return into the land of their fathers, Israel did not receive again its former political importance. That part of the nation which had returned remained under Persian supremacy, and was ruled by Persian governors; and the descendants of the royal race of David remained subject to this governor, or at least to the kings of Persia. They were only allowed to restore the temple, and to arrange the divine service according to the precepts of the Mosaic law; and in this they were favoured by Cyrus and his successors. In such circumstances, the efforts and struggles of the returned Jews must have been mainly directed to the re-establishment and permanent ordering of the worship, in order to maintain communion with the Lord their God, and by that means to prove their fidelity to the God of their fathers, so that the Lord might fulfil His covenant promises to them, and complete the restoration of Judah and Jerusalem. By this fact, therefore, may we account for the setting forth in our history of the religious and ecclesiastical side of the life of the Israelitish community in such relief, and for the author's supposed "fondness" for the Levitic worship. If the author of the Chronicle wished to strengthen his contemporaries in their fidelity to Jahve, and to encourage them to fulfil their covenant duties by a description of the earlier history of the covenant people, he could not hope to accomplish his purpose more effectively than by so presenting the history as to bring accurately before them the ordinances and arrangements of the worship, the blessings of

fidelity to the covenant, and the fatal fruits of defection from the Lord.

The chronicler's supposed predilection for genealogical lists arose also from the circumstances of his time. From Ezra ii. 60 ff. we learn that some of the sons of priests who returned with Zerubbabel sought their family registers, but could not find them, and were consequently removed from the priesthood; besides this, the inheritance of the land was bound up with the families of Israel. On this account the family registers had, for those who had returned from the exile, an increased importance, as the means of again obtaining possession of the heritage of their fathers; and perhaps it was the value thus given to the genealogical lists which induced the author of the Chronicle to include in his book all the old registers of this sort which had been received from antiquity.

## § 2. AGE AND AUTHOR OF THE CHRONICLES.

The Chronicle cannot have been composed before the time of Ezra, for it closes with the intelligence that Cyrus, by an edict in the first year of his reign, allowed the Jews to return to their country (2. xxxvi. 22 f.), and it brings down the genealogical tree of Zerubbabel to his grandchildren (1. iii. 19-21). The opinion brought into acceptance by de Wette and Ewald, that the genealogy (1. iii. 19-24) enumerates six or seven other generations after Zerubbabel, and so reaches down to the times of Alexander the Great or yet later, is founded on the undemonstrable assumption that the twenty-one names which in this passage (ver. 21b) follow בני רִישָׁה are the names of direct descendants of Zerubbabel. But no exegetical justification can be found for this assumption; since the list of names, "the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah," etc. (vers. 21b-24), is connected neither in form nor in subject-matter with the grandsons of Zerubbabel, who have been already enumerated, but forms a genealogical fragment, the connection of which with Zerubbabel's grandchildren is merely asserted, but can neither be proved nor even rendered probable. (*Vide* the commentary on these verses.) Other grounds for the acceptance of so late a date for the composition of the Chronicle are entirely wanting; for the orthography and language of the book



point only in general to the post-exilic age, and the mention of the Daric, a Persian coin, in 1. xxix. 7, does not bring us further down than the period of the Persian rule over Judæa. On the other hand, the use of the name בִּירָה (1. xxix. 1, 19) for the temple can scarcely be reconciled with the composition of the book in the Macedonian or even the Seleucidian age, since an author who lived after Nehemiah, when Jerusalem, like other Persian cities, had received in the fortress built by him (Neh. ii. 8, vii. 2), and afterwards called *Bâpis* and *Arx Antonia*, its own בִּירָה, would scarcely have given this name to the temple.

In reference to the question of the authorship of our book, the matter which most demands consideration is the identity of the end of the Chronicle with the beginning of the book of Ezra. The Chronicle closes with the edict of Cyrus which summons the Jews to return to Jerusalem to build the temple; the book of Ezra begins with this same edict, but gives it more completely than the Chronicle, which stops somewhat abruptly with the word וְיָצָא, "and let him go up," although in this וְיָצָא everything is contained that we find in the remaining part of the edict communicated in the book of Ezra. From this relation of the Chronicle to the book of Ezra, many Rabbins, Fathers of the church, and older exegetes, have drawn the conclusion that Ezra is also the author of the Chronicle. But of course it is not a very strong proof, since it can be accounted for on the supposition that the author of the book of Ezra has taken over the conclusion of the Chronicle into his work, and set it at the commencement, so as to attach his book to the Chronicle as a continuation. In support of this supposition, moreover, the further fact may be adduced, that it was just as important for the Chronicle to communicate the terms of Cyrus' edict as it was for the book of Ezra. It was a fitting conclusion of the former, to show that the destruction of Jerusalem and the leading away of the inhabitants of Judah to Babylon, was not the final destiny of Judah and Jerusalem, but that, after the dark night of exile, the day of the restoration of the people of God had dawned under Cyrus; and for the latter it was an indispensable foundation and point of departure for the history of the new immigration of the exiles into Jerusalem and Judah. Yet it still remains more probable that one author produced both writings, yet not as a single book, which has been divided at some later time by another hand. For no reason can be perceived for any such later division,

especially such a division as would make it necessary to repeat the edict of Cyrus.<sup>1</sup> The introduction of this edict with the words, "And it came to pass in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, *that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished,*" connects it so closely with the end of the account of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the carrying away into Babylon, contained in the words, "And they were servants to him and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia, *to fulfil the word of the Lord spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah, . . . to fulfil the seventy years*" (ver. 20 f.), that it cannot be separated from what precedes. Rather it is clear, that the author who wrote verses 20 and 21, representing the seventy years' exile as the fulfilment of the prophecy of Jeremiah, must be the same who mentions the edict of Cyrus, and sets it forth in its connection with the utterances of the same prophet. This connecting of the edict with the prophecy gives us an irrefragable proof that the verses which contain the edict form an integral part of the Chronicle. But, at the same time, the way in which the edict is broken off in the Chronicle with לְמַעַן, makes it likely that the author of the Chronicle did not give the contents of the edict in their entirety, only because he intended to treat further of the edict, and the fulfilment of it by the return of the Jews from Babylon, in a second work. A later editor would certainly have given the entire edict in both writings (the Chronicle and the book

<sup>1</sup> What Bertheau (p. xxi.) says in this connection (following Ewald, *Gesch. des V. Isr.* i. S. 264, der 2 Aufl.), viz., that "perhaps at first only that part of the great historical work which contains the history of the new community itself, to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the history of these its two heroes, was added to the books of the Old Testament, because it seemed unnecessary to add our present Chronicle, on account of its agreement in great part with the contents of the books of Samuel and Kings," is a supposition which merely evades giving a reason for the division of the work into two, by holding the division to have been made before the book came into the canon. But unless the division had been made before, no one would ever have thought of considering the first half of this book, i.e. our present Chronicle, unworthy of a place in the canon, since it contains, in great part, new information not found in the books of Samuel and Kings, and supplements in a variety of ways even the narratives which are contained in these books. And even supposing that the Chronicle was received into the canon as a supplement, after the books of Ezra and Nehemiah had already received a definite place in it, the verses 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 f. could scarcely have been added to the Chronicle from the book of Ezra, to call attention to the fact that the Chronicle had received an unsuitable place in the canon, as it ought to have stood before the book of Ezra.

of Ezra), and would, moreover, hardly have altered כְּפִי (Chron.) into כְּבִי (Ezra), and יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ עִמָּנוּ into יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ עִמָּו.

The remaining grounds which are usually urged for the original unity of the two writings, prove nothing more than the possibility or probability that both originated with one author; certainly they do not prove that they originally formed one work. The long list of phenomena in Bertheau's Commentary, pp. xvi-xx, by which a certainty is supposed to be arrived at that the Chronicle and Ezra originally was one great historical work, compiled from various sources, greatly requires the help of critical bias. 1. "The predilection of the author for genealogical lists, for detailed descriptions of great feasts, which occurred at the most various times, for exact representations of the arrangement of the public worship, and the business of the Levites and priests, with their classifications and ranks," cannot be proved to exist in the book of Ezra. That book contains only one very much abridged genealogy, that of Ezra (vii. 1-5); only two lists,—those, namely, of the families who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Ezra (chap. ii. and viii.); only one account of the celebration of a feast, the by no means detailed description of the consecration of the temple (vi. 16); short remarks on the building of the altar, the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, and the laying of the foundation-stone of the temple, in chap. iii.; and it contains nothing whatever as to the divisions and ranks of the priests and Levites. That in these lists and descriptions some expressions should recur, is to be expected from the nature of the case. Yet all that is common to both books is the word הַתִּיחֵשׁ, the use of כְּמִשְׁפַּח in the signification, "according to the Mosaic law" (1 Chron. xxiii. 31, 2 Chron. xxxv. 13, Ezra iii. 4, and Neh. viii. 18), and the liturgical formula הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה, which occurs also in Isa. xii. 4 and Ps. xxxiii. 2, and לְהוֹדוֹת לַיהוָה with the addition, "Jahve is God, and His mercy endureth for ever" (1 Chron. xvi. 34, 41; 2 Chron. vii. 6; Ezra iii. 11). The other expressions enumerated by Bertheau are met with also in other writings: נִקְבְּנוּ בְּשֵׁמוֹת in Num. i. 17; רָאשֵׁי אֲבוֹת and רָאשֵׁי בֵּית-אֲבוֹת, Ex. vi. 14 ff.; and the formula לְכִלְהֶכְתֹּב or כְּכַתֵּב בְּתוֹרָה (בְּתוֹרַת יְהוָה) (1 Chron. xvi. 40; 2 Chron. xxxv. 12, 26; Ezra iii. 2, 4) is just as common in other writings: cf. Josh. i. 8, viii. 31, 34; 1 Kings ii. 3; 2 Kings xiv. 6, xxii. 13, xxiii. 21. Bertheau further remarks: "In those sections in which the regulation of the public worship, the duties, classification, and offices of the priests and Levites

are spoken of, the author seizes every opportunity to tell of the musicians and doorkeepers, their duties at the celebration of the great festivals, and their classification. He speaks of the musicians, 1 Chron. vi. 16 ff., ix. 14-16, 33, xv. 16-22, 27 f., xvi. 4-42, xxiii. 5, xxv.; 2 Chron. v. 12 f., vii. 6, viii. 14 f., xx. 19, 21, xxiii. 13, 18, xxix. 25-28, 30, xxx. 21 f., xxxi. 2, 11-18, xxxiv. 12, xxxv. 15; Ezra iii. 10 f.; Neh. xi. 17, xii. 8, 24, 27-29, 45-47, xiii. 5. The doorkeepers are mentioned nearly as often, and not seldom in company with the singers: 1 Chron. ix. 17-29, xv. 18, 23, 24, xvi. 38, xxiii. 5, xxvi. 1, 12-19; 2 Chron. viii. 14, xxiii. 4, 19, xxxi. 14, xxxiv. 13, xxxv. 15; Ezra ii. 42, 70, vii. 7, x. 24; Neh. vii. 1, 45, x. 29, xi. 19, xii. 25, 45, 47, xiii. 5. Now if these passages be compared, not only are the same expressions met with (*e.g.* מְלָאכִים only in Chron., Ezra, and Neh.; הַמְשִׁירִים and הַמְשָׁרִים likewise only in these books, but here very frequently, some twenty-eight times), and also very often in different places the same names (cf. 1 Chron. ix. 17 with Neh. xii. 25); but everywhere also we can easily trace the same view as to the importance of the musicians and doorkeepers for the public worship, and see that all information respecting them rests upon a very well-defined view of their duties and their position." But does it follow from this "well-defined view" of the business of the musicians and doorkeepers, that the Chronicle, Ezra, and Nehemiah form a single book? Is this view an idea peculiar to the author of this book? In all the historical books of the Old Testament, from Exodus and Leviticus to Nehemiah, we find the idea that the laying of the sacrifice upon the altar is the business of the priest; but does it follow from that, that all those books were written by one man? But besides this, the representation given by Bertheau is very one-sided. The fact is, that in the Chronicle, and in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, mention is made of the priests just as often as of the Levitical musicians, and oftener than the doorkeepers are spoken of, as will be seen from the proofs brought forward in the following remarks; nor can any trace be discovered of a "fondness" on the part of the chronicler for the musicians and porters. They are mentioned only when the subject demanded that they should be mentioned.

2. As to the language.—Bertheau himself admits, after the enumeration of a long list of linguistic peculiarities of the Chronicle and the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, that all these

phenomena are to be met with separately in other books of the Old Testament, especially the later ones; only their frequent use can be set down as the linguistic peculiarity of *one* author. But does the mere numbering of the places where a word or a grammatical construction occurs in this or that book really serve as a valid proof for the unity of the authorship? When, for example, the form בָּנָה, 2 Chron. xiv. 13, xxviii. 14, Ezra ix. 7, Neh. iii. 36, occurs elsewhere only in Esther and Daniel, or קָבַל in 1 Chron. xii. 18, xxi. 11, 2 Chron. xxix. 16, 22, and Ezra viii. 30, is elsewhere found only in Proverbs once, in Job once, and thrice in Esther, does it follow that the Chronicle and the book of Ezra are the work of one author? The greater number of the linguistic phenomena enumerated by Bertheau, such as the use of הָאֱלֹהִים for יְהוָה; the frequent use of לְ, partly before the infinitive to express shall or must, partly for subordinating or introducing a word; the multiplication of prepositions,—*e.g.* in לִפְנֵי, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16; עַד, 2 Chron. xvi. 14; עַד לְמַעַל, 2 Chron. xvi. 12, xvii. 12, xxvi. 8,—are characteristics not arising from a peculiar use of language by our chronicler, but belonging to the later or post-exilic Hebrew in general. The only words and phrases which are characteristic of and common to the Chronicle and the book of Ezra are: בָּמֹר (bowl), 1 Chron. xxviii. 17, Ezra i. 10, viii. 27; the infinitive Hophal הוֹפֵק, used of the foundation of the temple, 2 Chron. iii. 3, Ezra iii. 11; פְּלִיָּה, of the divisions of the Levites, 2 Chron. xxxv. 5 and Ezra vi. 18; הַתְּנוּבָה, of offerings, 1 Chron. xxxix. 5, 6, 9, 14, 17, Ezra i. 6, ii. 68, iii. 5; עַד לְמִדְּחוֹק (with three prepositions), 2 Chron. xxvi. 15, Ezra iii. 13; and הִכִּין לְבָבוֹ לְדָרִישׁ, 2 Chron. xii. 14, xix. 3, xxx. 19, and Ezra vii. 10. These few words and constructions would *per se* not prove much; but in connection with the fact that neither in the language nor in the ideas are any considerable differences or variations to be observed, they may serve to strengthen the probability, arising from the relation of the end of the Chronicle to the beginning of the book of Ezra, that both writings were composed by the priest and scribe Ezra.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The opinion first propounded by Ewald, and adopted by Bertheau, Dillmann (art. "Chronik" in *Herzog's Realencykl.*), and others, that "the author belonged to the guild of musicians settled at the temple in Jerusalem" (*Gesch. des V. Isr.* i. p. 235), has no tenable ground for its support, and rests merely on the erroneous assumption that the author has not the same sympathy with the priests as he shows in speaking of the Levites, more especially

## § 3. THE SOURCES OF THE CHRONICLES.

The genealogical list in chap. i., which gives us the origin of the human race and of the nations, and that which contains the names of the sons of Jacob (ii. 1 and 2), are to be found in and have been without doubt extracted from Genesis, to be placed together here. For it is scarcely probable that genealogical lists belonging to primeval time and the early days of Israel should have been preserved till the post-exilic period. But all the genealogical registers which follow, together with the geographical and historical remarks interwoven with them (chap. ii. 3-viii. 40), have not been derived from the older historical books of the Old Testament: for they contain for the most part merely the names of the originators of those genealogical lines, of the grandsons and some of the great-grandsons of Jacob, and of the ancestors, brothers, and sons of David; but nowhere do they contain the whole lines. Moreover, in the parallel places the names often differ greatly, so that all the variations cannot be ascribed to errors of transcription. Compare the comparative table of these parallel places in my *apolog. Versuch über die Chron.* S. 159 ff., and in the *Handbook of Introduction*, § 139, 1. All these catalogues, together with that of the cities of the Levites (chap. vi. 39-66), have been derived from other, extra-biblical sources.

of the singers and doorkeepers (Berth.). If this assertion were true, the author might have been just as well a Levitical doorkeeper as a musician. But it is quite erroneous, as may be seen on a comparison of the passages adduced *supra*, p. 26, from Bertheau's commentary. In all the passages in which the musicians and doorkeepers are mentioned the priests are also spoken of, and in such a way that to both priests and Levites that is ascribed which belonged to their respective offices: to the priests, the sacrificial service and the blowing of the trumpets; to the Levites, the external business of the temple, and the execution of the instrumental music and psalm-singing introduced by David. From this it is clear that there is no reason why the priest and scribe Ezra might not have composed the Chronicle. The passages supporting the assertion that where musicians and doorkeepers are spoken of the priests are also mentioned, are: 1 Chron. vi. 34 ff., ix. 10-13, xv. 24, xvi. 6, 39 ff., xxiii. 2, 13, 28, 32, xxiv. 1-19; 2 Chron. v. 7, 11-14, vii. 6, viii. 14 ff., xiii. 9-12, xvii. 8, xix. 8, 11, xx. 28, xxiii. 4, 6, 18, xxvi. 17, 20, xxix. 4, 16, 21-24, 34, xxx. 3, 15, 21, 25, 27, xxxi. 2, 17, 19, xxxiv. 30, xxxv. 2, 8, 10, 14, 18; Ezra i. 5, ii. 61, 70, iii. 2, 8, 10-12, vi. 16, 18, 20, vii. 7, 24, viii. 15, 24-30, 33; Neh. ii. 16, iii. 1, vii. 73, viii. 13, x. 1-9, 29, 35, 39 ff., xi. 3, 10 ff., xii. 1 ff., 30, 35, 41, 44, 47, xiii. 30.

But as Bertheau, S. xxxi, rightly remarks: "We cannot hold the lists to be the result of historical investigation on the part of the author of the Chronicle, in the sense of his having culled the individual names carefully either out of historical works or from traditions of the families, and then brought them into order: for in reference to Gad (chap. v. 12) we are referred to a genealogical register prepared in the time of Jotham king of Judah and Jeroboam king of Israel; while as to Issachar (chap. vii. 2) the reference is to the numbering of the people which took place in the time of David; and it is incidentally (?) stated (chap. ix. 1) that registers had been prepared of all Israelites (*i.e.* the northern tribes)." Besides this, in 1 Chron. xxiii. 3, 27, and xxvi. 31, numberings of the Levites, and in 1 Chron. xxvii. 24 the numbering of the people undertaken by Joab at David's command, are mentioned. With regard to the latter, however, it is expressly stated that its results were not incorporated in the *דִּבְרֵי הַיְּמִיִּם*, *i.e.* in the book of the chronicles of King David, while it is said that the results of the genealogical registration of the northern tribes of Israel were written in the book of the kings of Israel. According to this, then, it might be thought that the author had taken his genealogical lists from the great historical work made use of by him, and often cited, in the history of the kings of Judah—"the *national* annals of Israel and Judah." But this can be accepted only with regard to the short lists of the tribes of the northern kingdom in chap. v. and vii., which contain nothing further than the names of families and fathers'-houses, with a statement of the number of males in these fathers'-houses. It is possible that these names and numbers were contained in the national annals; but it is not likely that these registers, which are of a purely genealogical nature, giving the descent of families or famous men in longer or shorter lines of ancestors, were received into the national annals (*Reichsannalen*), and it does not at all appear from the references to the annals that this was the case. These genealogical lists were most probably in the possession of the heads of the tribes and families and households, from whom the author of the Chronicle would appear to have collected all he could find, and preserved them from destruction by incorporating them in his work.

In the historical part (1 Chron. x.—2 Chron. xxxvi.), at the death of almost every king, the author refers to writings in which the events and acts of his reign are described. Only in the case

of Joram, Ahaziah, Athaliah, and the later kings Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, are such references omitted. The books which are thus named are: (1) For David's reign, Dibre of Samuel the seer, of the prophet Nathan, and of Gad the seer (1 Chron. xxix. 29); (2) as to Solomon, the Dibre of the prophet Nathan, the prophecy (נְבִיאָה) of Abijah the Shilonite, and the visions (חִזְיוֹן) of the seer Iddo against Jeroboam the son of Nebat (2 Chron. ix. 29); (3) for Rehoboam, Dibre of the prophet Shemaiah and the seer Iddo (chap. xii. 15); (4) for Abijah's reign, Midrash of the prophet Iddo (xiii. 22); (5) for Asa, the book of the kings of Judah and Israel (xvi. 11); (6) as to Jehoshaphat, Dibre of Jehu the son of Hanani, which had been incorporated with the book of the kings of Israel (xx. 34); (7) for the reign of Joash, Midrash-Sepher of the kings (xxiv. 27); (8) for the reign of Amaziah, the book of the kings of Judah and Israel (xxv. 26); (9) in reference to Uzziah, a writing (כְּתָב) of the prophet Isaiah (xxvi. 22); (10) as to Jotham, the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (xxvii. 7); (11) for the reign of Ahaz, the book of the kings of Judah and Israel (xxviii. 26); (12) for Hezekiah, the vision (חִזְיוֹן) of the prophet Isaiah, in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel (xxxii. 32); (13) as to Manasseh, Dibre of the kings of Israel, and Dibre of Hozai (xxxiii. 18 and 19); (14) for the reign of Josiah, the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (xxxv. 27); and (15) for Jehoiakim, the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (xxxvi. 8).

From this summary, it appears that two classes of writings, of historical and prophetic contents respectively, are quoted. The book of the kings of Judah and Israel (No. 5, 8, 11), the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (10, 14, 15), the histories (הִיסְטוֹרִיָּה) of the kings of Israel (13), and the Midrash-book of kings (7), are all historical. The first three titles are, as is now generally admitted, only variations in the designation of one and the same work, whose complete title, "Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (or Israel and Judah), is here and there altered into "Book of the Events (or History) of the Kings of Israel," i.e. of the whole Israelitish people. This work contained the history of the kings of both kingdoms, and must have been essentially the same as to contents with the two annalistic writings cited in the canonical books of Kings: the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, and the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. This conclusion is forced upon us by the fact that the



extracts from them contained in our canonical books of Kings, coincide with the extracts from the books of the kings of Israel and Judah contained in our Chronicle where they narrate the same events, either verbally, or at least in so far that the identity of the sources from which they have been derived cannot but be recognised. The only difference is, that the author of the Chronicle had the two writings which the author of the book of Kings quotes as two separate works, before him as one work, narrating the history of both kingdoms in a single composition. For he cites the book of the kings of Israel even for the history of those kings of Judah who, like Jotham and Hezekiah, had nothing to do with the kingdom of Israel (i.e. the ten tribes), and even after the kingdom of the ten tribes had been already destroyed, for the reigns of Manasseh, Josiah, and Jehoiakim. But we are entirely without any means of answering with certainty the question, in how far the merging of the annals of the two kingdoms into *one* book of the kings of Israel was accompanied by remoulding and revision. The reasons which Bertheau, in his commentary on Chronicles, p. xli. ff., brings forward, after the example of Thenius and Ewald, for thinking that it underwent so thorough a revision as to become a different book, are without force. The difference in the title is not sufficient, since it is quite plain, from the different names under which the chronicler quotes the work which is used by him, that he did not give much attention to literal accuracy. The character of the parallel places in our books of Kings and the Chronicle, as Bertheau himself admits, forms no decisive criterion for an accurate determination of the relation of the chronicler to his original documents, which is now in question, since neither the author of the books of Samuel and Kings nor the author of the Chronicle intended to copy with verbal exactness: they all, on the contrary, treated the historical material which they had before them with a certain freedom, and wrought it up in their own writings in accordance with their various aims.

It is questionable if the work quoted for the reign of Joash, מְדִינַת מֶלֶךְ יוֹאָשׁ (No. 7), is identical with the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, or whether it be not a commentary on it, or perhaps a revision of that book, or of a section of the history of the kings for purposes of edification. The narrative in the Chronicle of the chief events in the reign of Joash, his accession, with the fall of Athaliah, and the repairing of the temple (2

Chron. xxiii. and xxiv.), agrees with the account of these events in 2 Kings xi. and xii. where the annals of the kings of Judah are quoted, to such an extent, that both the authors seem to have derived their accounts from the same source, each making extracts according to his peculiar point of view. But the Chronicle recounts, besides this, the fall of Joash into idolatry, the censure of this defection by the prophet Zechariah, and the defeat of the numerous army of the Jews by a small Syrian host (xxiv. 15-25); from which, in Bertheau's opinion, we may come, without much hesitation, to the conclusion that the connection of these events had been already very clearly brought forward in a Midrash of that book of Israel and Judah which is quoted elsewhere. This is certainly possible, but it cannot be shown to be more than a possibility; for the further remark of Bertheau, that in the references which occur elsewhere it is not so exactly stated as in 2 Chron. xxiv. 27 what the contents of the book referred to are, is shown to be erroneous by the citation in chap. xxxiii. 18 and 19. It cannot, moreover, be denied that the title *סֵפֶר מִדְּרָשׁ* instead of the simple *סֵפֶר* is surprising, even if, with Ewald, we take *מִדְּרָשׁ* in the sense of "composition" or "writing," and translate it "writing-book" (*Schriftbuch*), which gives ground for supposing that an expository writing is here meant. Even taking the title in this sense, it does not follow with any certainty that the Midrash extended over the whole history of the kings, and still less is it proved that this expository writing may have been used by the chronicler here and there in places where it is not quoted.

So much, however, is certain, that we must not, with Jahn, Movers, Staehelin, and others, hold these annals of the kings of Israel and Judah, which are quoted in the canonical books of Kings and the Chronicle, to be the official records of the acts and undertakings of the kings prepared by the *מִכְתָּבִים*.<sup>1</sup> They are

<sup>1</sup> Against this idea Bähr also has very justly declared (*die Bücher der Könige*, in J. P. Lange's *theol. homilet. Bibelwerke*, S. x. f.), and among other things has rightly remarked, that in the separated kingdom of Israel there is no trace whatever of court or national historians. But he goes much too far when he denies the existence of national annals in general, even in the kingdom of Judah, and under David and Solomon. For even granting that the *מִכְתָּבִים* derives his name from this, "that his duty was, as *ἀνέμνησεν*, to bring to the recollection of the king all the state affairs which were to be cared for, and give advice in reference to them;" yet this function is so intimately connected with the recording and preserving of the national

rather annalistic national histories composed by prophets, partly from the archives of the kingdom and other public documents, partly from prophetic monographs containing prophecy and history, either composed and continued by various prophets in succession during the existence of both kingdoms, or brought together in a connected form shortly before the ruin of the kingdom out of the then existing contemporary historical documents and prophetic records. Two circumstances are strongly in favour of the latter supposition. On the one hand, the references to these annals in both kingdoms do not extend to the last kings, but end in the kingdom of Israel with Pekah (2 Kings xv. 31), in the kingdom of Judah with Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 5 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8). On the other hand, the formula "until this day" occurs in reference to various events; and since it for the most part refers not to the time of the exile, but to times when the kingdom still existed (cf. 1 Kings viii. 8 with 2 Chron. v. 9; 1 Kings ix. 13, 21, with 2 Chron. viii. 8; 1 Kings xii. 19 with 2 Chron. x. 19; 2 Kings viii. 22 with 2 Chron. xxi. 10, 2 Kings ii. 22, x. 27, xiv. 7, and xvi. 6), it cannot be from the hand of the authors of our canonical books of Kings and Chronicles, but must have come down to us from the original documents, and is in them possible only if they were written at some shorter or longer period after the events. When Bähr, in the place already quoted, says, on the contrary, that the time shortly before the fall of the kingdom, the time of complete uprooting, would appear to be the time least of all suited for the collection and editing of national year-books, this arises from his not having fully weighed the fact, that at that very time prophets like Jeremiah lived and worked, and, as is clear from documents of the kingdom and of all royal ordinances, that from it the composition of official annals of the kingdom follows almost as a matter of course. The existence of such national annals, or official year-books of the kingdom, is placed by 1 Chron. ix. 1 and xxvii. 24 beyond all doubt. According to ix. 1, a genealogical record of the whole of Israel was prepared and inserted in the book of the kings of Israel; and according to xxvii. 24, the result of the numbering of the people, carried out by Joab under David, was not inserted in the book of the "Chronicles of King David." Bähr's objections to the supposition of the existence of national annals, rest upon the erroneous presupposition that all judgments concerning the kings and their religious conduct which we find in our canonical histories, would have also been contained in the annals of the kingdom, and that thus the authors of our books of Kings and Chronicles would have been mere copyists giving us some excerpts from the original documents.

the prophecies of Jeremiah, gave much time to the accurate study of the older holy writings.

The book composed by the prophet Isaiah concerning the reign of King Uzziah (9) was a historical work ; as was also probably the Midrash of the prophet Iddo (4). But, on the other hand, we cannot believe, as do Ewald, Bertheau, Bähr, and others, that the other prophetic writings enumerated under 1, 2, 3, 6, 12, and 13, were merely parts of the books of the kings of Israel and Judah ; for the grounds which are brought forward in support of this view do not appear to us to be tenable, or rather, tend to show that those writings were independent books of prophecy, to which some historical information was appended. 1. The circumstance that it is said of two of those writings, the Dibre of Jehu and the סֵפֶר of Isaiah (6 and 12), that they were incorporated or received into the books of the Kings, does not justify the conclusion "that, since two of the above-named writings are expressly said to be parts of the larger historical work, probably by the others also only parts of this work are meant" (Ew., Berth. S. xxxiv). For in the citations, those writings are not called parts of the book of Kings, but are only said to have been received into it as component parts ; and from that it by no means follows that the others, whose reception is not mentioned, were parts of that work. The admission of one writing into another book can only then be spoken of when the book is different from the writing which is received into it. 2. Since some of the writings are denominated סֵפֶר of a prophet, from the double meaning of the word סֵפֶר, *verba* and *res*, this title might be taken in the sense of "events of the prophets," to denote historical writings. But it is much more natural to think, after the analogy of the superscriptions in Amos i. 1, Jer. i. 1, of books of prophecies like the books of Amos and Jeremiah, which contained prophecies and prophetic speeches along with historical information, just as the sections Amos vii. 10-17, Jer. chap. xl.-xlv. do, and which differed from our canonical books of prophecies, in which the historical relations are mentioned only in exceptional cases, only by containing more detailed and minute accounts of the historical events which gave occasion to the prophetic utterances. On account of this fulness of historical detail, such prophetic writings, without being properly histories, would yet be for many periods of the history of the kings very abundant sources of history. The above-mentioned difference between our canonical

books of prophecy and the books now under discussion is very closely connected with the historical development of the theocracy, which showed itself in general in this, that the action of the older prophets was specially directed to the present, and to *visà voce* speaking, while that of those of a later time was more turned towards the future, and the consummation of the kingdom of God by the Messiah (cf. Küper, *das Prophetenthum des A. Bundes*, 1870, S. 93 ff.). This signification of the word דְּבַר is, in the present case, placed beyond all doubt by the fact that the writings of other prophets which are mentioned along with these are called נְבוּאָה, חֲזוֹן, and חֻזָּן,—words which never denote historical writings, but always only prophecies and visions of the prophets. In accordance with this, the חֲזוֹן of Isaiah (12) is clearly distinguished from the writing of the same prophet concerning Uzziah, for which פְּתָר is used; while in the reign of Manasseh, the speeches of Hozai are named along with the events, i.e. the history of the kings of Israel (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19), and a more exact account of what was related about Manasseh in each of these two books is given. From this we learn that the historical book of Kings contained the words which prophets had spoken against Manasseh; while in the writing of the prophet Hozai, of whom we know nothing further, information as to the places where his idolatry was practised, and the images which were the objects of it, was to be found. After all these facts, which speak decidedly against the identification of the prophetic writings cited in the book of Kings with that book itself, the enigmatic לְהַחֲיוֹשׁ, after the formula of quotation, “They are written in the words (speeches) of the prophet Shemaiah and of the seer Iddo” (2 Chron. xii. 15), can naturally not be looked upon as a proof that here prophetic writings are denominated parts of a larger historical work. 3. Nor can we consider it, with Bertheau, decisive, “that for the whole history of David (הִיסְטוֹרְיַת דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה), Solomon, Rehoboam, and Jehoshaphat, prophetic writings are referred to; while for the whole history of Asa, Amaziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Josiah, the references are to the book of the kings of Israel and Judah.” From this fact no further conclusion can be drawn than that, in reference to the reigns of some kings the prophetic writings, and in reference to those of others the history of the kingdom, contained all that was important, and that the history of the kingdom contained also information as to the work of the prophets in

the kingdom, while the prophetic writings contained likewise information as to the undertakings of the kings. The latter might contain more detailed accounts in reference to some kings, the former in reference to others; and this very circumstance, or some other reason which cannot now be ascertained by us, may have caused the writer of the Chronicle to refer to the former in reference to one king, and to the latter in reference to another.

Finally, 4. Bähr remarks, S. viii. f.: "Quite a number of sections of our books (of Kings) are found in the Chronicle, where the words are identical, and yet the reference there is to the writings of single definite persons, and not to the three original documents from which the Kings is compiled. Thus, in the first place, in the history of Solomon, in which the sections 2 Chron. vi. 1-40 and 1 Kings viii. 12-50, 2 Chron. vii. 7-22 and 1 Kings viii. 64-ix. 9, 2 Chron. viii. 2-x. 17 and 1 Kings ix. 17-xxiii. 26, 2 Chron. ix. 1-28 and 1 Kings x. 1-28, etc., are identical, the Chronicle refers not to the book of the history of Solomon (as 1 Kings xi. 41), but to the יְבִרִי of the prophet Nathan, etc. (2 Chron. ix. 29); consequently the book of the history of Solomon must either have been compiled from those three prophetic writings, or at least have contained considerable portions of them. The case is identical with the second of the original documents, the book of the history of the kings of Judah (1 Kings xiv. 29 and elsewhere). The narrative as to Rehoboam is identical in 2 Chron. x. 1-19 and 1 Kings xii. 1-19, as also in 2 Chron. xi. 1-4 and 1 Kings xii. 20-24; further, in 2 Chron. xii. 13 f. as compared with 1 Kings xiv. 21 f.; but the history of the kings of Judah is not mentioned as an authority, as is the case in 1 Kings xiv. 29, but the יְבִרִי of the prophet Shemaiah and the seer Iddo (2 Chron. xii. 15). In the history of King Abijah we are referred, in the very short account, 1 Kings xv. 1-8, for further information to the book of the history of the kings of Judah; while the Chronicle, on the contrary, which gives further information, quotes from the מִרְיָשׁ of the prophet Iddo (2 Chron. xiii. 22). The case is similar in the history of the kings Uzziah and Manasseh: our author refers in reference to both to the book of the kings of Judah (2 Kings xv. 6, xx. 17); the chronicler quotes, for the first the בְּתָב of the prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz (2 Chron. xxvi. 22), for the latter יְבִרִי חֲזַי (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19). By all these quotations it is satisfactorily shown that the book of the kings of Judah is compiled from the historical writ-

ings of various prophets or seers." But this conclusion is neither valid nor necessary. It is not valid, for this reason, that the Chronicle, besides the narratives concerning the reigns of Rehoboam, Abijah, Uzziah, and Manasseh, which it has in common with the books of Kings, and which are in some cases identical, contains a whole series of narratives peculiar to itself, which perhaps were not contained at all in the larger historical work on the kings of Judah, or at least were not there so complete as in the special prophetic writings cited by the chronicler. As to Solomon also, the Chronicle has something peculiar to itself which is not found in the book of Kings. Nor is the conclusion necessary; for from a number of identical passages in our canonical books of Kings and Chronicles, the only certain conclusion which can be drawn is, that these narratives were contained in the authorities quoted by both writers, but not that the variously named authorities form one and the same work.

By all this we are justified in maintaining the view, that the writings quoted by the author of the Chronicle under the titles, Words, Prophecy, Visions of this and that prophet, with the exception of the two whose incorporation with the book of Kings is specially mentioned, lay before him as writings separate and distinct from the "Books of the Kings of Israel and Judah," that these writings were also in the hands of many of his contemporaries, and that he could refer his readers to them. On this supposition, we can comprehend the change in the titles of the works quoted; while on the contrary supposition, that the special prophetic writings quoted were parts of the larger history of the kings of Israel and Judah, it remains inexplicable. But the references of the chronicler are not to be understood as if all he relates, for example, of the reign of David was contained in the words of the seer Samuel, of the prophet Nathan, and of the seer Gad, the writings he quotes for that reign. He may, as Berth. S. xxxviii. has already remarked, "have made use also of authorities which he did not feel called upon to name,"—as, for example, the lists of David's heroes, 1 Chron. xi. 10–47, and of those who gave in their adherence to David before the death of Saul, and who anointed him king in Hebron, chap. xii. Such also are the catalogues of the leaders of the host, of the princes of the tribes, and the stewards of the royal domains, chap. xxvii.; of the fathers' houses of the Levites, and the divisions of the priests, Levites, and singers, etc., chap. xxiii.–xxvi. These lists contain records to whose sources

he did not need to refer, even if he had extracted them from the public annals of the kingdom during the reign of David, because he has embodied them in their integrity in his book.

But our canonical books of Samuel and Kings are by no means to be reckoned among the sources possibly used besides the writings which are quoted. It cannot well be denied that the author of the Chronicle knew these books; but that he has used them as authorities, as de Wette, Movers, Ewald, and others think, we must, with Bertheau and Dillmann, deny. The single plausible ground which is usually brought forward to prove the use of these writings, is the circumstance that the Chronicle contains many narratives corresponding to those found in the books of Samuel and Kings, and often verbally identical with them. But that is fully accounted for by the fact that the chronicler used the same more detailed writings as the authors of the books of Samuel and Kings, and has extracted the narratives in question, partly with verbal accuracy, partly with some small alterations, from them. Against the supposition that the above-named canonical books were used by the chronicler, we may adduce the facts that the chronicle, even in those corresponding passages, differs in many ways as to names and events from the account in those books, and that it contains, on an average, more than they do, as will be readily seen on an exact comparison of the parallel sections. Other and much weaker grounds for believing that the books of Samuel and Kings were used by the chronicler, are refuted in my *Handbook of Introduction*, § 141, 2; and in it, at § 139, is to be found a synoptical arrangement of the parallel sections.

#### § 4. THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE CHRONICLES.

The historic truth or credibility of the books of the Chronicle, which de Wette, in the *Beitrr. zur Einleit.* 1806, violently attacked, in order to get rid of the evidence of the Chronicle for the Mosaic origin of the Sinaitic legislation, is now again in the main generally recognised.<sup>1</sup> The care with which the chronicler

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bertheau, *Com.* S. xliii, and Dillmann, *loc cit.* The decision of the latter is as follows, S. 693: "This work has a great part of its narratives and information in common with the older canonical historical books, and very often corresponds verbally, or almost verbally, with them; but another and equally important part is peculiar to itself. This relationship was, formerly,



has used his authorities may be seen, on a comparison of the narratives common to the Chronicle with the books of Samuel and Kings, not only from the fact that in these parallel sections the story of the chronicler agrees in all essential points with the accounts of these books, but also from the variations which are to be met with. For these variations, in respect to their matter, give us in many ways more accurate and fuller information, and in every other respect are of a purely formal kind, in great part affecting only the language and style of expression, or arising from the hortatory-didactic aim of the narrative. But this hortatory aim has nowhere had a prejudicial effect on the objective truth of the statement of historical facts, as appears on every hand on deeper and more attentive observation, but has only imparted to the history a more subjective impress, as compared with the objective style of the books of Kings.

Now, since the parallel places are of such a character, we are, as Bertheau and Dillmann frankly acknowledge, justified in believing that the author of the Chronicle, in the communication of narratives not elsewhere to be found in the Old Testament, has followed his authorities very closely, and that not only the many registers which we find in his work—the lists in 1 Chron. xii., xxiii.–xxvi., xxvii.; the catalogue of cities fortified by Rehoboam, 2 Chron. xi. 6–12; the family intelligence, chap. xi. 18–23, xxi. 2, and such matters—have been communicated in exact accordance with his authorities, but also the accounts of the wars

in the time of the specially negative criticism, explained by the supposition that the chronicler had derived the information which he has in common with these books from them, and that every difference and peculiarity arose from misunderstanding, misinterpretation, a desire to ornament, intentional misrepresentation, and pure invention (so especially de Wette in his *Beitr.*, and Gramberg, *die Chronik nach ihrem geschichtl. Karakter*, 1823). The historic credibility of the Chronicle has, however, been long ago delivered from such measureless suspicions, and recognised (principally by the efforts of Keil, *apologet. Versuch*, 1833; Movers, *die bibl. Chronik*, 1834; Haevernick, in the *Einführung*, 1839; and Ewald, in the *Geschichte Israels*). It is now again acknowledged that the chronicler has written everywhere from authorities, and that intentional fabrications or misrepresentations of the history can no more be spoken of in connection with him." Only K. H. Graf has remained so far behind the present stage of Old Testament inquiry as to seek to revive the views of de Wette and Gramberg as to the Chronicle and the Pentateuch. For further information as to the attacks of de Wette and Gramberg, and their refutation, see my *apologet. Versuche über die BB. der Chronik*, 1833, and in the *Handbook of Introduction*, § 143 and 144.

of Rehoboam, Abijah, Jehoshaphat (chap. xx.), Amaziah, etc. Only here and there, Bertheau thinks, has he used the opportunity offered to him to treat the history in a freer way, so as to represent the course of the more weighty events, and such as specially attracted his attention, according to his own view. This appears especially, he says, (1) in the account of the speeches of David, 1 Chron. xiii. 2 f., xv. 12 f., xxviii. 2-10, 20 f., xxix. 1-5 and 10-19, where, too, there occur statements of the value of the precious metals destined for the building of the temple (1 Chron. xxix. 4, 7), which clearly do not rest upon truthful historical recollection, and can by no means have been derived from a trustworthy source; as also in the reports of those of Abijah (2 Chron. xiii. 5-10) and of Asa (chap. xiv. 10, etc.); then (2) in the description of the religious ceremonies and feasts (1 Chron. xv. and xvi.; 2 Chron. v. 1-vii. 10, chap. xxix.-xxxi., chap. xxxv.): for in both speeches and descriptions expressions and phrases constantly recur which may be called current expressions with the chronicler. Yet these speeches stand quite on a level with those of Solomon, 2 Chron. i. 8-10, chap. vi. 4-11, 12-42, which are also to be found in the books of Kings (1. iii. 6-9, chap. viii. 14-53), from which it is to be inferred that the author here has not acted quite independently, but that in this respect also older histories may have served him as a model. But even in these descriptions information is not lacking which must rest upon a more accurate historical recollection, *e.g.* the names in 1 Chron. xv. 5-11, 17-24; the statement as to the small number of priests, and the help given to them by the Levites, in 2 Chron. xxix. 14 f., xxx. 17. Yet we must, beyond doubt, believe that the author of the Chronicle "has in these descriptions transferred that which had become established custom in his own time, and which according to general tradition rested upon ancient ordinance, without hesitation, to an earlier period." Of these two objections so much is certainly correct, that in the speeches of the persons acting in the history, and in the descriptions of the religious feasts, the freer handling of the authorities appears most strongly; but no alterations of the historical circumstances, nor additions in which the circumstances of the older time have been unhistorically represented according to the ideas or the taste of the post-exilic age, can, even here, be anywhere pointed out. With regard, first of all, to the speeches in the Chronicle, they are certainly not given according to the sketches or written reports of the hearers,

but sketched and composed by the historian according to a truthful tradition of the fundamental thoughts. For although, in all the speeches of the Chronicle, certain current and characteristic expressions and phrases of the author of this book plainly occur, yet it is just as little doubtful that the speeches of the various persons are essentially different from one another in their thoughts, and characteristic images and words. By this fact it is placed beyond doubt that they have not been put into the mouths of the historical persons either by the chronicler or by the authors of the original documents upon which he relies, but have been composed according to the reports or written records of the ear-witnesses. For if we leave out of consideration the short sayings or words of the various persons, such as 1 Chron. xi. 1 f., xii. 12 f., xv. 12 f., etc., which contain nothing characteristic, there are in the Chronicle only three longer speeches of King David (1 Chron. xxii. 7-16, xxviii. 2-10, 12-22, and xxix. 1-5), all of which have reference to the transfer of the kingdom to his son Solomon, and in great part treat, on the basis of the divine promise (2 Sam. vii. and 1 Chron. xvii.), of the building of the temple, and the preparations for this work. In these speeches the peculiarities of the chronicler come so strongly into view, in contents and form, in thought and language, that we must believe them to be free representations of the thoughts which in those days moved the soul of the grey-haired king. But if we compare with these David's prayer (1 Chron. xxix. 10-19), we find in it not only that multiplication of the predicates of God which is so characteristic of David (cf. Ps. xviii.), but also, in vers. 11 and 15, definite echoes of the Davidic psalms. The speech of Abijah, again, against the apostate Israel (2 Chron. xiii. 4-12), moves, on the whole, within the circle of thought usual with the chronicler, but contains in ver. 7 expressions such as *אֲנָשִׁים רַקִּים* and *בְּנֵי בָלְעָל*, which are quite foreign to the language of the Chronicle, and belong to the times of David and Solomon, and consequently point to sources contemporaneous with the events. The same thing is true of Hezekiah's speech (2 Chron. xxxii. 7, 8), in which the expression *זְרֹעַ בָּשָׂר*, "the arm of flesh," recalls the intimacy of this king with the prophet Isaiah (cf. Isa. xxxi. 3). The sayings and speeches of the prophets, on the contrary, are related much more in their original form. Take, for instance, the remarkable speech of Azariah ben Oded to King Asa (2 Chron. xv. 1-7), which, on account of its obscurity, has been

very variously explained, and which, as is well known, is the foundation of the announcement made by Christ of the destruction of Jerusalem and the last judgment (Matt. xxiv. 6, 7; Luke xxi. 19). As C. P. Caspari (*der syrisch-ephraimit. Krieg.*, Christiania 1849, S. 54) has already remarked, it is so peculiar, and bears so little of the impress of the Chronicle, that it is impossible that it can have been produced by the chronicler himself: it must have been taken over by him from his authorities almost without alteration. From this one speech, whose contents he could hardly have reproduced accurately in his own words, and which he has consequently left almost unaltered, we can see clearly enough that the chronicler has taken over the speeches he communicates with fidelity, so far as their contents are concerned, and has only clothed them formally, more or less, in his own language. This treatment of the speeches in the Chronicle is, however, not a thing peculiar and confined to the author of this book, but is, as Delitzsch has shown (*Isaiah*, p. 17 ff. tr.), common to all the biblical historians; for even in the prophecies in the books of Samuel and Kings distinct traces are observable throughout of the influence of the narrator, and they bear more or less visibly upon them the impress of the writer who reproduces them, without their historical kernel being thereby affected.

Now the historical truth of the events is just as little interfered with by the circumstance that the author of the Chronicle works out rhetorically the descriptions of the celebration of the holy feasts, represents in detail the offering of the sacrifices, and has spoken in almost all of these descriptions of the musical performances of the Levites and priests. The conclusion which has been drawn from this, that he has here without hesitation transferred to an earlier time that which had become established custom in his own time, would only then be correct if the restoration of the sacrificial worship according to the ordinance of Leviticus, or the introduction of instrumental music and the singing of psalms, dated only from the time of the exile, as de Wette, Gramberg, and others have maintained. If, on the contrary, these arrangements and regulations be of Mosaic, and in a secondary sense of Davidic origin, then the chronicler has not transferred the customs and usages of his own time to the times of David, Asa, Hezekiah, and others, but has related what actually occurred under these circumstances, only giving to the description an individual colouring. Take, for example, the

hymn (1 Chron. xvi. 8-36) which David caused to be sung by Asaph and his brethren in praise of the Lord, after the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem into the tabernacle prepared for it (1 Chron. xvi. 7). If it was not composed by David for this ceremony, but has been substituted by the chronicler, in his endeavour to represent the matter in a vivid way, from among the psalms sung in his own time on such solemn occasions, for the psalm which was then sung, but which was not communicated by his authority, nothing would be altered in the historical fact that then for the first time, by Asaph and his brethren, God was praised in psalms ; for the psalm given adequately expresses the sentiments and feelings which animated the king and the assembled congregation at that solemn festival. To give another example : the historical details of the last assembly of princes which David held (1 Chron. xxviii.) are not altered if David did not go over with his son Solomon, one by one, all the matters regarding the temple enumerated in 1 Chron. xxviii. 11-19.

There now remains, therefore, only some records of numbers in the Chronicle which are decidedly too large to be considered either accurate or credible. Such are the sums of gold mentioned in 1 Chron. xxii. 14 and xxix. 4, 7, which David had collected for the building of the temple, and which the princes of the tribes expended for this purpose ; the statements as to the greatness of the armies of Abijah and Jeroboam, of the number of the Israelites who fell in battle (2 Chron. xiii. 3, 17), of the number of King Asa's army and that of the Cushites (2 Chron. xiv 7 f.), of the military force of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xvii. 14-18), and of the women and children who were led away captive under Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 8). But these numbers cannot shake the historical credibility of the Chronicle in general, because they are too isolated, and differ too greatly from statements of the Chronicle in other places which are in accordance with fact. To estimate provisionally and in general these surprising statements, the more exact discussion of which belongs to the Commentary, we must consider, (1) that they all contain round numbers, in which thousands only are taken into account, and are consequently not founded upon any exact enumeration, but only upon an approximate estimate of contemporaries, and attest nothing more than that the greatness of the armies, and the multitude of those who had fallen in battle or were taken prisoner, was estimated at so high a number ; (2) that the actual

amount of the mass of gold and silver which had been collected by David for the building of the temple cannot with certainty be reckoned, because we are ignorant of the weight of the shekel of that time; and (3) that the correctness of the numbers given is very doubtful, since it is indubitably shown, by a great number of passages of the Old Testament, that the Hebrews have from the earliest times expressed their numbers not by words, but by letters, and consequently omissions might very easily occur, or errors arise, in copying or writing out in words the sums originally written in letters. Such textual errors are so manifest in not a few places, that their existence cannot be doubted; and that not merely in the books of the Chronicle, but in all the historical books of the Old Testament. The Philistines, according to 1 Sam. xiii. 5, for example, brought 30,000 chariots and 6000 horsemen into the field; and according to 1 Sam. vi. 19, God smote of the people at Beth-shemesh 50,070 men. With respect to these statements, all commentators are now agreed that the numbers 30,000 and 50,000 are incorrect, and have come into the text by errors of the copyists; and that instead of 30,000 chariots there were originally only 1000, or at most 3000, spoken of, and that the 50,000 in the second passage is an ancient gloss. There is, moreover, at present no doubt among investigators of Scripture, that in 1 Kings v. 6 (in English version, iv. 26) the number 40,000 (stalls) is incorrect, and that instead of it, according to 2 Chron. ix. 25, 4000 should be read; and further, that the statement of the age of King Ahaziah at 42 years (2 Chron. xxii. 22), instead of 22 years (2 Kings viii. 26), has arisen by an interchange of the numeral signs ב and ג. A similar case is to be found in Ezra ii. 69, compared with Neh. vii. 70-72, where, according to Ezra, the chiefs of the people gave 61,000 darics for the restoration of the temple, and according to Nehemiah only 41,000 (viz. 1000 + 20,000 + 20,000). In both of these chapters a multitude of differences is to be found in reference to the number of the exiled families who returned from Babylon, which can only be explained on the supposition of the numeral letters having been confounded. But almost all these different statements of numbers are to be found in the oldest translation of the Old Testament, that of the LXX., from which it appears that they had made their way into the MSS. before the settlement of the Hebrew text by the Masoretes, and that consequently the use of letters as numeral signs was customary in the

pre-Masoretic times. This use of the letters is attested and presupposed as generally known by both Hieronymus and the rabbins, and is confirmed by the Maçcabean coins. That it is a primeval custom, and reaches back into the times of the composition of the biblical books, is clear from this fact, that the employment of the alphabet as numeral signs among the Greeks coincides with the Hebrew alphabet. This presupposes that the Greeks received, along with the alphabet, at the same time the use of the letters as numeral signs from the Semites (Phœnicians or Hebrews). The custom of writing the numbers in words, which prevails in the Masoretic text of the Bible, was probably first introduced by the Masoretes in settling the rules for the writing of the sacred books of the canon, or at least then became law.

After all these facts, we may conclude the Introduction to the books of the Chronicle, feeling assured of our result, that the books, in regard to their historical contents, notwithstanding the hortatory-didactic aim of the author in bringing the history before us, have been composed with care and fidelity according to the authorities, and are fully deserving of belief.

As to the exegetical literature, see my *Handbook of Introduction*, § 138.





## EXPOSITION.

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### THE FIRST BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES.

#### I. GENEALOGIES, WITH HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES.—CHAP. I.—IX.

**I**N order to show the connection of the tribal ancestors of Israel with the peoples of the earth, in chap. i. are enumerated the generations of the primeval world, from Adam till the Flood, and those of the post-diluvians to Abraham and his sons, according to the accounts in Genesis; in chap. ii.—viii., the twelve tribal ancestors of the people of Israel, and the most important families of the twelve tribes, are set down; and finally, in chap. ix., we have a list of the former inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the genealogical table of King Saul. The enumeration of the tribes and families of Israel forms, accordingly, the chief part of the contents of this first part of the Chronicle, to which the review of the families and tribes of the primeval time and the early days of Israel form the introduction, and the information as to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the family of King Saul the conclusion and the transition, to the following historical narrative. Now, if we glance at the order in which the genealogies of the tribes of Israel are ranged,—viz. (a) those of the families of Judah and of the house of David, chap. ii. 1–iv. 23; (b) those of the tribe of Simeon, with an account of their dwelling-place, chap. iv. 24–43; (c) those of the trans-Jordanic tribes, Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, chap. v. 1–26; (d) of the tribe of Levi, or the priests and Levites, chap. v. 27–vi. 66; (e) of the remaining tribes, viz. Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, cis-Jordanic Manasseh, Ephraim, and Asher, chap. vii.; and of some still remaining families of Benjamin, with the family of Saul, chap. viii.,—it is at once seen that this arrangement is

the result of regarding the tribes from two points of view, which are closely connected with each other. On the one hand, regard is had to the historical position which the tribes took up, according to the order of birth of their tribal ancestors, and which they obtained by divine promise and guidance; on the other hand, the geographical position of their inheritance has been also taken into account. That regard to the historical position and importance of the tribes was mainly determinative, is plain from the introductory remarks to the genealogies of the tribe of Reuben, chap. v. 1, 2, to the effect that Reuben was the first-born of Israel, but that, because of his offence against his father's bed, his birthright was given to the sons of Joseph, although they are not specified as possessors of it in the family registers; while it is narrated that Judah, on the contrary, came to power among his brethren, and that out of Judah had come forth the prince over Israel. Judah is therefore placed at the head of the tribes, as that one out of which God chose the king over His people; and Simeon comes next in order, because they had received their inheritance within the tribal domain of Judah. Then follows Reuben as the first-born, and after him are placed Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh, because they had received their inheritance along with Reuben on the other side of the Jordan. After Reuben, according to age, only Levi could follow, and then after Levi come in order the other tribes. The arrangement of them, however — Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher, and again Benjamin—is determined from neither the historical nor by the geographical point of view, but probably lay ready to the hand of the chronicler in the document used by him, as we are justified in concluding from the character of all these geographical and topographical lists.

For if we consider the character of these lists somewhat more carefully, we find that they are throughout imperfect in their contents, and fragmentary in their plan and execution. The imperfection in the contents shows itself in this, that no genealogies of the tribes of Dan and Zebulun are given at all, only the sons of Naphtali being mentioned (vii. 13); of the half tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan we have only the names of some heads of fathers'-houses<sup>1</sup> (v. 24); and even in the relatively

<sup>1</sup> It may perhaps be useful to notice *here* our author's use of the words *Geschlecht*, *Vaterhaus*, and *Familie*, and the rendering of them in English. As he states in a subsequent page, the *Geschlechter* are the larger divisions of

copious lists of the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin, only the genealogies of single prominent families of these tribes are enumerated. In Judah, little more is given than the families descended from Pharez, chap. ii. 5-iv. 20, and a few notices of the family of Shelah; of Levi, none are noticed but the succession of generations in the high-priestly line of Aaron, some descendants of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, and the three Levites, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, set over the service of song; while of Benjamin we have only the genealogies of three families, and of the family of Saul, which dwelt at Gibeon. But the incompleteness of these registers comes still more prominently into view when we turn our attention to the extent of the genealogical lists, and see that only in the cases of the royal house of David and the high-priestly line of Eleazar do the genealogies reach to the Babylonian exile, and a few generations beyond that point; while all the others contain the succession of generations for only short periods. Then, again, in regard to their plan and execution, these genealogies are not only unsymmetrical in the highest degree, but they are in many cases fragmentary. In the tribe of Judah, besides the descendants of David, chap. iii., two quite independent genealogies of the families of Judah are given, in chap. ii. and iv. 1-23. The same is the case with the two genealogies of the Levites, the lists in chap. vi. differing from those in chap. v. 27-41 surprisingly, in vi. 1, 28, 47, 56, Levi's eldest son being called Gershom, while in chap. v. 27 and 1 Chron. xxiii. 61, and in the Pentateuch, he is called Gershon. Besides this, there is in chap. vi. 35-38 a fragment containing the names of some of Aaron's descendants, who had been already completely enumerated till the Babylonian exile in chap. v. 29-41. In the genealogies of Benjamin, too, the family of Saul is twice entered, viz. in chap. viii. 29-40 and in chap. ix. 35-44. The genealogies of the remaining tribes are throughout defective in the highest degree. Some consist merely of an enumeration of a number of heads of houses or families, with mention of their

the tribes tracing their descent from the *sons* of the twelve patriarchs; the *Väterhäuser* are the subdivisions descended from their grandsons or great-grandsons; while the *Familien* are the component parts of the *Väterhäuser*. The author's use of these words is somewhat vacillating; but *Geschlecht*, in this connection, has always been rendered by "family," *Väterhaus* by "father's-house," *Familie* by "household," and *Familiengruppen* by "groups of related households."—TR.

dwelling-place: as, for instance, the genealogies of Simeon, chap. iv. 24-43; of Reuben, Gad, half Manasseh, chap. v. 1-24; and Ephraim, chap. vii. 28, 29. Others give only the number of men capable of bearing arms belonging to the individual fathers' houses, as those of Issachar, Benjamin, and Asher, chap. vii. 2-5, 7-11, 40; and finally, of the longer genealogical lists of Judah and Benjamin, those in chap. iv. 1-20 and in chap. viii. consist only of fragments, loosely ranged one after the other, giving us the names of a few of the posterity of individual men, whose genealogical connection with the larger divisions of these tribes is not stated.

By all this, it is satisfactorily proved that all these registers and lists have not been derived from one larger genealogical historical work, but have been drawn together from various old genealogical lists which single races and families had saved and carried with them into exile, and preserved until their return into the land of their fathers; and that the author of the Chronicle has received into his work all of these that he could obtain, whether complete or imperfect, just as he found them. Nowhere is any trace of artificial arrangement or an amalgamation of the various lists to be found.

Now, when we recollect that the Chronicle was composed in the time of Ezra, and that up to that time, of the whole people, for the most part only households and families of the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin had returned to Canaan, we will not find it wonderful that the Chronicle contains somewhat more copious registers of these three tribes, and gives us only fragments bearing on the circumstances of præ-exilic times in the case of the remaining tribes.

#### CHAP. I.—THE FAMILIES OF PRIMEVAL TIME, AND OF THE ANTIQUITY OF ISRAEL.

Vers. 1-4. *The patriarchs from Adam to Noah and his sons.*

—The names of the ten patriarchs of the primeval world, from the Creation to the Flood, and the three sons of Noah, are given according to Gen. v., and grouped together without any link of connection whatever: it is assumed as known from Genesis, that the first ten names denote generations succeeding one another, and that the last three, on the contrary, are the names of brethren.

Vers. 5-23. *The peoples and races descended from the sons of Noah.*—These are enumerated according to the table in Gen. x.; but our author has omitted not only the introductory and concluding remarks (Gen. x. 1, 21, 32), but also the historical notices of the founding of a kingdom in Babel by Nimrod, and the distribution of the Japhetites and Shemites in their dwelling-places (Gen. x. 5, 9-12, 18b-20, and 30 and 31). The remaining divergences are partly orthographic,—such as תבבל, ver. 5, for חבבל, Gen. x. 2, and רעמא, ver. 9, for רעמה, Gen. x. 7; and partly arising from errors of transcription,—as, for example, ריפח, ver. 6, for רפח, Gen. x. 3, and conversely, רודנים, ver. 7, for רודנים, Gen. x. 4, where it cannot with certainty be determined which form is the original and correct one; and finally, are partly due to a different pronunciation or form of the same name,—as תרשישה, ver. 7, for תרשיש, Gen. x. 4, the ā of motion having been gradually fused into one word with the name, לודים, ver. 11, for לודים, Gen. x. 13, just as in Amos ix. 7 we have פגשים for פגשים; in ver. 22, עובל for עובל, Gen. x. 28, where the LXX. have also *Εὐβλ*, and משש, ver. 17, for משש, Gen. x. 23, which last has not yet been satisfactorily explained, since משש is used in Ps. cxx. 5 with קרר of an Arabian tribe. Finally, there is wanting in ver. 17 יבני ארם before עין, Gen. x. 23, because, as in the case of Noah's sons, ver. 4, where their relationship is not mentioned, so also in reference to the peoples descended from Shem, the relationship subsisting between the names Uz, Hul, etc., and Aram, is supposed to be already known from Genesis. Other suppositions as to the omission of the words יבני ארם are improbable. That this register of seventy-one persons and tribes, descended from Shem, Ham, and Japhet, has been taken from Gen. x., is placed beyond doubt, by the fact that not only the names of our register exactly correspond with the table in Gen. x., with the exception of the few variations above mentioned, but also the plan and form of both registers is quite the same. In vers. 5-9 the sections of the register are connected, as in Gen. x. 2-7, by יבני; from ver. 10 onwards by ילד, as in Gen. ver. 8; in ver. 17, again, by יבני, as in Gen. ver. 22; and in ver. 18 by ילד, and ver. 19 by ילד, as in Gen. vers. 24 and 25. The historical and geographical explanation of the names has been given in the commentary to Gen. x. According to Bertheau, the peoples descended from the sons of Noah amount to seventy, and fourteen of these are enumerated as descendants of Japhet, thirty of Ham, and twenty-six of Shem.

These numbers he arrives at by omitting Nimrod, or not enumerating him among the sons of Ham; while, on the contrary, he takes Arphaxad, Shelah, Eber, Peleg, and Joktan, all of which are the names of persons, for names of peoples, in contradiction to Genesis, according to which the five names indicate persons, viz. the tribal ancestors of the Terahites and Joktanites, peoples descended from Eber by Peleg and Joktan.

Vers. 24–27. *The patriarchs from Shem to Abraham.*—The names of these, again, are simply ranged in order according to Gen. xi. 10–26, while the record of their ages before the begetting and after the birth of sons is omitted. Of the sons of Terah only Abram is named, without his brothers; with the remark that Abram is Abraham, in order to point out to the reader that he was the progenitor of the chosen people so well known from Genesis (cf. chap. xvii.).

Vers. 28–34. *The sons of Abraham.*—In ver. 28 only Isaac and Ishmael are so called; Isaac first, as the son of the promise. Then, in vers. 29–31, follow the posterity of Ishmael, with the remark that Ishmael was the first-born; in vers. 32 and 33, the sons of Keturah; and finally in ver. 34, the two sons of Isaac. —Ver. 29 ff. The names of the generations (חִלְדֵּי) of Ishmael (Hebr. Yishma'el) correspond to those in Gen. xxv. 12–15, and have been there explained. In ver. 32 f. also, the names of the thirteen descendants of Abraham by Keturah, six sons and seven grandsons, agree with Gen. xxv. 1–4 (see commentary on that passage); only the tribes mentioned in Gen. xxv. 3, which were descended from Dedan the grandson of Keturah, are omitted. From this Bertheau wrongly concludes that the chronicler probably did not find these names in his copy of the Pentateuch. The reason of the omission is rather this, that in Genesis the great-grandchildren are not themselves mentioned, but only the tribes descended from the grandchildren, while the chronicler wished to enumerate only the sons and grandsons. Keturah is called כְּתֻרָה after Gen. xxv. 6, where Keturah and Hagar are so named. —Ver. 34. The two sons of Isaac. Isaac has been already mentioned as a son of Abram, along with Ishmael, in ver. 28. But here the continuation of the genealogy of Abraham is prefaced by the remark that Abraham begat Isaac, just as in Gen. xxv. 19, where the begetting of Isaac the son of Abraham is introduced with the same remark. Hence the supposition that the registers of the posterity of Abraham by Hagar and Keturah

(vers. 28-33) have been derived from Gen. xxv., already in itself so probable, becomes a certainty.

Vers. 35-42. *The posterity of Esau and Seir*.—An extract from Gen. xxxvi. 1-30. Ver. 35. The five sons of Esau are the same who, according to Gen. xxxvi. 4 f., were born to him of his three wives in the land of Canaan. עֲדָי is another form of עֲדָי, Gen. ver. 5 (Kethibh).—Vers. 36, 37. The grandchildren of Esau. In ver. 36 there are first enumerated five sons of his son Eliphaz, as in Gen. xxxvi. 11, for עֲדָי is only another form of עֲדָי (Gen.). Next to these five names are ranged in addition תִּמְנָא וְאַמְלֵק, "Timna and Amalek," while we learn from Gen. xxxvi. 12 that Timna was a concubine of Eliphaz, who bore to him Amalek. The addition of the two names *Timna* and *Amalek* in the Chronicle thus appears to be merely an abbreviation, which the author might well allow himself, as the posterity of Esau were known to his readers from Genesis. The name Timna, too, by its form (a feminine formation), must have guarded against the idea of some modern exegetes that Timna was also a son of Eliphaz. Thus, then, Esau had through Eliphaz six grandchildren, who in Gen. xxxvi. 12 are all set down as sons of Adah, the wife of Esau and the mother of Eliphaz. (*Vide com.* to Gen. xxxvi. 12, where the change of Timna into a son of Eliphaz is rejected as a misinterpretation.)—Ver. 37. To Reuel, the son of Esau by Bashemath, four sons were born, whose names correspond to those in Gen. xxxvi. 13. These ten (6 + 4) grandsons of Esau were, with his three sons by Aholibamah (Jeush, Jaalam, and Korah, ver. 35), the founders of the thirteen tribes of the posterity of Esau. They are called in Gen. xxxvi. 15 אֲבֵי בְנֵי עֲדָי, heads of tribes (φύλαρχοι) of the children of Esau, i.e. of the Edomites, but are all again enumerated, vers. 15-19, singly.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The erroneous statement of Bertheau, therefore, that "according to Genesis the Edomite people was also divided into twelve tribes, five tribes from Eliphaz, four tribes from Reuel, and the three tribes which were referred immediately to Aholibamah the wife of Esau. It is distinctly stated that Amalek was connected with these twelve tribes only very loosely, for he appears as the son of the concubine of Eliphaz,"—must be in so far corrected, that neither the Chronicle nor Genesis knows anything of the twelve tribes of the Edomites. Both books, on the contrary, mention thirteen grandsons of Esau, and these thirteen grandsons are, according to the account of Genesis, the thirteen phylarchs of the Edomite people, who are distributed according to the three wives of Esau; so that the thirteen families may be grouped together in three tribes. Nor is Amalek connected only in a loose way with the other tribes in

—Vers. 38–42. When Esau with his descendants had settled in Mount Seir, they subdued by degrees the aboriginal inhabitants of the land, and became fused with them into one people. For this reason, in Gen. xxxvi. 20–30 the tribal princes of the Seirite inhabitants of the land are noticed; and in our chapter also, ver. 38, the names of these seven **בְּנֵי שְׂעִיר**, and in vers. 39–42 of their sons (eighteen men and one woman, Timna), are enumerated, where only Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, also mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 25, is omitted. The names correspond, except in a few unimportant points, which have been already discussed in the Commentary on Genesis. The inhabitants of Mount Seir consisted, then, after the immigration of Esau and his descendants, of twenty tribes under a like number of phylarchs, thirteen of whom were Edomite, of the family of Esau, and seven Seirite, who are called in the Chronicle **בְּנֵי שְׂעִיר**, and in Genesis **חִי**, Troglodytes, inhabitants of the land, that is, aborigines.

If we glance over the whole posterity of Abraham as they are enumerated in vers. 28–42, we see that it embraces (a) his sons Ishmael and Isaac, and Isaac's sons Israel and Esau (together 4 persons); (b) the sons of Ishmael, or the tribes descended from Ishmael (12 names); (c) the sons and grandsons of Keturah (13 persons or chiefs); (d) the thirteen phylarchs descended from Esau; (e) the seven Seirite phylarchs, and eighteen grandsons and a granddaughter of Seir (26 persons). We have thus in all the names of sixty-eight persons, and to them we must add Keturah, and Timna the concubine of Eliphaz, before we get seventy persons. But these seventy must not by any means be reckoned as seventy tribes, which is the result Bertheau arrives at by means of strange calculations and errors in numbers.<sup>1</sup>

Genesis: he is, on the contrary, not only included in the number of the sons of Adah in ver. 12, probably because Timna stood in the same relationship to Adah the wife of Esau as Hagar held to Sarah, but also is reckoned in ver. 16 among the Allufim of the sons of Eliphaz. Genesis therefore enumerates not five but six tribes from Eliphaz; and the chronicler has not "completely obliterated the twelvefold division," as Bertheau further maintains, but the thirteen sons and grandsons of Esau who became phylarchs are all introduced; and the only thing which is omitted in reference to them is the title **אֲבוֹתֵי עֵשָׂו**, it being unnecessary in a genealogical enumeration of the descendants of Esau.

<sup>1</sup> That the Chronicle gives no countenance to this view appears from Bertheau's calculation of the 70 tribes: from Ishmael, 12; from Keturah, 13; from Isaac, 2; from Esau, 5 sons and 7 grandchildren by Eliphaz (Timna,



Upon this conclusion he founds his hypothesis, that as the three branches of the family of Noah are divided into seventy peoples (which, as we have seen at page 51 f., is not the case), so also the three branches of the family of Abraham are divided into seventy tribes; and in this again he finds a remarkable indication "that even in the time of the chronicler, men sought by means of numbers to bring order and consistency into the lists of names handed down by tradition from the ancient times."

Vers. 43-50. *The kings of Edom* before the introduction of the kingship into Israel.—This is a verbally exact repetition of Gen. xxxvi. 31-39, except that the introductory formula, Gen. ver. 32, "and there reigned in Edom," which is superfluous after the heading, and the addition "ben Achbor" (Gen. ver. 39) in the account of the death of Baal-hanan in ver. 50, are omitted; the latter because even in Genesis, where mention is made of the death of other kings, the name of the father of the deceased king is not repeated. Besides this, the king called Hadad (ver. 46 f.), and the city  $\text{חָדָד}$  (ver. 50), are in Genesis Hadar (ver. 35 f.) and  $\text{חָדָר}$  (ver. 39). The first of these variations has arisen from a transcriber's error, the other from a different pronunciation of the name. A somewhat more important divergence, however, appears, when in Gen. ver. 39 the death of the king last named is not mentioned, because he was still alive in the time of Moses; while in the Chronicle, on the contrary, not only of him also is it added,  $\text{וַיָּמָת הָדָר}$ , because at the time of the writing of the Chronicle he had long been dead, but the list of the names of the territories of the phylarchs, which in Genesis follows the introductory formula  $\text{וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת הַמְּלָכִים}$ , is here connected with the enumeration of the kings by  $\text{וַיְהִי}$ , "Hadad died, and there were chiefs of Edom." This may mean that, in the view of the ver. 36, being included in the number), and 4 grandsons by Reuel—16 in all; from Seir 7 sons, and from these 20 other descendants, 27 in all, which makes the sum of 70. But the biblical text mentions only 19 other descendants of Seir, so that only 26 persons came from Seir, and the sum is therefore  $12 + 13 + 2 + 16 + 26 = 69$ . But we must also object to other points in Bertheau's reckoning: (1) the arbitrary change of Timna into a grandchild of Esau; (2) the arbitrary reckoning of Esau and Israel (= Jacob) without Ishmael. Was Esau, apart from his sons, the originator of a people? Had the author of the Chronicle cherished the purpose attributed to him by Bertheau, of bringing the lists of names handed down by tradition to the round or significant number 70, he would certainly in ver. 33 not have omitted the three peoples descended from Dedan (Gen. xxv. 3), as he might by these names have completed the number 70 without further trouble.

chronicler, the reign of the phylarchs took the place of the kingship after the death of the last king, but that interpretation is by no means necessary. The 1 consec. may also merely express the succession of thought, only connecting logically the mention of the princes with the enumeration of the kings; or it may signify that, besides the kings, there were also tribal princes who could rule the land and people. The contents of the register which follows require that וְיָדִיעַ should be so understood.

Vers. 51–54. *The princes of Edom.*—The names correspond to those in Gen. xxxvi. 40–43, but the heading and the subscription in Genesis are quite different from those in the Chronicle. Here the heading is, “and the Allufim of Edom were,” and the subscription, “these are the Allufim of Edom,” from which it would be the natural conclusion that the eleven names given are proper names of the phylarchs. But the occurrence of two female names, Timna and Aholibamah, as also of names which are unquestionably those of races, *e.g.* Aliah, Pinon, Teman, and Mibzar, is irreconcilable with this interpretation. If we compare the heading and subscription of the register in Genesis, we find that the former speaks of the names “of the Allufim of Edom according to their habitations,”<sup>1</sup> according to their places in their names,” and the latter of “the Allufim of Edom according to their habitations in the land of their possession.” It is there unambiguously declared that the names enumerated are not the names of persons, but the names of the dwelling-places of the Allufim, after whom they were wont to be named. We must therefore translate, “the Alluf of Timna, the Alluf of Aliah,” etc., when of course the female names need not cause any surprise, as places can just as well receive their names from women as their possessors as from men. Nor is there any greater difficulty in this, that only eleven dwelling-places are mentioned, while, on the contrary, the thirteen sons and grandsons of Esau are called Allufim. For in the course of time the number of phylarchs might have decreased, or in the larger districts two phylarchs may have dwelt together. Since the author of the Chronicle has taken this register also from Genesis, as the identity of the names clearly shows he did, he might safely assume that the matter was already known from that book, and so might

<sup>1</sup> So it is given by the author, “nach ihren Wohnsitzen;” but this must be a mistake, for the word is מִשְׁפְּחֹתָם = their families, not מִשְׁכָּנָם, as it is in the subscription.—Tr.

allow himself to abridge the heading without fearing any misunderstanding; seeing, too, that he does not enumerate אֱלִישׁ of Esau, but אֱלִישׁ אֲדָמ, and Edom had become the name of a country and a people.

CHAP. II.—IV. 23.—THE TWELVE SONS OF ISRAEL AND THE  
FAMILIES OF JUDAH.

The list of the twelve sons of Israel (ii. 1, 2) serves as foundation and starting-point for the genealogies of the tribes of Israel which follow, chap. ii. 3–viii. The enumeration of the families of the tribe of Judah commences in ver. 3 with the naming of Judah's sons, and extends to chap. iv. 23. The tribe of Judah has issued from the posterity of only three of the five sons of Judah, viz. from Shelah, Pharez, and Zerah; but it was subdivided into five great families, as Hezron and Hamul, the two sons of Pharez, also founded families. The lists of our three chapters give us: (1) from the family of Zerah only the names of some famous men (ii. 6–8); (2) the descendants of Hezron in the three branches corresponding to the three sons of Hezron, into which they divided themselves (ii. 9), viz. the descendants of Ram to David (ii. 10–17), of Caleb (ii. 18–24), and of Jerahmeel (ii. 25–41). Then there follow in chap. ii. 42–55 four other lists of descendants of Caleb, who peopled a great number of the cities of Judah; and then in chap. iii. we have a list of the sons of David and the line of kings of the house of David, down to the grandsons of Zerubbabel; and finally, in chap. iv. 1–23, other genealogical fragments as to the posterity of Pharez and Shelah. Of Hamul, consequently, no descendants are noticed, unless perhaps some of the groups ranged together in chap. iv. 8–22, whose connection with the heads of the families of Judah is not given, are of his lineage. The lists collected in chap. iv. 1–20 are clearly only supplements to the genealogies of the great families contained in chap. ii. and iii., which the author of the Chronicle found in the same fragmentary state in which they are communicated to us.

Vers. 1, 2. *The twelve sons of Israel*, arranged as follows: first, the six sons of Leah; then Dan, the son of Rachel's handmaid; next, the sons of Rachel; and finally, the remaining sons of the handmaids. That a different place is assigned to Dan, viz. before the sons of Rachel, from that which he holds in the

list in Gen. xxxv. 23 ff., is perhaps to be accounted for by Rachel's wishing the son of her maid Bilhah to be accounted her own (*vide* Gen. xxx. 3-6).

Vers. 3-5. *The sons of Judah and of Pharez*, ver. 3 f.—The five sons of Judah are given according to Gen. xxxviii., as the remark on Er which is quoted from ver. 7 of that chapter shows, while the names of the five sons are to be found also in Gen. xlv. 12. The two sons of Pharez are according to Gen. xlv. 12, cf. Num. xxvi. 21.

Vers. 6-8. *Sons and descendants of Zerah*.—In ver. 6, five names are grouped together as בְּנֵי of Zerah, which are found nowhere else so united. The first, Zimri, may be strictly a son; but זִמְרִי may perhaps be a mistake for זִכְרִי, for Achan, who is in ver. 7 the son of Carmi, is in Josh. vii. 1 called the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah. But זִכְרִי (Josh.) may also be an error for זִמְרִי, or he may have been a son of Zimri, since in genealogical lists an intermediate member of the family is often passed over. Nothing certain can, however, be ascertained; both names are found elsewhere, but of persons belonging to other tribes: Zimri as prince of the Simeonites, Num. xxv. 14; as Benjamite, 1 Chron. viii. 36, ix. 42; and as king of Israel, 1 Kings xvi. 9; Zabdi, 1 Chron. viii. 19 (as Benjamite), and xxvii. 27, Neh. xi. 17. The four succeeding names, Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Dara, are met with again in 1 Kings v. 11, where it is said of Solomon he was wiser than the Ezrahite Ethan, and Heman, and Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Machol, with the unimportant variation of דָּרְדָּע for דָּרַע. On this account, Movers and Bertheau, following Clericus on 1 Kings iv. 31 (v. 11), hold the identity of the wise men mentioned in 1 Kings v. 11 with the sons (descendants) of Zerah to be beyond doubt. But the main reason which Clericus produces in support of this supposition, the *consensus quatuor nominum et quidem unius patris filiorum*, and the difficulty of believing that in *alia familia Hebræa* there should have been *quatuor fratres cognomines quatuor filiis Zerachi Judæ filii*, loses all its force from the fact that the supposition that the four wise men in 1 Kings v. 11 are brothers by blood, is a groundless and erroneous assumption. Since Ethan is called the Ezrahite, while the last two are said to be the sons of Machol, it is clear that the four were not brothers. The mention of them as men famous for their wisdom, does not at all require that we should think the men contem-

porary with each other. Even the enumeration of these four along with Zimri as זִמְרִי בְנֵי יִרְמִי in our verse does not necessarily involve that the five names denote brothers by blood; for it is plain from vers. 7 and 8 that in this genealogy only single famous names of the family of Zerah the son of Judah and Tamar are grouped together. But, on the other hand, the reasons which go to disprove the identity of the persons in our verse with those named in 1 Kings v. 11 are not of very great weight. The difference in the names זִמְרִי and זִמְרָה is obviously the result of an error of transcription, and the form זִמְרָה (1 Kings v. 11) is most probably a patronymic from זִמְרִי, notwithstanding that in Num. xxvi. 20 it appears as זִמְרִי, for even the appellative זִמְרָה, *indigena*, is formed from זִמְרִי. We therefore hold that the persons who bear the same names in our verse and in 1 Kings v. 11 are most probably identical, in spite of the addition of בְנֵי קַחֹל to Calcol and Darda (1 Kings v. 11). For that this addition belongs merely to these two names, and not to Ezrah, appears from Ps. lxxxviii. 1 and lxxxix. 1, which, according to the superscription, were composed by the Ezrahites Heman and Ethan. The authors of these psalms are unquestionably the Heman and Ethan who were famed for their wisdom (1 Kings v. 11), and therefore most probably the same as those spoken of in our verse as sons of Zerah. It is true that the authors of these psalms have been held by many commentators to be Levites, nay, to be the musicians mentioned in 1 Chron. xv. 17 and 19; but sufficient support for this view, which I myself, on 1 Kings v. 11, after the example of Hengstenberg, *Beitr.* ii. S. 61, and on Ps. lxxxviii. defended, cannot be found. The statement of the superscription of Ps. lxxxviii. 1—"a psalm of the sons of Korah"—from which it is inferred that the Ezrahite Heman was of Levitic origin, does not justify such a conclusion.<sup>1</sup> For though the musician Heman the son of Joel was a Korahite of the race of Kohath (1 Chron. vi. 18-23), yet the musician Ethan the son of Kishi, or Kushaiah, was neither Korahite nor Kohathite, but a Merarite (vi. 29 ff.). Moreover, the Levites Heman and Ethan could not be enumerated among the Ezra-

<sup>1</sup> The above quoted statement of the superscription of Ps. lxxxviii. 1 can contain no information as to the author of the psalm, for this reason, that the author is expressly mentioned in the next sentence of the superscription. The psalm can only in so far be called a song of the children of Korah, as it bears the impress peculiar to the Korahite psalms in contents and form.

hites, that is, the descendants of Zerah, a man of Judah. The passages which are quoted in support of the view that the Levites were numbered with the tribes in the midst of whom they dwelt, and that, consequently, there were Judæan and Ephraimite Levites,—as, for example, 1 Sam. i. 1, where the father of the Levite Samuel is called an Ephrathite because he dwelt in Mount Ephraim; and Judg. xvii. 7, where a Levite is numbered with the family of Judah because he dwelt as sojourner (יָגוּר) in Bethlehem, a city of Judah,—certainly prove that the Levites were reckoned, as regards citizenship, according to the tribes or cities in which they dwelt, but certainly do not show that they were incorporated genealogically with those tribes because of their place of residence.<sup>1</sup> The Levites Heman and Ethan, therefore, cannot be brought forward in our verse “as adopted sons of Zerah, who brought more honour to their father than his proper sons” (Hengstb.). This view is completely excluded by the fact that in our verse not only Ethan and Heman, but also Zimri, Calcol, and Dara are called sons of Zerah, yet these latter were not adopted sons, but true descendants of Zerah. Besides, in ver. 8, there is an actual son or descendant of Ethan mentioned, and consequently יֶזְרַח and יֶזְרַח cannot possibly be understood in some cases as implying only an adoptive relationship, and in the others actual descent. But the similarity of the names is not of itself sufficient to justify us in identifying the persons. As the name Zerah again appears in chap. vi. 26 in the genealogy of the Levite Asaph, so also the name Ethan occurs in the same genealogy, plainly showing that more than one Israelite bore this name. The author of the Chronicle, too, has sufficiently guarded against the opinion that Zerah’s sons Ethan and Heman are identical with the Levitical musicians who bear the same names, by tracing back in chap. vi. the family of these musicians to Levi, without calling them Ezrahites.<sup>2</sup> But to hold, with Movers, S. 237, that the recurrences of the same names in various races are contradictions, which are to be explained only on the supposition of genealogical combinations by various authors, will enter into

<sup>1</sup> Not even by intermarrying with heiresses could Levites become members of another tribe; for, according to the law, Num. xxxvi. 5 ff., heiresses could marry only men of their own tribe; and the possibility of a man of Judah marrying an heiress of the tribe of Levi was out of the question, for the Levites possessed no inheritance in land.

<sup>2</sup> The supposition of Ewald and Bertheau, that these two great singers of

the head of no sensible critic. We therefore believe the five persons mentioned in our verse to be actual descendants of the Judæan Zerah; but whether they were sons or grandsons, or still more distant descendants, cannot be determined. It is certainly very probable that Zimri was a son, if he be identical with the Zabdi of Josh. vii. 1; Ethan and Heman may have been later descendants of Zerah, if they were the wise men mentioned in 1 Kings v. 11; but as to Calcol and Dara no further information is to be obtained. From vers. 7 and 8, where of the sons (בָּנָיו) of Zimri and Ethan only one man in each case is named, it is perfectly clear that in our genealogy only individuals, men who have become famous, are grouped together out of the whole posterity of Zerah. The plural בָּנָיו in vers. 7 and 8, etc., even where only one son is mentioned, is used probably only in those cases where, out of a number of sons or descendants, one has gained for himself by some means a memorable name. This is true at least of Achan, ver. 7, who, by laying hands on the accursed spoils of Jericho, had become notorious (Josh. vii.). Because Achan had thus troubled Israel (עָרַב), he is called here at once Achar. As to Carmi, *vide* on iv. 1.—Ver. 9. The only name given here as that of a descendant of Ethan is Azariah, of whom nothing further is known, while the name recurs frequently. Nothing more is said of the remaining sons of Zerah; they are merely set down as famous men of antiquity (Berth.). There follows in

Vers. 9-41. *The family of Hezron*, the first-born son of Pharez, which branches off in three lines, originating with his three sons respectively. The three sons of Hezron are Jerahmeel, and Ram, and Chelubai; but the families springing from them are enumerated in a different order. First (vers. 10-17) we have the family of Ram, because King David is descended from him; then (vers. 18-24) the family of Chelubai or Caleb, from whose lineage came the illustrious Bezaleel; and finally (vers. 25-41), the posterity of the first-born, Jerahmeel.—Ver. 9. אִשָּׁר נִלְדָּה לֵּי, what was born to him. The passive stands impersonally instead of the more definite active, “to whom one bore,” so that the

the tribe of Judah had been admitted into their guild by the Levitic musical schools, and on that account had been received also into their family, and so had been numbered with the tribe of Levi, is thus completely refuted, even were it at all possible that members of other tribes should have been received into the tribe of Levi.

following names are subordinated to it with **אִם**. The third person singular Niph. occurs thus also in iii. 4 and xxvi. 6; the construction of Niph. with **אִם** frequently (Gen. iv. 18, xxi. 5, and elsewhere). Ram is called, in the genealogy in Matt. i. 3, 4, Aram; comp. **רָם**, Job xxxii. 2, with **אָרָם**, Gen. xxii. 21. **פְּלִינִי** is called afterwards **פְּלֵי**; cf. on ver. 18.

Vers. 10–17 *The family of Ram* (vers. 10–12), traced down through six members to Jesse.—This genealogy is also to be found in Ruth iv. 19–21; but only here is Nahshon made more prominent than the others, by the addition, “prince of the sons of Judah.” Nahshon was a prince of Judah at the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (Num. i. 7, ii. 3, vii. 12). Now between him, a contemporary of Moses, and Pharez, who at the immigration of Jacob into Egypt was about fifteen years old, lies a period of 430 years, during which the Israelites remained in Egypt. For that time only three names—Hezron, Ram, and Amminadab—are mentioned, from which it is clear that several links must have been passed over. So also, from Nahshon to David, for a period of over 400 years, four generations—Salma, Boaz, Obed, and Jesse—are too few; and consequently here also the less famous ancestors of David are omitted. **שִׁלְמָה** is called in Ruth iv. 20, 21, **שִׁלְמָה** and **שִׁלְמָה**. In vers. 13–15, seven sons and two daughters of Jesse, with those of their sons who became famous (vers. 16, 17), are enumerated. According to 1 Sam. xvii. 12, Jesse had eight sons. This account, which agrees with that in 1 Sam. xvi. 8–12, may be reconciled with the enumeration in our verse, on the supposition that one of the sons died without posterity. In 1 Sam. xvi. 6 ff. and xvii. 13, the names of the eldest three—Eliab, Abinadab, and Shammah—occur. Besides **שָׁמַר**, we meet with the form **שָׁמַר** (ver. 13); and the name **שָׁמַר** is only another form of **שָׁמַר**, which is found in 2 Sam. xiii. 3 and in 1 Chron. xx. 7, and is repeated in 2 Sam. xiii. 32 and xxi. 21 in the Kethibh (**שָׁמַר**). The names of the other three sons here mentioned (vers. 14 and 15) are met with nowhere else.—Ver. 16 f. The sisters of David have become known through their heroic sons. Zeruah is the mother of the heroes of the Davidic history, Abishai, Joab, and Asahel (cf. 1 Sam. xxvi. 6; 2 Sam. ii. 18, iii. 39, viii. 16, and elsewhere). Their father is nowhere mentioned, “because their more famous mother challenged the greater attention” (Berth.). Abigail was, according to 2 Sam. xvii. 25, the daughter of Nahash, a sister of Zeruah, and so was



only a half-sister of David, and was the mother of Amasa the captain of the host, so well known on account of his share in the conspiracy of Absalom; cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 25, xix. 14, and xx. 10. His father was Jether, or Jithra, the Ishmaelite, who in the Masoretic text of 2 Sam. xvii. 25 is called, through a copyist's error, **הַיִּשְׁמְעֵאֵלִי** instead of **הַיִּשְׁמְעֵאֵלִי**; see comm. on passage.

Vers. 18-24. *The family of Caleb.*—That **כָּלֵב** is merely a shortened form of **כְּלִבִּי**, or a form of that word resulting from the friction of constant use, is so clear from the context, that all exegetes recognise it. We have first (vers. 18-20) a list of the descendants of Caleb by two wives, then descendants which the daughter of the Gileadite Machir bore to his father Hezron (vers. 21-23), and finally the sons whom Hezron's wife bore him after his death (ver. 24). The grouping of these descendants of Hezron with the family of Caleb can only be accounted for by supposing that they had, through circumstances unknown to us, come into a more intimate connection with the family of Caleb than with the families of his brothers Ram and Jerahmeel. In vers. 42-55 follow some other lists of descendants of Caleb, which will be more fully considered when we come to these verses. The first half of the 18th verse is obscure, and the text is probably corrupt. As the words stand at present, we must translate, "Caleb the son of Hezron begat with Azubah, a woman, and with Jerioth, and these are her (the one wife's) sons, Jeshur," etc. **בְּנֵיהָ**, *filii ejus*, suggests that only one wife of Caleb had been before mentioned; and, as appears from the "and Azubah died" of ver. 19, Azubah is certainly meant. The construction **הוֹלִיד אֶת**, "he begat with," is, it is true, unusual, but is analogous to **הוֹלִיד בֶּן**, viii. 9, and is explained by the fact that **הוֹלִיד** may mean to cause to bear, to bring to bearing; cf. Isa. lxvi. 9: therefore properly it is, "he brought Azubah to bearing." The difficulty of the verse lies in the **אִשָּׁה וְאֶת-יִרְעוֹתָהּ**, for, according to the usual phraseology, we would have expected **אִשָּׁתָהּ** instead of **אִשָּׁה**. But **אִשָּׁה** may be, under the circumstances, to some extent justified by the supposition that Azubah is called indefinitely "woman," because Caleb had several wives. **וְאֶת-יִרְעוֹתָהּ** gives no suitable meaning. The explanation of Kimchi, "with Azubah a woman, and with Jerioth," cannot be accepted, for only the sons of Azubah are hereafter mentioned; and the idea that the children of the other wives are not enumerated here because the list used by the chronicler

was defective, is untenable: for after two wives had been named in the enumeration of the children of one of them, the mother must necessarily have been mentioned; and so, instead of בְּנֵי עֲזֻבָּה, we should have had בְּנֵי עֲזֻבָּה וְאִתָּהּ. Hiller and J. H. Michaelis take וְאִתָּהּ as explicative, "with Azubah a woman, viz. with Jerioth;" but this is manifestly only the product of exegetical embarrassment. The text is plainly at fault, and the easiest conjecture is to read, with the Peschito and the Vulgate, אִתָּהּ אִשְׁתּוֹ אֶת, "he begat with Azubah his wife, Jerioth (a daughter); and these are her sons." In that case אִשְׁתּוֹ would be added to עֲזֻבָּה, to guard against עֲזֻבָּה being taken for acc. obj. The names of the sons of Azubah, or of her daughter Jerioth, do not occur elsewhere.—Ver. 19. When Azubah died, Caleb took Ephrath to wife, who bore him Hur. For אֶפְרַתָּה we find in ver. 50 the lengthened feminine form אֶפְרַתָּה; cf. also iv. 4. From Hur descended, by Uri, the famous Bezaleel, the skilful architect of the tabernacle (Ex. xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30).—Vers. 21–24. The descendants of Hezron numbered with the stock of Caleb: (a) those begotten by Hezron with the daughter of Machir, vers. 21–23; (b) those born to Hezron after his death, ver. 24.—Ver. 21. Afterwards (אַחֲרָיִם), i.e. after the birth of the sons mentioned in ver. 9, whose mother is not mentioned, when he was sixty years old, Hezron took to wife the daughter of Machir the father of Gilead, who bore him Segub. Machir was the first-born of Manasseh (Gen. i. 23; Num. xxvi. 29). But Machir is not called in vers. 21 and 23 the father of Gilead because he was the originator of the Israelite population of Gilead, but אָב has here its proper signification. Machir begot a son of the name of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 29); and it is clear from the genealogy of the daughters of Zelophehad, communicated in Num. xxvii. 1, that this expression is to be understood in its literal sense. Machir is distinguished from other men of the same name (cf. 2 Sam. ix. 4, xvii. 27) by the addition, father of Gilead. Segub the son of Hezron and the daughter of Machir begat Jair. This Jair, belonging on his mother's side to the tribe of Manasseh, is set down in Num. xxxii. 40 f., Deut. iii. 14, as a descendant of Manasseh. After Moses' victory over Og king of Bashan, Jair's family conquered the district of Argob in Bashan, i.e. in the plain of Jaulan and Hauran; and to the conquered cities, when they were bestowed upon him for a possession by Moses, the name Havvoth-Jair, i.e. Jair's-life, was given. Cf. Num. xxxii. 41

and Deut. iii. 14, where this name is explained. These are the twenty-three cities in the land of Gilead, *i.e.* Peräa.—Ver. 23. These cities named Jair's-life were taken away from the Jairites by Geshur and Aram, *i.e.* by the Arameans of Geshur and of other places. Geshur denotes the inhabitants of a district of Aram, or Syria, on the north-western frontier of Bashan, in the neighbourhood of Hermon, on the east side of the upper Jordan, which had still its own kings in the time of David (2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37, xiv. 23, xv. 8), but which had been assigned to the Manassites by Moses; cf. Josh. xiii. 13. The following 'אֶת־קִנְת וְנֹתָן : "Jair's-life, Kenath and her daughters, sixty cities" (Berth.). For since מִנְחָמָם refers to the collective name Jair, Geshur and Aram could not take away from Jair sixty cities, for Jair only possessed twenty-three cities. But besides this, according to Num. xxxii. 42, Kenath with her daughters had been conquered by Nobah, who gave his own name to the conquered cities; and according to Deut. iii. 4, the kingdom of Og in Bashan had sixty fenced cities. But this kingdom was, according to Num. xxxii. 41 and 42, conquered by two families of Manasseh, by Jair and Nobah, and was divided between them; and as appears from our passage, twenty-three cities were bestowed upon Jair, and all the rest of the land, viz. Kenath with her daughters, fell to Nobah. These two domains together included sixty fenced cities, which in Deut. iii. 14 are called Jair's-life; while here, in our verse, only twenty-three cities are so called, and the remaining thirty-seven are comprehended under the name of Kenath and her daughters. We must therefore either supply a ו copul. before 'אֶת־קִנְת, or we must take 'אֶת־קִנְת in the signification "with Kenath," and refer שְׁעִים עֶרֶב to both Jair's-life and Kenath. Cf. herewith the discussion on Deut. iii. 12-14; and for Kenath, the ruins of which still exist under the name Kanuat on the western slope of the Jebel Hauran, see the remarks on Num. xxxii. 42. The time when these cities were taken away by the Arameans is not known. From Judg. x. 4 we only learn that the Jair who was judge at a later time again had possession of thirty of these cities, and renewed the name Jair's-life. כָּל־אֶלֶף is not all these sixty cities, but the before-mentioned descendants of Hezron, who are called sons, that is offspring, of Machir, because they were begotten with the daughter of Machir. Only two names, it is true, Segub and Jair, are enumerated; but from

these two issue the numerous families which took Jair's-life. To these, therefore, must we refer the בְּלִיאָה.—Ver. 24. After the death of Hezron there was born to him by his wife Abiah (the third wife, cf. vers. 9 and 21) another son, Ashur, the father of Tekoa, whose descendants are enumerated in chap. iv. 5-7. Hezron's death took place בְּכֶלֶב אֶפְרַתָּה, "in Caleb Ephrathah." This expression is obscure. According to 1 Sam. xxx. 14, a part of the Negeb (south country) of Judah was called Negeb Caleb, as it belonged to the family of Caleb. According to this analogy, the town or village in which Caleb dwelt with his wife Ephrath may have been called Caleb of Ephrathah, if Ephrath had brought this place as a dower to Caleb, as in the case mentioned in Josh. xv. 18 f. Ephrathah, or Ephrath, was the ancient name of Bethlehem (Gen. xxxiii. 19, xlviii. 1), and with it the name of Caleb's wife Ephrath (ver. 19) is unquestionably connected; probably she was so called after her birthplace. If this supposition be well founded, then Caleb of Ephrathah would be the little town of Bethlehem. Ashur is called father (אָבִי) of Tekoa, i.e. lord and prince, as the chief of the inhabitants of Tekoa, now Tekua, two hours south of Bethlehem (*vide* on Josh. xv. 59).

Vers. 25-41. *The family of Jerahmeel*, the first-born of Hezron, which inhabited a part of the Negeb of Judah called after him the south of the Jerahmeelites (1 Sam. xxvii. 10, xxx. 29).—Ver. 25. Four sons were born to Jerahmeel by his first wife. Five names indeed follow; but as the last, אֶחָיָה, although met with elsewhere as a man's name, is not ranged with the others by ו copul., as those that precede are with each other, it appears to be the name of a woman, and probably a נ has fallen out after the immediately preceding ה. So Cler., J. H. Mich., Berth. This conjecture gains in probability from the mention in ver. 26 of another wife, whence we might expect that in ver. 25 the first wife would be named.—Ver. 26. Only one son of the second wife is given, Onam, whose posterity follows in vers. 28-33; for in ver. 27 the three sons of Ram, the first-born of Jerahmeel, are enumerated.—Ver. 28. Onam had two sons, Shammai and Jada; the second of these, again, two sons, Nadab and Abishur.—Ver. 29. To Abishur his wife Abihail bore likewise two sons, with whom his race terminates.—In vers. 30, 31, Nadab's posterity follow, in four members, ending with Ahlai, in the fourth generation. But Ahlai cannot well have been a son, but must have been a daughter, the heiress

of Sheshan; for, according to ver. 34, Sheshan had no sons, but only daughters, and gave his daughter to an Egyptian slave whom he possessed, to wife, by whom she became the mother of a numerous posterity. The *שֶׁשָׁן בְּנֵי* is not irreconcilable with this, for *בְּנֵי* denotes in genealogies only descendants in general, and has been here correctly so explained by Hiller in *Onomast.* p. 736: *quicquid habuit liberorum, sive nepotum, sustulit ex unica filia Achlai.*—Vers. 32 and 33. The descendants of Jada, the brother of Shammai, in two generations, after which this genealogy closes with the subscription, “these were the sons of Jerahmeel.”<sup>1</sup>—In vers. 34-41 there follows the family of Sheshan, which was originated by the marriage of his daughter with his Egyptian slave, and which is continued through thirteen generations. The name of this daughter is in ver. 25 f. not mentioned, but she is without doubt the Ahlai mentioned in ver. 31. But since this Ahlai is the tenth in descent from Judah through Pharez, she was probably born in Egypt; and the Egyptian slave Jarha was most likely a slave whom Sheshan had in Egypt, and whom he adopted as his son for the propagation of his race, by giving him his daughter and heir to wife. If this be the case, the race begotten by Jarha with the daughter of Sheshan is traced down till towards the end of the period of the judges. The Egyptian slave Jarha is not elsewhere met with; and though the names which his posterity bore are found again in various parts of the Old Testament, of none of them can it be proved that they belonged to men of this family, so as to show that one of these persons had become famous in history.

Vers. 42-55. *Other renowned descendants of Caleb.*—First of all there are enumerated, in vers. 42-49, three lines of descendants of Caleb, of which the two latter, vers. 46-49, are the issue of concubines.—The first series, vers. 42-45, contains some things which are very obscure. In ver. 42 there are mentioned, as sons of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel, Mesha his first-born,

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau reckons up to “the concluding subscription in ver. 33” the following descendants of Judah: “Judah’s sons=5; Hezron and Hamul=2; Zerah’s sons=5; Karmi, Akar, and Azariah=3; Ram and his descendants (including the two daughters of Jesse, and Jeter the father of Amasa)=21; Kaleb and his descendants=10; Jerahmeel and his descendants=24: together=70.” But this number also is obtained only by taking into account the father and mother of Amasa as two persons, contrary to the rule according to which only the father, without the mother, is to be counted, or, in case the mother be more famous than the father, or be an heiress, only the mother.

with the addition, "this is the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah, the father of Hebron," as it reads according to the traditional Masoretic text. Now it is here not only very surprising that the sons of Mareshah stand parallel with Mesha, but it is still more strange to find such a collocation as "sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron." The last-mentioned difficulty would certainly be greatly lessened if we might take Hebron to be the city of that name, and translate the phrase "father of Hebron," lord of the city of Hebron, according to the analogy of "father of Ziph," "father of Tekoa" (ver. 24), and other names of that sort. But the continuation of the genealogy, "and the sons of Hebron were Korah, and Tappuah, Rekem, and Shema" (ver. 43), is irreconcilable with such an interpretation. For of these names, Tappuah, *i.e.* apple, is indeed met with several times as the name of a city (Josh. xii. 17, xv. 34, xvi. 8); and Rekem is the name of a city of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 27), but occurs also twice as the name of a person—once of a Midianite prince (Num. xxxi. 8), and once of a Manassite (1 Chron. vii. 16); but the other two, Korah and Shema, only occur as the names of persons. In ver. 44 *f.*, moreover, the descendants of Shema and Rekem are spoken of, and that, too, in connection with the word הוֹלִיד, "he begat," which demonstrably can only denote the propagation of a race. We must therefore take Hebron as the name of a person, as in v. 28 and Ex. vi. 18. But if Hebron be the name of a man, then Mareshah also must be interpreted in the same manner. This is also required by the mention of the sons of Mareshah parallel with Mesha the first-born; but still more so by the circumstance that the interpretation of Mareshah and Hebron, as names of cities, is irreconcilable with the position of these two cities, and with their historical relations. Bertheau, indeed, imagines that as Mareshah is called the father of Hebron, the famous capital of the tribe of Judah, we must therefore make the attempt, however inadmissible it may seem at first sight, to take Mareshah, in the connection of our verse, as the name of a city, which appears as father of Hebron, and that we must also conclude that the ancient city Hebron (Num. xiii. 23) stood in some sort of dependent relationship to Mareshah, perhaps only in later times, although we cannot at all determine to what time the representation of our verse applies. But at the foundation of this argument there lies an error as to the position of the city Mareshah. Mareshah lay in the Shephelah (Josh. xv. 44), and exists at present as the

ruin Marasch, twenty-four minutes south of Beit-Jibrin: *vide* on Josh. xv. 44; and Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, § 129 and 142 f. Ziph, therefore, which is mentioned in 2 Chron. xi. 8 along with Mareshah, and which is consequently the Ziph mentioned in our verse, cannot be, as Bertheau believes, the Ziph situated in the hill country of Judah, in the wilderness of that name, whose ruins are still to be seen on the hill Zif, about four miles south-east from Hebron (Josh. xv. 55). It can only be the Ziph in the Shephelah (Josh. xv. 24), the position of which has not indeed been discovered, but which is to be sought in the Shephelah at no great distance from Marasch, and thus far distant from Hebron. Since, then, Mareshah and Ziph were in the Shephelah, no relation of dependence between the capital, Hebron, situated in the mountains of Judah, and Mareshah can be thought of, neither in more ancient nor in later time. The supposition of such a dependence is not made probable by the remark that we cannot determine to what time the representation of our verse applies; it only serves to cover the difficulty which renders it impossible. That the verse does not treat of post-exilic times is clear, although even after the exile, and in the time of the Maccabees and the Romans, Hebron was not in a position of dependence on Marissa. Bertheau himself holds Caleb, of whose son our verses treat, for a contemporary of Moses and Joshua, because in ver. 49 Achsa is mentioned as daughter of Caleb (Josh. xv. 16; Judg. i. 12). The contents of our verse would therefore have reference to the first part of the period of the judges. But since Hebron was never dependent on Mareshah in the manner supposed, the attempt, which even at first sight appeared so inadmissible, to interpret Mareshah as the name of a city, loses all its support. For this reason, therefore, the city of Hebron, and the other cities named in ver. 43 ff., which perhaps belonged to the district of Mareshah, cannot be the sons of Mareshah here spoken of; and the fact that, of the names mentioned in vers. 43 and 44, at most two may denote cities, while the others are undoubtedly the names of persons, points still more clearly to the same conclusion. We must, then, hold Hebron and Mareshah also to be the names of persons. Now, if the Masoretic text be correct, the use of the phrase, "and the sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron," instead of "and Mareshah, the sons of the father of Hebron," can only have arisen from a desire to point out, that besides Hebron there were also other sons of Mareshah

who were of Caleb's lineage. But the mention of the sons of Mareshah, instead of Mareshah, and the calling him the father of Hebron in this connection, make the correctness of the traditional text very questionable. Kimchi has, on account of the harshness of placing the sons of Mareshah on a parallel with Mesha the first-born of Caleb, supposed an ellipse in the expression, and construes 'ובני מר', *et ex filiis Ziphi Mareshah*. But this addition cannot be justified. If we may venture a conjecture in so obscure a matter, it would more readily suggest itself that מרשה is an error for מישע, and that אֲבִי הֶבְרֹן is to be taken as a *nomen compos.*, when the meaning would be, "and the sons of Mesha were Abi-Hebron." The probability of the existence of such a name as Abihebron along with the simple Hebron has many analogies in its favour: cf. Dan and Abidan, Num. i. 11; Ezer, xii. 9, Neh. iii. 19, with Abi-ezer; Nadab, Ex. vi. 23, and Abinadab. In the same family even we have Abiner, or Abner, the son of Ner (1 Sam. xiv. 50 f.; 2 Sam. ii. 8; cf. Ew. § 273, S. 666, 7th edition). Abihebron would then be repeated in ver. 43, in the shortened form Hebron, just as we have in Josh. xvi. 8 Tappuah, instead of En-Tappuah, Josh. xvii. 7. The four names introduced as sons of Hebron denote persons, not localities: cf. for Korah, i. 35, and concerning Tappuah and Rekem the above remark (p. 68). In ver. 44 are mentioned the sons of Rekem and of Shema, the latter a frequently recurring man's name (cf. v. 8, viii. 13, xi. 44; Neh. viii. 4). Shema begat Raham, the father of Jorkam. The name יִרְקָם is quite unknown elsewhere. The LXX. have rendered it 'Ιεκλάν, and Bertheau therefore holds Jorkam to be the name of a place, and conjectures that originally יִרְקָם (Josh. xv. 56) stood here also. But the LXX. give also 'Ιεκλάν for the following name רָקֵם, from which it is clear that we cannot rely much on their authority. The LXX. have overlooked the fact that רָקֵם, ver. 44, is the son of the Hebron mentioned in ver. 43, whose descendants are further enumerated. Shammai occurs as a man's name also in ver. 28, and is again met with in iv. 17. His son is called in ver. 45 Maon, and Maon is the father of Bethzur. בֵּית-צֻר is certainly the city in the mountains of Judah which Rehoboam fortified (2 Chron. xi. 7), and which still exists in the ruin Bethsur, lying south of Jerusalem in the direction of Hebron. Maon also was a city in the mountains of Judah, now Main (Josh. xv. 55); but we cannot allow that this city is meant by the



name מַנּוֹן, because Maon is called on the one hand the son of Shammai, and on the other is father of Bethzur, and there are no well-ascertained examples of a city being represented as son (בֶּן) of a man, its founder or lord, nor of one city being called the father of another. Dependent cities and villages are called daughters (not sons) of the mother city. The word מִנְיָן, "dwelling," does not *per se* point to a village or town, and in Judg. x. 12 denotes a tribe of non-Israelites.

Vers. 46-49. *Descendants of Caleb by two concubines.*—The name מַנּוֹן occurs in ver. 47 and i. 33 as a man's name. Caleb's concubine of this name bore three sons: Haran, of whom nothing further is known; Moza, which, though in Josh. xviii. 26 it is the name of a Benjaminite town, is not necessarily on that account the name of a town here; and Gazez, unknown, perhaps a grandson of Caleb, especially if the clause "Haran begat Gazez" be merely an explanatory addition. But Haran may also have given to his son the name of his younger brother, so that a son and grandson of Caleb may have borne the same name.—Ver. 47. The genealogical connection of the names in this verse is entirely wanting; for Jahdai, of whom six sons are enumerated, appears quite abruptly. Hiller, in *Onomast.*, supposes, but without sufficient ground, that יִהְיֶה is another name of Moza. Of his sons' names, Jotham occurs frequently of different persons; Ephah, as has been already remarked, is in i. 33 the name of a chief of a Midianite tribe; and lastly, Shaaph is used in ver. 49 of another person.—Ver. 48 f. Another concubine of Caleb was called Maachah, a not uncommon woman's name; cf. iii. 2, vii. 16, viii. 29, xi. 43, etc. She bore Sheber and Tirhanah, names quite unknown. The masc. יֶלֶד instead of the fem. יֶלְדָּה, ver. 46, is to be explained by the supposition that the father who begat was present to the mind of the writer. Ver. 49. Then she bore also Shaaph (different from the Shaaph in ver. 47), the father of Madmannah, a city in the south of Judah, perhaps identical with Miniay or Minieh, southwards from Gaza (see on Josh. xv. 31). Sheva (David's Sopher (scribe) is so called in the Keri of 2 Sam. xx. 25), the father of Machbenah, a village of Judah not further mentioned, and of Gibeaz, perhaps the Gibeah mentioned in Josh. xv. 57, in the mountains of Judah, or the village Jeba mentioned by Robinson, *Palest.* ii. p. 327, and Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, S. 157 f., on a hill in the Wady Musurr (*vide* on Josh. xv. 57). This list closes with the abrupt remark, "and

Caleb's daughter was Achsah." This notice can only refer to the Achsah so well known in the history of the conquest of the tribal domain of Judah, whom Caleb had promised, and gave as a reward to the conqueror of Debir (Josh. xv. 16 ff.; Judg. i. 12); otherwise in its abrupt form it would have no meaning. Women occur in the genealogies only when they have played an important part in history. Since, however, the father of this Achsah was Caleb the son of Jephunneh, who was about forty years old when the Israelites left Egypt, while our Caleb, on the contrary, is called in ver. 42 the brother of Jerahmeel, and is at the same time designated son of Hezron, the son of Pharez (ver. 9), these two Calebs cannot be one person: the son of Hezron must have been a much older Caleb than the son of Jephunneh. The older commentators have consequently with one voice distinguished the Achsah mentioned in our verse from the Achsah in Josh. xv. 16; while Movers, on the contrary (*Chron. S.* 83), would eliminate from the text, as a later interpolation, the notice of the daughter of Caleb. Bertheau, however, attempts to prove the identity of Caleb the son of Hezron with Caleb the son of Jephunneh. The assertion of Movers is so manifestly a critical *tour de force*, that it requires no refutation; but neither can we subscribe to Bertheau's view. He is, indeed, right in rejecting Ewald's expedient of holding that vers. 18–20 and 45–50 are to be referred to Chelubai, and vers. 42–49 to a Caleb to be carefully distinguished from him; for it contradicts the plain sense of the words, according to which both Chelubai, ver. 9, and Caleb, vers. 18 and 42, is the son of Hezron and the brother of Jerahmeel. But what he brings forward against distinguishing Caleb the father of Achsah, ver. 49, from Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel, ver. 42, is entirely wanting in force. The reasons adduced reduce themselves to these: that Caleb the son of Jephunneh, the conqueror and possessor of Hebron, might well be called in the genealogical language, which sometimes expresses geographical relations, the son of Hezron, along with Ram and Jerahmeel, as the names Ram and Jerahmeel certainly denote families in Judah, who, originally at least, dwelt in other domains than that of Caleb; and again, that the individual families as well as the towns and villages in these various domains may be conceived of as sons and descendants of those who represent the great families of the tribe, and the divisions of the tribal territory. But we must deny the geographical signification of the genealogies when

pressed so far as this : for valid proofs are entirely wanting that towns are represented as sons and brothers of other towns ; and the section vers. 42-49 does not treat merely, or principally, of the geographical relations of the families of Judah, but in the first place, and in the main, deals with the genealogical ramifications of the descendants and families of the sons of Judah. It by no means follows, because some of these descendants are brought forward as fathers of cities, that in vers. 42-49 towns and their mutual connection are spoken of ; and the names Caleb, Ram, and Jerahmeel do not here denote families, but are the names of the fathers and chiefs of the families which descended from them, and dwelt in the towns just named. We accordingly distinguish Caleb, whose daughter was called Achsah, and whose father was Jephunneh (Josh. xv. 16 ff.), from Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel and the son of Hezron. But we explain the mention of Achsah as daughter of Caleb, at the end of the genealogical lists of the persons and families descended by concubines from Caleb, by the supposition that the Caleb who lived in the time of Moses, the son of Jephunneh, was a descendant of an older Caleb, the brother of Jerahmeel. But it is probable that the Caleb in ver. 49 is the same who is called in ver. 42 the brother of Jerahmeel, and whose descendants are specified vers. 42-49 ; and we take the word בַּת, " daughter," in its wider sense, as signifying a later female descendant, because the father of the Achsah so well known from Josh. xv. 16 ff. is also called son of Jephunneh in the genealogy, chap. iv. 15.

Vers. 50-55. *The families descended from Caleb through his son Hur.* — Ver. 50. The superscription, "These are the sons (descendants) of Caleb," is more accurately defined by the addition, "the son of Hur, the first-born of Ephratah ;" and by this definition the following lists of Caleb's descendants are limited to the families descended from his son Hur. That the words בְּדָחִיר וְנֹו are to be so understood, and not as apposition to בָּלָב, "Caleb the son of Hur," is shown by ver. 19, according to which Hur is a son of Caleb and Ephrath. On that account, too, the relationship of Hur to Caleb is not given here ; it is presupposed as known from ver. 19. A famous descendant of Hur has already been mentioned in ver. 20, viz. Bezaleel the son of Uri. Here, in vers. 50 and 51, three sons of Hur are named, Shobal, Salma, and Hareph, with the families descended from the first two. All information is wanting as to whether these sons of Hur were

brothers of Uri, or his cousins in nearer or remoter degree, as indeed is every means of a more accurate determination of the degrees of relationship. Both **בֶּן** and **הוֹלִיד** in genealogies mark only descent in a straight line, while intermediate members of a family are often omitted in the lists. Instead of **בְּדָחִיר**, **בְּנֵי-דָחִיר** might have been expected, as two sons are mentioned. The singular **בֶּן** shows that the words are not to be fused with the following into one sentence, but, as the Masoretic punctuation also shows, are meant for a superscription, after which the names to be enumerated are ranged without any more intimate logical connection. For the three names are not connected by the **ו** copul. They stand thus: "sons of Hur, the first-born of Ephratah; Shobal . . . Salma . . . Hareph." Shobal is called father of Kirjath-jearim, now Kureyet el Enab (see on Josh. ix. 17). Salma, father of Bethlehem, the birth-place of David and Christ. This Salma is, however, not the same person as Salma mentioned in ver. 11 and Ruth iv. 20 among the ancestors of David; for the latter belonged to the family of Ram, the former to the family of Caleb. Hareph is called the father of Beth-Geder, which is certainly not the same place as Gedera, Josh. xv. 36, which lay in the Shephelah, but is probably identical with Gedor in the hill country, Josh. xv. 58, west of the road which leads from Hebron to Jerusalem (*vide* on chap. xii. 4). Nothing further is told of Hareph, but in the following verses further descendants of both the other sons of Hur are enumerated.—Vers. 52 and 53. Shobal had sons, **הָרָאָה הָצִי הַמַּנְחֹת**. These words, which are translated in the Vulgate, *qui videbat dimidium requietionum*, give, so interpreted, no fitting sense, but must contain proper names. The LXX. have made from them three names, *'Αραὰ καὶ Αἰὼς καὶ Ἀμμανίθ*, on mere conjecture. Most commentators take **הָרָאָה** for the name of the man who, in chap. iv. 2, is called under the name Reaiah, **רֵאִיָּה**, the son of Shobal. This is doubtless correct; but we must not take **הָרָאָה** for another name of Reaiah, but, with Bertheau, must hold it to be a corruption of **רֵאִיָּה**, or a conjecture arising from a false interpretation of **הָצִי הַמַּנְחֹת** by a transcriber or reader, who did not take Hazi-Hammenuhoth for a proper name, but understood it appellatively, and attempted to bring some sense out of the words by changing **רֵאִיָּה** into the participle **רֵאָה**. The **הָצִי הַמַּנְחֹת** in ver. 54 corresponds to our **הָצִי הַמַּנְחֹת**, as one half of a race or district corresponds to the other, for the connection between the substantive **הַמַּנְחֹת** and the adjective **הַמַּנְחֹתִי**

cannot but be acknowledged. Now, although מְנוּחָה signifies resting-place (Num. x. 33; Judg. xx. 43), and the words "the half of the resting-place," or "of the resting-places," point in the first instance to a district, yet not only does the context require that Hazi-Hammenuhoth should signify a family sprung from Shobal, but it is demanded also by a comparison of our phrase with חַצִּי הַמְנוּחָה in ver. 54, which unquestionably denotes a family. It does not, however, seem necessary to alter the מְנוּחָה into הַמְנוּחָה; for as in ver. 54 Bethlehem stands for the family in Bethlehem descended from Salma, so the district Hazi-Hammenuhoth may be used in ver. 52 to denote the family residing there. As to the geographical position of this district, see on ver. 54.—Ver. 53. Besides the families mentioned in ver. 52, the families of Kirjath-jearim, which in ver. 53 are enumerated by name, came of Shobal also. וְכִסְפִּיחֹת ק' is simply a continuation of the families already mentioned, and the remark of Berth., that "the families of Kirjath-jearim are moreover distinguished from the sons of Shobal," is as incorrect as the supplying of ו' cop. before הָרָצִי הַמ' in ver. 52 is unnecessary. The meaning is simply this: Shobal had sons Reaiah, Hazi-Hammenuhoth, and the families of Kirjath-jearim, viz. the family of Jether, etc. David's heroes, Ira and Gareb, xi. 40, 2 Sam. xxiii. 38, belonged to the family of Jether (הִיתֵר). The other three families are not met with elsewhere. מֵאֵלֶּה, of these, the four families of Kirjath-jearim just mentioned, came the Zoreathites and the Eshtaulites, the inhabitants of the town of Zoreah, the home of Samson, now the ruin Sura, and of Eshtaol, which perhaps may be identified with Um Eshteyeh (see in Josh. xv. 33).—Vers. 54 and 55. The descendants of Salma: Bethlehem, i.e. the family of Bethlehem (see on ver. 52), the Netophathites, i.e. the inhabitants of the town of Netophah, which, according to our verse and Ezra ii. 22, and especially Neh. vii. 26, is to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem (cf. ix. 16); a family which produced at various times renowned men (cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 28 f.; 2 Kings xxv. 23; Ezra ii. 22). The following words, וְעֲמֻדֹת ב', i.e. "crowns of the house of Joab," can only be the name of a place which is mentioned instead of its inhabitants; for עֲמֻדֹת occurs elsewhere, sometimes alone, and sometimes in conjunction with a proper name, as the name of places: cf. Num. xxxii. 34 f.; Josh. xvi. 2, 5, 7, xviii. 13. Hazi-Hammanahath is certainly to be sought in the neighbourhood of Manahath, viii. 6, whose position has,

however, not yet been ascertained. הַצִּרְעִי is only another form of הַצִּרְעָה, and is derived from the masculine of the word. The Zorites here spoken of formed a second division of the inhabitants of Zoreah and the neighbourhood, along with the Zoreathites descended from Shobal, ver. 53.—Ver. 55. "And the families of the writers (scribes) who inhabited Jabez." The position of the town Jabez, which is mentioned only here, and which derived its name from a descendant of Judah, has not yet been discovered, but is to be sought somewhere in the neighbourhood of Zoreah. This may be inferred from the fact that of the six בְּנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, two are always more closely connected with each other by ו cop.: (1) Bethlehem and Netophathite, (2) Ataroth-beth-Joab and Hazi-Hammanahath, (3) the Zorites and the families of the Sopherim inhabiting Jabez. These last were divided into three branches, תִּרְעָחִים, שִׁמְעָחִים, שׁוּכָחִים, i.e. those descended from Tira, Shimea, and Suchah. The Vulgate has taken these words in an appellative sense of the occupations of these three classes, and translates *canentes et resonantes et in tabernaculis commemorantes*. But this interpretation is not made even probable by all that Bertheau has brought forward in support of it. Even if שׁוּכָחִים might perhaps be connected with סִכָּה, and interpreted "dwellers in tabernacles," yet no tenable reason can be found for translating תִּרְעָחִים and שִׁמְעָחִים by *canentes et resonantes*. שִׁמְעָה, from שָׁמְעָה, "that which is heard," cannot signify those who repeat in words and song that which has been heard; and תִּרְעָה no more means *canentes* than it is connected (as Bertheau tries to show) with שְׁעָרִים, "doorkeepers" (the Chaldee תִּרְעָה being equivalent to the Hebrew שַׁעַר); and the addition, "These are the Kenites who came of Hemath, the father of the house of Rechab" (בֹּאֵם מִן, to issue from any one, to be descended from any one), gives no proof of this, for the phrase itself is to us so very obscure. קִינִים are not inhabitants of the city Kain (Josh. xv. 57) in the tribal domain of Judah (Kimchi), but, judging from the succeeding relative sentence, were descendants of Keni the father-in-law of Moses (Judg. i. 16), who had come with Israel to Canaan, and dwelt there among the Israelites (Judg. iv. 11, 17, v. 24; 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29); and Hemath, the father of the house of Rechab, i.e. of the Rechabites (Jer. xxxv. 6), is probably the grandfather of Jonadab the son of Rechab, with whom Jehu entered into alliance (2 Kings x. 15, 23). But how can the families of Sopherim inhabiting

Jabez, which are here enumerated, be called descendants of Salma, who is descended from Hur the son of Caleb, a man of Judah, if they were Kenites, who issued from or were descendants of the grandfather of the family of the Rechabites? From lack of information, this question cannot be answered with certainty. In general, however, we may explain the incorporation of the Kenites in the Judæan family of the Calebite Salma, on the supposition that one of these Kenites of the family of Hobab, the brother-in-law of Moses, married an heiress of the race of Caleb. On this account the children and descendants sprung of this marriage would be incorporated in the family of Caleb, although they were on their father's side Kenites, and where they followed the manner of life of their fathers, might continue to be regarded as such, and to bear the name.

Chap. iii. *The sons and descendants of David.*—After the enumeration of the chief families of the two sons of Hezron, Caleb and Jerahmeel, in chap. ii. 18-55, the genealogy of Ram the second son of Hezron, which in chap. ii. 10-17 was only traced down to Jesse, the father of the royal race of David, is in chap. iii. again taken up and further followed out. In vers. 1-9 all the sons of David are enumerated; in vers. 10-16, the line of kings of the house of David from Solomon to Jeconiah and Zedekiah; in 17-21, the descendants of Jeconiah to the grandsons of Zerubbabel; and finally, in vers. 22-24, other descendants of Shechaniah to the fourth generation.

Vers. 1-9. The sons of David: (a) Those born in Hebron; (b) those born in Jerusalem.—Vers. 1-4. The six sons born in Hebron are enumerated also in 2 Sam. iii. 2-5, with mention of their mother as here: but there the second is called בְּלֵאָה; here, on the contrary, רֵימָאֵל, —a difference which cannot well have arisen through an error of a copyist, but is probably to be explained on the supposition that this son had two different names. In reference to the others, see on 2 Sam. iii. The sing. אִשְׁרָא נִלְכָּד לוֹ after a preceding plural subject is to be explained as in ii. 9. אֲשֶׁר, without the article, for מִשְׁנֵהוּ, 2 Sam. iii. 3, or הַמִּשְׁנֵהוּ, 1 Chron. v. 12, is surprising, as all the other numbers have the article; but the enumeration, the first-born, a second, the third, etc., may be justified without any alteration of the text being necessary. But the difference between our text and that of 2 Sam. in regard to the second son, shows that the chronicler did not take the register from 2 Sam. iii. The preposition לְ before אֲבִיָּשָׁלֹם seems

to have come into the text only through a mistake occasioned by the preceding לְאֶבְיָל, for no reason is apparent for any strong emphasis which might be implied in the ל being placed on the name of Absalom. The addition of אִשְׁתּוֹ to עֲגֵלָה (ver. 3) seems introduced only to conclude the enumeration in a fitting way, as the descent of Eglah had not been communicated; just as, for a similar reason, the additional clause "the wife of David" is inserted in 2 Sam. iii. 5, without Eglah being thereby distinguished above the other wives as the most honoured. The concluding formula, "six were born to him in Hebron" (ver. 4), is followed by a notice of how long David reigned in Hebron and in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Sam. ii. 11 and 55), which is intended to form a fitting transition to the following list of the sons who were born to him in Jerusalem.—Vers. 5–8. In Jerusalem thirteen other sons were born to him, of whom four were the children of Bathsheba. The thirteen names are again enumerated in the history of David, in chap. xiv. 7–11, while in the parallel passage, 2 Sam. v. 14–16, only eleven are mentioned, the two last being omitted (see on the passage). Some of the names are somewhat differently given in these passages, owing to differences of pronunciation and form: שִׁמְעָה is in both places שִׁמְעָה; אֶלִישָׁמָה, between Ibhar and Eliphalet, is in chap. xiv. more correctly written אֶלִישָׁה. Elishama is clearly a transcriber's error, occasioned by one of the following sons bearing this name. אֶלִיפַז, shortened in xiv. 6 into אֶלִיפַז, and נֹנָה, are wanting in 2 Sam. v. 15, probably because they died early. אֶלִיָּדָה, ver. 8, 2 Sam. v. 16, appears in chap. xiv. 7 as בְּעִלְיָדָה; the mother also of the four first named, בְּחֻשָּׁה, the daughter of Ammiel, is elsewhere always בְּחֻשָּׁה, e.g. 2 Sam. xi. 3, and 1 Kings i. 11, 15, etc.; and her father, Eliam (2 Sam. xi. 3). בְּחֻשָּׁה has been derived from בְּחֻשָּׁה, and בְּחֻשָּׁה is softened from בְּחֻשָּׁה; but אֶלִיָּדָה has arisen by transposition of the two parts of the name אֶלִיָּדָה, or Ammiel has been altered to Eliam. Besides these, David had also sons by concubines, whose names, however, are nowhere met with. Of David's daughters only Tamar is mentioned as "their sister," i.e. sister of the before-mentioned sons, because she had become known in history through Amnon's crime (2 Sam. xiii.).

Vers. 10–16. The kings of the house of David from Solomon till the exile.—Until Josiah the individual kings are mentioned in their order, each with the addition בְּנֵי, son of the preceding, vers. 10–14; the only omission being that of the



usurper Athaliah, because she did not belong to the posterity of David. But in ver. 15 four sons of Josiah are mentioned, not "in order to allow of a halt in the long line of David's descendants after Josiah the great reformer" (Berth.), but because with Josiah the regular succession to the throne in the house of David ceased. For the younger son Jehoahaz, who was made king after his father's death by the people, was soon dethroned by Pharaoh-Necho, and led away captive to Egypt; and of the other sons Jehoiakim was set up by Pharaoh, and Zedekiah by Nebuchadnezzar, so that both were only vassals of heathen lords of the land, and the independent kingship of David came properly to an end with the death of Josiah. Johanan, the first-born of the sons of Josiah, is not to be identified with Jehoahaz, whom the people raised to the throne. For, in the first place, it appears from the statement as to the ages of Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim in 2 Kings xxiii. 31, 36, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 2, 5, that Jehoahaz was two years younger than Jehoiakim, and consequently was not the first-born. In Jer. xxii. 11 it is expressly declared that Shallum, the fourth son of Josiah, was king of Judah instead of his father, and was led away into captivity, and never saw his native land again, as history narrates of Jehoahaz. From this it would appear that Shallum took, as king, the name Jehoahaz. Johanan, the first-born, is not met with again in history, either because he died early, or because nothing remarkable could be told of him. Jehoiakim was called Eliakim before he was raised to the throne (2 Kings xxiii. 24). Zedekiah was at first Mattaniah (2 Kings xxiv. 17). Zedekiah, on his ascending the throne, was younger than Shallum, and that event occurred eleven years after the accession of Shallum = Jehoahaz. Zedekiah was only twenty-one years old, while Jehoahaz had become king in his twenty-third year. But in our genealogy Zedekiah is introduced after Jehoiakim, and before Shallum, because, on the one hand, Jehoiakim and Zedekiah had occupied the throne for a longer period, each having been eleven years king; and on the other, Zedekiah and Shallum were sons of Hamutal (2 Kings xxiii. 31, xxiv. 18), while Jehoiakim was the son of Zebudah (2 Kings xxiii. 36). According to age, they should have followed each other in this order—Johanan, Jehoiakim, Shallum, and Zedekiah; and in respect to their kingship, Shallum should have stood before Jehoiakim. But in both cases those born of the same mother, Hamutal, would

have been separated. To avoid this, apparently, Shallum has been enumerated in the fourth place, along with his full brother Zedekiah. In ver. 6 it is remarkable that a son of Jehoiakim's son Jeconiah is mentioned, named Zedekiah, while the sons of Jeconiah follow only in vers. 17 and 18. Jeconiah (cf. Jer. xxiv. 1; shortened Coniah, Jer. xxii. 24, 28, and xxxvii. 1) is called, as king, in 2 Kings xxiv. 8 ff. and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, Jehoiachin, another form of the name, but having the same signification, "Jahve founds or establishes." Zedekiah can only be a son of Jeconiah, for the **בְּנוֹ** which is added constantly denotes that the person so called is the son of his predecessor. Many commentators, certainly, were of opinion that Zedekiah was the same person as the brother of Jehoiakim mentioned in ver. 15 under the name Zidkijahu, and who is here introduced as son of Jeconiah, because he was the successor of Jeconiah on the throne. For this view support was sought in a reference to ver. 10 ff., in which all Solomon's successors in the kingship are enumerated in order with **בְּנוֹ**. But all the kings who succeeded each other from Solomon to Josiah were also, without exception, sons of their predecessors; so that there **בְּנוֹ** throughout denotes a proper son, while King Zedekiah, on the contrary, was not the son, but an uncle of Jeconiah (Jehoiachin). We must therefore hold **זְדַקְיָהוּ** for a literal son of Jeconiah, and that so much the more, because the name **זְדַקְיָהוּ** differs also from **זְדַקְיָהוּ**, as the name of the king is constantly written in 2 Kings xxiv. 17 ff. and in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. But mention is made of this Zedekiah in ver. 16 apart from the other sons of Jeconiah (vers. 17 and 18), perhaps because he was not led away captive into exile with the others, but died in Judah before the breaking up of the kingdom.

Vers. 17-24. The descendants of the captive and exiled Jeconiah, and other families.—Ver. 17. In the list of the sons of Jeconiah it is doubtful if **אֲסִיר** be the name of a son, or should be considered, as it is by Luther and others, an appellative, "prisoner," in apposition to **בְּנוֹתָיו**, "the sons of Jeconiah, the captive, is Shealtiel" (A. V. Salathiel). The reasons which have been advanced in favour of this latter interpretation are: the lack of the conjunction with **שְׁאֵלְתִּיאל**; the position of **בְּנוֹ** after **שְׁאֵלְתִּיאל**, not after **אֲסִיר**; and the circumstance that Assir is nowhere to be met with, either in Matt. i. 12 or in *Seder olam zuta*, as an intervening member of the family between Jeconiah and Shealtiel (Berth.).

But none of these reasons is decisive. The want of the conjunction proves absolutely nothing, for in ver. 18 also, the last three names are grouped together without a conjunction; and the position of בְּנֵי after שְׁאַלְתִּי is just as strange, whether Shealtiel be the first named son or the second, for in ver. 18 other sons of Jeconiah follow, and the peculiarity of it can only be accounted for on the supposition that the case of Shealtiel differs from that of the remaining sons. The omission of Assir in the genealogies in Matthew and the *Seder olam* also proves nothing, for in the genealogies intermediate members are often passed over. Against the appellative interpretation of the word, on the contrary, the want of the article is decisive; as apposition to יְכִנְיָה, it should have the article. But besides this, according to the genealogy of Jesus in Luke iii. 27, Shealtiel is a son of Neri, a descendant of David, of the lineage of Nathan, not of Solomon; and according to Hagg. i. 1, 12, Ezra iii. 2, v. 2, and Matt. i. 12, Zerubbabel is son of Shealtiel; while, according to vers. 18 and 19 of our chapter, he is a son of Pedaiah, a brother of Shealtiel. These divergent statements may be reconciled by the following combination. The discrepancy in regard to the enumeration of Shealtiel among the sons of Jeconiah, a descendant of Solomon, and the statement that he was descended from Neri, a descendant of Nathan, Solomon's brother, is removed by the supposition that Jeconiah, besides the Zedekiah mentioned in ver. 16, who died childless, had another son, viz. Assir, who left only a daughter, who then, according to the law as to heiresses (Num. xxvii. 8, xxxvi. 8 f.), married a man belonging to a family of her paternal tribe, viz. Neri, of the family of David, in the line of Nathan, and that from this marriage sprang Shealtiel, Malchiram, and the other sons (properly grandsons) of Jeconiah mentioned in ver. 18. If we suppose the eldest of these, Shealtiel, to come into the inheritance of his maternal grandfather, he would be legally regarded as his legitimate son. In our genealogy, therefore, along with the childless Assir, Shealtiel is introduced as a descendant of Jeconiah, while in Luke he is called, according to his actual descent, a son of Neri. The other discrepancy in respect to the descendants of Zerubbabel is to be explained, as has been already shown on Hagg. i. 1, by the law of Levirate marriage, and by the supposition that Shealtiel died without any male descendants, leaving his wife a widow. In such a case, according to the law (Deut. xxv. 5-10, cf. Matt.

xxii. 24–28), it became the duty of one of the brothers of the deceased to marry his brother's widow, that he might raise up seed, *i.e.* posterity, to the deceased brother; and the first son born of this marriage would be legally incorporated with the family of the deceased, and registered as his son. After Shealtiel's death, his second brother Pedaiah fulfilled this Levirate duty, and begat, in his marriage with his sister-in-law, Zerubbabel, who was now regarded, in all that related to laws of heritage, as Shealtiel's son, and propagated his race as his heir. According to this right of heritage, Zerubbabel is called in the passages quoted from Haggai and Ezra, as also in the genealogy in Matthew, the son of Shealtiel. The יְרֵמְיָהוּ seems to hint at this peculiar position of Shealtiel with reference to the proper descendants of Jeconiah, helping to remind us that he was son of Jeconiah not by natural birth, but only because of his right of heritage only, on his mother's side. As to the orthography of the name שְׁאֵלְתִּיֵּל, see on Hagg. i. 1. The six persons named in ver. 18 are not sons of Shealtiel, as Kimchi, Hiller, and others, and latterly Hitzig also, on Hagg. i. 1, believe, but his brothers, as the cop. ו before מִלְכִּירָם requires. The supposition just mentioned is only an attempt, irreconcilable with the words of the text, to form a series, thus: Shealtiel, Pedaiah his son, Zerubbabel his son,—so as to get rid of the differences between our verse and Hagg. i. 1, Ezra iii. 2. In vers. 19 and 20, sons and grandsons of Pedaiah are registered. Nothing further is known of the Bne Jeconiah mentioned in ver. 18. Pedaiah's son Zerubbabel is unquestionably the prince of Judah who returned to Jerusalem in the reign of Cyrus in the year 536, at the head of a great host of exiles, and superintended their settlement anew in the land of their fathers (Ezra i.–vi.). Of Shimei nothing further is known. In vers. 19b and 20, the sons of Zerubbabel are mentioned, and in ver. 21a two grandsons are named. Instead of the singular יָדָן some mss. have יָדָי, and the old versions also have the plural. This is correct according to the sense, although יָדָן cannot be objected to on critical grounds, and may be explained by the writer's having had mainly in view the one son who continued the line of descendants. By the mention of their sister after the first two names, the sons of Zerubbabel are divided into two groups, probably as the descendants of different mothers. How Shelomith had gained such fame as to be received into the family register, we do not know. Those men-

tioned in ver. 20 are brought together in one group by the number "five." **יָשַׁב חֶסֶד**, "grace is restored," is one name. The grandsons of Zerubbabel, Pelatiah and Jesaiah, were without doubt contemporaries of Ezra, who returned to Jerusalem from Babylon seventy-eight years after Zerubbabel.

After these grandsons of Zerubbabel, there are ranged in ver. 21b, without any copula whatever, four families, the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, etc.; and of the last named of these, the sons of Shecaniah, four generations of descendants are enumerated in vers. 22-24, without any hint as to the genealogical connection of Shecaniah with the grandsons of Zerubbabel. The assertion of more modern critics, Ewald, Bertheau, and others, that Shecaniah was a brother or a son of Pelatiah or Jesaiah, and that Zerubbabel's family is traced down through six generations, owes its origin to the wish to gain support for the opinion that the Chronicle was composed long after Ezra, and is without any foundation. The argument of Bertheau, that "since the sons of Rephaiah, etc., run parallel with the preceding names Pelatiah and Jesaiah, and since the continuation of the list in ver. 22 is connected with the last mentioned Shecaniah, we cannot but believe that Pelatiah, Jesaiah, Rephaiah, Arnan, Obadiah, and Shecaniah are, without exception, sons of Hananiah," would be well founded if, and only if, the names Rephaiah, Arnan, etc., stood in our verse, instead of the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, etc., for Pelatiah and Jesaiah are not parallel with the *sons* of Arnan. Pelatiah and Jesaiah may perhaps be sons of Hananiah, but not the sons of Rephaiah, Arnan, etc. These would be grandsons of Hananiah, on the assumption that Rephaiah, Arnan, etc., were brothers of Pelatiah and Jesaiah, and sons of Hananiah. But for this assumption there is no tenable ground; it would be justified only if our present Masoretic text could lay claim to infallibility. Only on the ground of a belief in this infallibility of the traditional text could we explain to ourselves, as Bertheau does, the ranging of the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, etc., along with Pelatiah and Jesaiah, called sons of Hananiah, by supposing that Rephaiah, Arnan, Obadiah, and Shecaniah are not named as individuals, but are mentioned together with their families, because they were the progenitors of famous races, while Pelatiah and Jesaiah either had no descendants at all, or none at least who were at all renowned. The text, as we have it, in which the sons

of Rephaiah, etc., follow the names of the grandsons of Zerubbabel without a conjunction, and in which the words זְרֻבָבֶל and his further descendants, follow the immediately preceding זְרֻבָבֶל, has no meaning, and is clearly corrupt, as has been recognised by Heidegger, Vitringa, Carpzov, and others. Owing, however, to want of information from other sources regarding these families and their connection with the descendants of Zerubbabel, we have no means whatever of restoring the original text. The sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, etc., were, it may be supposed, branches of the family of David, whose descent or connection with Zerubbabel is for us unascertainable. The list from זְרֻבָבֶל, ver. 21b, to the end of the chapter, is a genealogical fragment, which has perhaps come into the text of the Chronicle at a later time.<sup>1</sup> Many of the names which this fragment contains are met with singly in genealogies of other tribes, but nowhere in a connection from which we might draw conclusions as to the origin of the families here enumerated, and the age in which they lived. Bertheau, indeed, thinks "we may in any case hold Hattush, ver. 22, for the descendant of David of the same name mentioned in Ezra viii. 2, who lived at the time of Ezra;" but he has apparently forgotten that, according to his interpretation of our verse, Hattush would be a great-grandson of Zerubbabel, who, even if he were then born, could not possibly have been a man and the head of a family at the time of his supposed return from Babylon with Ezra, seventy-eight years after the return of his great-grandfather to Palestine. Other men too, even priests, have borne the name Hattush; cf. Neh. iii. 10, x. 5, xii. 2. There returned, moreover, from Babylon with Ezra sons of Shecaniah (Ezra viii. 3), who may as justly be identified with the sons of Shecaniah mentioned in ver. 22 of our chapter as forefathers or ancestors of Hattush, as the Hattush here is identified with the Hattush of Ezra viii. 2. But from the fact that, in the genealogy of Jesus, Matt. i., not a single one of the names of

<sup>1</sup> Yet at a very early time, for the LXX. had before them our present text, and sought to make sense of it by expressing the four times recurring זְרֻבָבֶל, ver. 21b, by the singular זְרֻבָבֶל in every case, as follows: καὶ Ἰσαίας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, Ῥαφαὴλ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, Ὀρνὰ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, etc.; according to which, between Hananiah and Shecaniah seven consecutive generations would be enumerated, and Zerubbabel's family traced down through eleven generations. So also Vulg. and Syr.

descendants of Zerubbabel there enumerated coincides with the names given in our verses, we may conclude that the descendants of Shecaniah enumerated in vers. 22–24 did not descend from Zerubbabel in a direct line. Intermediate members are, it is true, often omitted in genealogical lists; but who would maintain that in Matthew seven, or, according to the other interpretation of our verse, nine, consecutive members have been at one bound overleapt? This weighty consideration, which has been brought forward by Clericus, is passed over in silence by the defenders of the opinion that our verses contain a continuation of the genealogy of Zerubbabel. The only other remark to be made about this fragment is, that in ver. 22 the number of the sons of Shecaniah is given as six, while only five names are mentioned, and that consequently a name must have fallen out by mistake in transcribing. Nothing further can be said of these families, as they are otherwise quite unknown.

CHAP. IV. 1–23.—FRAGMENTS OF THE GENEALOGIES OF  
DESCENDANTS AND FAMILIES OF JUDAH.

Ver. 1 is evidently intended to be a superscription to the genealogical fragments which follow. Five names are mentioned as sons of Judah, of whom only Pharez was his son (ii. 4); the others are grandchildren or still more distant descendants. Nothing is said as to the genealogical relationship in which they stood to each other; that is supposed to be already known from the genealogies in chap. ii. Hezron is the son of Pharez, and consequently grandson of Judah, ii. 8. Carmi, a descendant of Zerah, the brother of Pharez, see on ii. 6, 7. Hur is a son of Caleb, the son of Hezron, by Ephratah (see on ii. 19 and 50); and Shobal is the son of Hur, who has just been mentioned (ii. 50). These five names do not denote here, any more than in chap. ii., “families of the tribe of Judah” (Berth.), but signify persons who originated or were heads of families. The only conceivable ground for these five being called “sons of Judah,” is that the families registered in the following lists traced their origin to them, although in the enumeration which follows the genealogical connection of the various groups is not clearly brought out. The enumeration begins,

Ver. 2, with *the descendants of Shobal*. As to Reaiah the son of Shobal, see ii. 52. He begat Jahath, a name often occurring

in Levite families, cf. vi. 5, 28, xxiii. 10 ff., xxiv. 22, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12; but of the descendant of David who bore this name nothing further is known. His sons Ahumai and Lahad founded the families of the Zorathites, i.e. the inhabitants of Zora, who also, according to ii. 53, were descended from sons of Shobal. Our verse therefore gives more detailed information regarding the lineage of these families.

Vers. 3 and 4 contain notices of the descendants of Hur. The first words of the third verse, "these, father of Etam, Jezreel," have no meaning; but the last sentence of the second verse suggests that **לְעֵתָם** should be supplied, when we read, "and these are the families of (from) Abi-Etam." The LXX. and Vulgate have **אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי עֵתָם**, which is also to be found in several codices, while other codices read **אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי אָבִי עֵתָם**. Both readings are probably only conjectures. Whether **אָבִי עֵתָם** is to be taken as the name of a person, or appellatively, father = lord of Etam, cannot be decided. **עֵתָם** is in ver. 32, and probably also in Judg. xv. 8, 11, the name of a town of the Simeonites; and in 2 Chron. xi. 6, the name of a little town in the highlands of Judah, south of Jerusalem. If **עֵתָם** be the name of a place, only the last named can be here meant. The names Jezreel, Ishma, and Idbash denote persons as progenitors and head of families or branches of families. For **יִרְעָאֵל** as the name of a person, cf. Hos. i. 4. That these names should be those of persons is required by the succeeding remark, "and their sister Hazeleponi." The formation of this name, with the derivative termination *i*, seems to express a relationship of race; but the word may also be an adjective, and as such may be a proper name: cf. Ew. § 273, e.—Ver. 4. Penuel, in Gen. xxii. 31 f., Judg. viii. 8, name of a place in the East-Jordan land, as here, and in viii. 25 the name of a man. Gedor is, we may suppose, the town of that name in the mountains of Judah, which is still to be found in the ruin Jedur (see on Josh. xv. 58). Penuel is here called father of Gedor, while in ver. 18 one Jered is so called, whence we must conclude that the inhabitants of Gedor were descended from both. Ezer (Help) occurs in vii. 21, xii. 9, Neh. iii. 19, of other men; father of Hushah, i.e. according to the analogy of Abi-Gedor, also the name of a place not elsewhere mentioned, where the hero Sibbecai had his birth, xi. 29, 2 Sam. xxiii. 27. Those thus named in vers. 3 and 4 are sons of Hur, the first-born of Ephratah (ii. 19), the father of Bethlehem. The inhabitants



of Bethlehem then, according to this, were descended from Hur through his son Salma, who is called in ii. 51 father of Bethlehem. The circumstance, too, that in our verses (3 and 4) other names of persons are enumerated as descendants of Hur than those given in ii. 50-55 gives rise to no discrepancy, for there is no ground for the supposition that in ii. 50-55 *all* the descendants of Hur have been mentioned.

Vers. 5-7. *Sons of Ashur*, the father of Tekoa, who, according to ii. 24, was a posthumous son of Hezron. Ashur had two wives, Helah and Naarah. Of the latter came four sons and as many families: Ahuzam, of whom nothing further is known; Hephher, also unknown, but to be distinguished from the Gileadite of the same name in chap. xi. 36 and Num. xxvi. 32 f. The conjecture that the name is connected with the land of Hephher (1 Kings iv. 10), the territory of a king conquered by Joshua (Josh. xii. 17) (Berth.), is not very well supported. Temani (man of the south) may be simply the name of a person, but it is probably, like the following, the name of a family. Haahashtari, descended from Ahashtar, is quite unknown.—Ver. 7. The first wife, Helah, bore three sons, Zereth, Jezoar, and Ethnan, who are not elsewhere met with. For the Kethibh יִזְרִי there is in the Keri יִזְרִי, the name of a son of Simeon (Gen. xlv. 10), and of a Hittite chief in the time of the patriarchs (Gen. xxiii. 8), with whom the son of Helah has nothing to do.

Vers. 8-10 contain a fragment, the connection of which with the sons of Judah mentioned in chap. ii. is not clear. Coz begat Anub, etc. The name קִי occurs only here; elsewhere only קִיִּי is found, of a Levite, xxiv. 10, cf. Ezra ii. 61 and Neh. iii. 4,—in the latter passage without any statement as to the tribe to which the sons of Hakkoz belonged. The names of the sons begotten by Coz, ver. 8, do not occur elsewhere. The same is to be said of Jabez, of whom we know nothing beyond what is communicated in vers. 9 and 10. The word יַבְזִי donotes in ii. 55 a town or village which is quite unknown to us; but whether our Jabez were father (lord) of this town cannot be determined. If there be any genealogical connection between the man Jabez and the locality of this name or its inhabitants (ii. 55), then the persons named in ver. 8 would belong to the descendants of Shobal. For although the connection of Jabez with Coz and his sons is not clearly set forth, yet it may be conjectured from the statements as to Jabez being connected

with the preceding by the words, "Jabez was more honoured than his brethren." The older commentators have thence drawn the conclusion that Jabez was a son or brother of Coz. Bertheau also rightly remarks: "The statements that he was more honoured than his brethren (cf. Gen. xxxiv. 19), that his mother called him Jabez because she had borne him with sorrow; the use of the similarly sounding word עֲצֵב along with the name יָבֵז (cf. Gen. iv. 25, xix. 37 f., xxix. 32, 33, 35, xxx. 6, 8, etc.); and the statement that Jabez vowed to the God of Israel (cf. Gen. xxxiii. 20) in a prayer (cf. Gen. xxviii. 20),—all bring to our recollection similar statements of Genesis, and doubtless rest upon primeval tradition." In the terms of the vow, לֹאֶיְיָ עֲצֵב, "so that sorrow may not be to me," there is a play upon the name Jabez. But of the vow itself only the conditions proposed by the maker of the vow are communicated: "If Thou wilt bless me, and enlarge my coast, and Thy hand shall be with me, and Thou wilt keep evil far off, not to bring sorrow to me,"—without the conclusion, Then I vow to do this or that (cf. Gen. xxviii. 20 f.), but with the remark that God granted him that which he requested. The reason of this is probably that the vow had acquired importance sufficient to make it worthy of being handed down only from God's having so fulfilled his wish, that his life became a contradiction of his name; the son of sorrow having been free from pain in life, and having attained to greater happiness and reputation than his brothers.

Vers. 11, 12. The genealogy of the men of Rechah.—As to their connection with the larger families of Judah, nothing has been handed down to us. Chelub, another form of the name Caleb or Chelubai (see ii. 9 and 18), is distinguished from the better known Caleb son of Hezron (ii. 18 and 42), and from the son of Jephunneh (ver. 15), by the additional clause, "the son of Shuah." Shuah is not met with elsewhere, but is without reason identified with Hushah, ver. 4, by the older commentators. Mehir the father of Eshton is likewise unknown. Eshton begat the house (the family) of Rapha, of whom also nothing further is said; for they can be connected neither with the Benjamite Rapha (viii. 2) nor with the children of Rapha (xx. 4, 6, 8). Paseah and Tehinnah are also unknown, for it is uncertain whether the sons of Paseah mentioned among the Nethinim, Ezra ii. 49, Neh. vii. 51, have any connection with our Paseah. Tehinnah is called "father of the city of Nahash." The latter

name is probably not properly the name of a town, but rather the name of a person Nahash, not unlikely the same as the father of Abigail (2 Sam. xvii. 25), the step-sister of David (cf. ii. 16). The men (or people) of Rechah are unknown.

Vers. 13-15. *Descendants of Kenaz*.—קנז is a descendant of Hezron the son of Pharez, as may be inferred from the fact that Caleb the son of Jephunneh, a descendant of Hezron's son Caleb, is called in Num. xxxii. 12 and Josh. xiv. 6 קנז, and consequently was also a descendant of Kenaz. Othniel and Seraiah, introduced here as בני קנז, are not sons (in the narrower sense of the word), but more distant descendants of Kenaz; for Othniel and Caleb the son of Jephunneh were, according to Josh. xv. 17 and Judg. i. 13, brothers.<sup>1</sup> Kenaz, therefore, can neither have been the father of Othniel nor father of Caleb (in the proper sense of the word), but must at least have been the grandfather or great-grandfather of both. Othniel is the famous first judge of Israel, Judg. iii. 9 ff. Of Seraiah nothing further is known, although the name is often met with of different persons. The sons of Othniel are Hathath. The plural

<sup>1</sup> The words used in Judg. i. 13, cf. Josh. xv. 17, of the relationship of Othniel and Caleb, בְּרֵי קנז אָחִי כָלֵב הַקָּטָן, may be, it is true, taken in different senses, either as signifying *filius Kenasi fratris Caleb*, according to which, not Othniel, but Kenaz, was a younger brother of Caleb; or in this way, *filius Kenasi, frater Calebi minor*, as we have interpreted them in the text, and also in the commentary on Josh. xv. 17. This interpretation we still hold to be certainly the correct one, notwithstanding what Bachmann (*Buch der Richter*, on i. 13) has brought forward against it and in favour of the other interpretation, and cannot see that his chief reasons are decisive. The assertion that we must predicate of Othniel, if he be a younger brother of Caleb, an unsuitably advanced age, is not convincing. Caleb was eighty-five years of age at the division of the land of Canaan (Josh. xiv. 10). Now if we suppose that his younger or youngest brother Othniel was from twenty-five to thirty years younger, as often happens, Othniel would be from sixty to sixty-one or fifty-five to fifty-six years of age at the conquest of Debir,—an age at which he might well win a wife as the reward of valour. Ten years later came the invasion of the land by Cushan Rishathaim, which lasted eight years, till Othniel had conquered Cushan R., and there were judges in Israel. This victory he would thus gain at the age of seventy-eight or seventy-three; and even if he filled the office of judge for forty years—which, however, Judg. iii. 11 does not state—he would have reached no greater age than 118 or 113 years, only three or eight years older than Joshua had been. If we consider what Caleb said of himself in his eighty-fifth year, Josh. xiv. 11, "I am still strong as in the day that Moses sent me (i.e. forty years before); as my strength was then, even so is my strength now for war, both to go out and to come in," we cannot think that Othniel, in the seventy-third or seventy-

בְּנֵי, even when only one name follows, is met with elsewhere (*vide* on ii. 7); but the continuation is somewhat strange, "and Meonothai begat Ophrah," for as Meonothai is not before mentioned, his connection with Othniel is not given. There is evidently a hiatus in the text, which may most easily be filled up by repeating *וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ* at the end of ver. 13. According to this conjecture two sons of Othniel would be named, Hathath and Meonothai, and then the posterity of the latter is given. The name *קְעוֹנָתִי* (my dwellings) is not met with elsewhere. It is not at all probable that it is connected with the town Maon, and still less that it is so in any way with the Mehunim, Ezra ii. 50. Ophrah is unknown, for of course we must not think of the towns called Ophrah, in the territory of Benjamin, Josh. xviii. 23, and in that of Manasseh, Judg. vi. 11, 24. Seraiah, who is mentioned in ver. 13, begat Joab the father (founder) of the valley of the craftsmen, "for they (*i.e.* the inhabitants of this valley, who were descended from Joab) were craftsmen." The valley of the *חַרְשֵׁים* (craftsmen) is again mentioned in Neh. xi. 35,

eighth years of his age, was too old to be a military leader. But the other reason: "that Caleb is always called son of Jephunneh, Othniel always son of Kenaz, should cause us to hesitate before we take Othniel to be the proper brother of Caleb," loses all its weight when we find that Caleb also is called in Num. xxxii. 12 and Josh. xiv. 6 *בֶּרֶךְ קִנָּז* = *קִנָּזִי*, and it is seen that Caleb therefore, as well as Othniel, was a son of Kenaz. Now if the Kenazite Caleb the son of Jephunneh were a brother of Kenaz, the father of Othniel, we must suppose an older Kenaz, the grandfather or great-grandfather of Caleb, and a younger Kenaz, the father of Othniel. This supposition is certainly feasible, for, according to ver. 15 of our chapter, a grandson of Caleb again was called Kenaz; but if it be probable is another question. For the answering of this question in the affirmative, Bachmann adduces that, according to 1 Chron. iv. 13, Othniel is undoubtedly the son of Kenaz in the proper sense of the word; but it might perhaps be difficult to prove, or even to render probable, this "undoubtedly." In the superscriptions of the single genealogies of the Chronicle, more than elsewhere, *בְּנֵי* has in general a very wide signification. In ver. 1 of our chapter, for instance, sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Judah are all grouped together as *בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה*. But besides this, the ranging of the sons of Caleb the son of Jephunneh (ver. 15) after the enumeration of the sons of Kenaz in vers. 13 and 14, is clearly much more easily explicable if Caleb himself belonged to the *בְּנֵי קִנָּז* mentioned in ver. 13, than if he was a brother of Kenaz. In the latter case we should expect, after the analogy of ii. 42, to find an additional clause *אָחִי קִנָּז* after *בֶּלֶב בֶּן-יֶפְחִנִּי*; while if Caleb was a brother of Othniel, his descent from Kenaz, or the fact that he belonged to the *בְּנֵי קִנָּז*, might be assumed to be known from Num. xxxii. 12.

whence we may conclude that it lay at no great distance from Jerusalem, in a northern direction.—Ver. 15. Of Iru, Elah, and Naam, the sons of Caleb the son of Jephunneh (cf. on ver. 13), nothing more is known. To connect Elah with the Edomite chief of that name (i. 52) is arbitrary. Of Elah's sons only "and Kenaz" is mentioned; the ו copul. before כנז shows clearly that a name has been dropped out before it.

Vers. 16-20. *Descendants of various men*, whose genealogical connection with the sons and grandsons of Judah, mentioned in ver. 1, is not given in the text as it has come to us.—Ver. 16. Sons of Jehaleleel, a man not elsewhere mentioned. Ziph, Ziphah, etc., are met with only here. There is no strong reason for connecting the name זיף with the towns of that name, Josh. xv. 24, 55.—Ver. 17. Ezra, whose four sons are enumerated, is likewise unknown. The singular זר is peculiar, but has analogies in iii. 19, 21, and 23. Of the names of his sons, Jether and Ephraim again occur, the former in ii. 53, and the latter in i. 33 and v. 24, but in other families. Jalon, on the contrary, is found only here. The children of two wives of Mered are enumerated in vers. 17b and 18, but in a fashion which is quite unintelligible, and shows clear traces of a corruption in the text. For (1) the name of a woman as subject of ויתר, "and she conceived (bare)," is wanting; and (2) in ver. 18 the names of two women occur, Jehudijah and Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh. But the sons of Jehudijah are first given, and there follows thereupon the formula, "and these are the sons of Bithiah," without any mention of the names of these sons. This manifest confusion Bertheau has sought to remove by a happy transposition of the words. He suggests that the words, "and these are the sons of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered had taken," should be placed immediately after ויתר. "By this means we obtain (1) the missing subject of ויתר; (2) the definite statement that Mered had two wives, with whom he begat sons; and (3) an arrangement by which the sons are enumerated after the names of their respective mothers." After this transposition the 17th verse would read thus: "And the sons of Ezra are Jether, Mered, . . . and Jalon; and these are the sons of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered took; and she conceived (and bare) Miriam, and Shammai, and Ishbah, the father of Esh-temoa (ver. 18), and his wife Jehudijah bore Jered the father of Gedor, etc." This conjecture commends itself by its sim-

plicity, and by the clearness which it brings into the words. From them we then learn that two families, who dwelt in a number of the cities of Judah, were descended from Mered the son of Ezra by his two wives. We certainly know no more details concerning them, as neither Mered nor his children are met with elsewhere. From the circumstance, however, that the one wife was a daughter of Pharaoh, we may conclude that Mered lived before the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. The name Miriam, which Moses' sister bore, is here a man's name. The names introduced by מְנַחֵם are the names of towns. Ishbah is father (lord) of the town Eshtemoa, in the mountains of Judah, now Semua, a village to the south of Hebron, with considerable ruins dating from ancient times (cf. on Josh. xv. 50). הִי־הַיִּיָּה means properly "the Jewess," as distinguished from the Egyptian woman, Pharaoh's daughter. Gedor is a town in the high lands of Judah (cf. on ver. 4). Socho, in the low land of Judah, now Shuweikeh, in Wady Sumt (cf. on Josh. xv. 35). Zanoah is the name of a town in the high lands of Judah, Josh. xv. 56 (which has not yet been discovered), and of a town in the low land, now Zanua, not far from Zoreah, in an easterly direction (cf. on Josh. xv. 34). Perhaps the latter is here meant. In ver. 19, "the sons of the wife of Hodiah, the sister of Naham, are the father of Keilah the Garmite, and Eshtemoa the Maachathite." The *stat. constr.* אֶת־הָהוֹדִיָּה before הוֹדִיָּה shows that Hodiah is a man's name. Levites of this name are mentioned in Neh. viii. 7, ix. 5, x. 11. The relationship of Hodiah and Naham to the persons formerly named is not given. קַעֲיִלָּה is a locality in the low land of Judah not yet discovered (see on Josh. xv. 44). The origin of the epithet הַגַּרְמִי we do not know. Before אֶת־הַמַּאֲחַתִּי, with ו copul. is probably to be repeated; and the Maachathite, the chief of a part of the inhabitants of Eshtemoa, is perhaps a descendant of Caleb by Maachah (ii. 48).—Ver. 20. Of Shimon and his four sons, also, nothing is known. שִׁמְעוֹן is one name. Ishi is often met with, e.g. ver. 42 and ii. 31, but nowhere in connection with Zoheth (not further noticed). The names of the sons are wanting after בְּרוֹתָיִם.

Vers. 21–23. *Descendants of Shelah*, the third son of Judah, ii. 3, and Gen. xxxviii. 5.—All the families of Judah enumerated in vers. 2–20 are connected together by the conjunction ו, and so are grouped as descendants of the sons and grandsons of Judah named in ver. 1. The conjunction is omitted, however, before

שֶׁלָּה, as also before בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה in ver. 3, to show that the descendants of Shelah form a second line of descendants of Judah, co-ordinate with the sons of Judah enumerated in vers. 1-19, concerning whom only a little obscure but not unimportant information has been preserved. Those mentioned as sons are Er (which also was the name of the first-born of Judah, ii. 3 f.), father of Lecah, and Laadan, the father of Mareshah. The latter name denotes, beyond question, a town which still exists as the ruin Marash in the Shephelah, Josh. xv. 44 (see on ii. 42), and consequently Lecah (לֶכָּה) also is the name of a locality not elsewhere mentioned. The further descendants of Shelah were, "the families of the Byssus-work of the house of Ashbea," i.e. the families of Ashbea, a man of whom nothing further is known. Of these families some were connected with a famous weaving-house or linen (Byssus) manufactory, probably in Egypt; and then further, in ver. 22, "Jokim, and the men of Chozeba, and Joash, and Saraph, which ruled over Moab, and Jashubi-lehem." Kimchi conjectured that פְּנוּיָה was the place called כְּנוֹיִב in Gen. xxxviii. 5 = אֲכִיב, Josh. xv. 44, in the low land, where Shelah was born. יִשְׁבִּי לָהֶם is a strange name, "which the punctuators would hardly have pronounced in the way they have done if it had not come down to them by tradition" (Berth.). The other names denote heads of families or branches of families, the branches and families being included in them.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is told us of them beyond what is found in our verses, according to which the four first named ruled over Moab during a period in the primeval time; for, as the historian himself remarks, "these things are old."—Ver. 23. "These are the potters and the inhabitants of Netaim and Gedera." It is doubtful whether הַפָּהָה refers to all the descendants of Shelah, or only to those named in ver. 22. Bertheau holds the latter to be the more probable reference; "for as those named in ver. 21 have already been denominated Byssus-workers, it appears fitting that those in ver. 22 should be regarded as the potters, etc." But all

<sup>1</sup> Jerome has given a curious translation of ver. 22, "*et qui stare fecit solem, virique mendacii et securus et incendens, qui principes fuerunt in Moab et qui reversi sunt in Lahem: hæc autem verba vetera*,"—according to the Jewish Midrash, in which אֲשֶׁר בָּעָלָה לְמוֹאָב was connected with the narrative in the book of Ruth. For יִקְיָם, *qui stare fecit solem*, is supposed to be Elimelech, and the *viri mendacii* Mahlon and Chilion, so well known from the book of Ruth, who went with their father into the land of Moab and married Moabitesses.

those mentioned in ver. 22 are by no means called Byssus-weavers, but only the families of Ashbea. What the descendants of Er and Laadan were is not said. The נְחִמִּים may consequently very probably refer to all the sons of Shelah enumerated in vers. 21 and 22, with the exception of the families designated Byssus-weavers, who are, of course, understood to be excepted. נְחִמִּים signifies "plantings;" but since נֶטַיִם is probably the name of a city Gedera in the lowlands of Judah (cf. Josh. xv. 36; and for the situation, see on 1 Chron. xii. 4), Netaim also will most likely denote a village where there were royal plantations, and about which these descendants of Shelah were employed, as the words "with the king in his business to dwell there" expressly state. מֶלֶךְ is not an individual king of Judah, for we know not merely "of King Uzziah that he had country lands, 2 Chron. xxvi. 10" (Berth.); but we learn from 1 Chron. xxvii. 25-31 that David also possessed great estates and country lands, which were managed by regularly appointed officers. We may therefore with certainty assume that all the kings of Judah had domains on which not only agriculture and the rearing of cattle, but also trades, were carried on.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the arrangement of the names in vers. 2-20, in which Bertheau finds just twelve families grouped together, he concludes, S. 44 f., that the division of the tribe of Judah into these twelve families did actually exist at some time or other, and had been established by a new reckoning of the families which the heads of the community found themselves compelled to make after deep and wide alterations had taken place in the circumstances of the tribe. He then attempts to determine this time more accurately by the character of the names. For since only a very few names in these verses are known to us from the historical books, from Genesis to 2d Kings, and the few thus known refer to the original divisions of the tribe, which may have maintained themselves till post-exilic times, while, on the contrary, a great number of the other names recur in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah; and since localities which in the earliest period after the exile were important for the new community are frequently met with in our verses, while such as were constantly being mentioned in præ-exilic times are nowhere to be found,—Bertheau supposes that a division of the tribe of Judah is here spoken of, which actually existed at some time in the period between Zerubbabel and Ezra. This hypothesis has, however, no solid foundation. The assumption even that the names in vers. 2-20 belong to just twelve families is very questionable; for this number can only be arrived at by separating the descendants of Caleb, ver. 15, from the descendants of Kenaz, vers. 13 and 14, of whom Caleb himself was one, and reckoning them separately. But the circumstance that in this reckoning only the names in vers. 12-20 are taken into consideration, while no notice is taken of the descendants of Shelah the son of Judah,



## CHAP. IV. 24-43.—THE FAMILIES AND THE DWELLING-PLACES OF THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

In 25-27 we have, traced down through several generations, the genealogy of only one of all the families of the tribe of Simeon. There follows thereupon, in vers. 28-33, an enumeration of the ancient dwelling-places of this tribe; and finally, in vers. 34-43, information is given concerning the emigrations of Simeonite families into other neighbourhoods.

Vers. 24-27. *The families of Simeon.*—Of the six sons of Simeon, Gen. xvi. 10 and Ex. vi. 15, only the five are here named who, according to Num. xxvi. 12-14, founded the families of this tribe. The third son, Ohad, is omitted even in Num. xxvi. 12 in the list of the families of Simeon, at the numbering of the people in the fortieth year of the journey through the wilderness, clearly only because the posterity of Ohad had either died out, or had so dwindled away that it could form no inde-

enumerated in vers. 21-23, is much more important. Bertheau considers this verse to be merely a supplementary addition, but without reason, as we have pointed out on ver. 21. For if the descendants of Shelah form a second line of families descended from Judah, co-ordinate with the descendants of Pharez and Zerah, the tribe of Judah could not, either before or after the exile, have been divided into the twelve families supposed by Bertheau; for we have no reason to suppose, on behalf of this hypothesis, that all the descendants of Shelah had died out towards the end of the exile, and that from the time of Zerubbabel only families descended from Pharez and Zerah existed. But besides this, the hypothesis is decisively excluded by the fact that in the enumeration, vers. 2-20, no trace can be discovered of a division of the tribe of Judah into twelve families; for not only are the families mentioned not ranged according to the order of the sons and grandsons of Judah mentioned in ver. 1, but also the connection of many families with Judah is not even hinted at. An enumeration of families which rested upon a division either made or already existing at any particular time, would be very differently planned and ordered. But if we must hold the supposition of a division of the tribe of Judah into twelve families to be unsubstantiated, since it appears irreconcilable with the present state of these genealogies, we must also believe the opinion that this division actually existed at any time between Zerubbabel and Ezra to be erroneous, and to rest upon no tenable grounds. The relation of the names met with in these verses to the names in the books from Genesis to 2d Kings on the one hand, and to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah on the other, is not really that which Bertheau represents it to be. If we turn our attention in the first place to the names of places, we find that, except a few quite unknown villages or towns, the localities mentioned in vers. 2-20 occur also in the book of Joshua, and many of them even here and there throughout Genesis, in the book of Judges, and in the books of Samuel and Kings. In

pendent family. The names of the five sons agree with the names in Num. xxvi. 12-14, except in the case of Jarib, who in Num. xxvi. 12, which coincides here with Gen. xvi. 10 and Ex. vi. 15, is called Jachin ; יָרִיב, consequently, must be looked upon as a transcriber's error for יָכִין. Nemuel and Zerah (זֶרַח, the rising of the sun) are called in Genesis and Exodus Jemuel (a different form of the same name) and Zohar (זֹהָר, *i.e.* *candor*), another name of similar meaning, which, at first used only as a by-name, afterwards supplanted the original name.—Ver. 25. "Shallum (was) his son;" without doubt the son of the last named Shaul, who in Genesis and Exodus is called the son of a Canaanitish woman, and is thereby distinguished from the other sons. His family is traced down, in vers. 25 and 26, through six generations to one Shimei. But this list is divided into two groups by the words "and the sons of Mishma," inserted at the beginning of ver. 26, but the reasons for the division are unknown. The plural, sons of Mishma, refers to Hammuel and his

these latter they are somewhat more rarely met with, but only because they played no great part in history. The fact of a disproportionate number of these towns occurring also in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah is connected with the peculiar character of the contents of these books, containing as they do a number of registers of the families of Judah which had returned out of exile. Then if we consider the names of persons in vers. 2-20, we find that not a few of them occur in the historical narratives of the books of Samuel and Kings. Others certainly are found only in the family registers of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, while others again are peculiar to our verses. This phenomenon also is completely accounted for by the contents of the various historical books of the Old Testament. For example, had Nehemiah not received into his book the registers of all the families who had returned from Babylon, and who took part in the building of the walls of Jerusalem, no more names would be met with in his book than are found in the books of Samuel and Kings. Bertheau attempts to find support for his hypothesis in the way in which the names are enumerated, and their loose connection with each other, inasmuch as the disconnected statements abruptly and intermittently following one another, which to us bring enigma after enigma, must have been intended for readers who could bring a key to the understanding of the whole from an accurate knowledge of the relations which are here only hinted at ; but the strength of this argument depends upon the assumption that complete family registers were at the command of the author of the Chronicle, from which he excerpted unconnected and obscure fragments, without any regard to order. But such an assumption cannot be justified. The character of that which is communicated would rather lead us to believe that only fragments were in the hands of the chronicler, which he has given to us as he found them. We must therefore pronounce this attempt at an explanation of the contents and form of vers. 2-20 to be an utter failure.

descendants Zacchur and Shimei. Perhaps these two together form, with the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons mentioned in ver. 25, a single larger family.—Ver. 27. Shimei had sixteen sons and six daughters, by whom he became the father of a numerous race. “His brothers,” *i.e.* the other Simeonites, on the contrary, had not many sons. Hence it happens that they made not their whole race, *i.e.* the whole race of the Simeonites, numerous unto the sons of Judah, *i.e.* that the Simeonites were not so numerous as the descendants of Judah. This account is corroborated by the statement made at the numberings of the people under Moses; see on Num. i.-iv. (i. 2, S. 192).

Vers. 28-33. *The ancient dwelling-places of the Simeonites*, which they received within the tribal domain of Judah at the division of the land by Joshua; cf. Josh. xix. 1 ff.—There are in all eighteen cities, divided into two groups, numbering thirteen and five respectively, as in Josh. xix. 2-6, where these same cities are enumerated in the same order. The only difference is, that in Joshua thirteen cities are reckoned in the first group and four in the second, although the first group contains fourteen names. Between Beersheba and Moladah there stands there a שֶׁבַע which is not found in our list, and which might be considered to be a repetition of the second part of בְּאֵר-שֶׁבַע, if it were not that in the list of the cities, Josh. xv. 26, the name שָׁמַע before Moladah corresponds to it. The other differences between the two passages arise partly from different forms of the same name being used,—as, for example, בִּלְהָה for בִּלְהָ (Josh.), אֶלְתוֹלַד for אֶלְתוֹלָד; and partly from different names being used of the same city,—*e.g.* בֵּית-לִבְנָח (ver. 31) instead of בֵּית-לִבְנָח, “the house of lions” (Josh.), שְׁעָרִים instead of שְׁרָיָה (Josh.). All these cities lie in the south land of Judah, and have therefore been named in Josh. xv. 26-32 among the cities of that district. As to Beersheba, now Bir es Seba, see on Gen. xxi. 31; and for Moladah, which is to be identified with the ruin el Milh to the south of Hebron, on the road to Ailah, see on Josh. xv. 26. Bilhah (in Josh. xv. 29, בִּלְהָה, Ezem, Tolad, and Bethuel (for which in Josh. xv. 31 בְּסִיל is found), have not yet been discovered; cf. on Josh. xv. 29 and 30. Hormah, formerly Sephat, is now the ruin Sepata, on the western slope of the Rakhma table-land, 2½ hours south of Khalasa (Elusa); cf. on Josh. xii. 14. Ziklag is most probably to be sought in the ancient village Aschludsch or Kasludsch, to the east of Sepata; cf. on Josh. xv. 31. Beth-Mar-

caboth, *i.e.* "carriage-house," and Hazar-Susim (or Susa), *i.e.* horse-village, both evidently by-names, are called in Josh. xv. 31 Madmannah and Sansannah. Their position has not yet been discovered. Beth-Birei, or Beth-Leboath, is also as yet undiscovered; cf. on Josh. xv. 32. Shaaraim, called in Josh. xv. 32 Shilhim, is supposed to be the same as Tell Sheriah, between Gaza and Beersheba; cf. Van de Velde, *Reise*, ii. S. 154. The enumeration of these thirteen cities concludes in ver. 31 with the strange subscription, "These (were) their cities until the reign of David, and their villages." חֲצִירֵיהֶם, which, according to the Masoretic division of the verses, stands at the beginning of ver. 32, should certainly be taken with ver. 31; for the places mentioned in ver. 32 are expressly called cities, and in Josh. xix. 6, cities and their villages, חֲצִירֵיהֶם, are spoken of. This subscription can hardly "only be intended to remind us, that of the first-mentioned cities, one (*viz.* Ziklag, 1 Sam. xxvii. 6), or several, in the time of David, no longer belonged to the tribe of Simeon;" nor can it only be meant to state that "till the time of David the cities named were in possession of the tribe of Simeon, though they did not all continue to be possessed by this tribe at a later time" (Berth.). Ziklag had been, even before the reign of David, taken away from the Simeonites by the Philistines, and had become the property of King Achish, who in the reign of Saul presented it to David, and through him it became the property of the kings of Judah (1 Sam. xxvii. 6). The subscription can only mean that till the reign of David these cities rightfully belonged to the Simeonites, but that during and after David's reign this rightful possession of the Simeonites was trenched upon; and of this curtailing of their rights, the transfer of the city of Ziklag to the kings of Judah gives one historically attested proof. This, however, might not have been the only instance of the sort; it may have brought with it other alterations in the possessions of the Simeonites as to which we have no information. The remark of R. Salomo and Kimchi, that the men of Judah, when they had attained to greater power under David's rule, drove the Simeonites out of their domains, and compelled them to seek out other dwelling-places, is easily seen to be an inference drawn from the notices in vers. 33-43 of emigrations of the Simeonites into other districts; but it may not be quite incorrect, as these emigrations under Hezekiah presuppose a pressure upon or diminution of their territory. We would indeed

expect this remark to occur after ver. 33, but it may have been placed between the first and second groups of cities, for the reason that the alterations in the dwelling-places of the Simeonites which took place in the time of David affected merely the first group, while the cities named in ver. 32 f., with their villages, remained at a later time even the untouched possession of the Simeonites.—Ver. 32. Instead of the five cities, Etam, Ain, Rimmon, Tochen, and Ashan, only four are mentioned in Josh. xix. 7, viz. Ain, Rimmon, Ether, and Ashan; עֵתֶר is written instead of תֹּחֶן, and עֵיטָם is wanting. According to Movers, p. 73, and Berth. in his commentary on the passage, the list of these cities must have been at first as follows: עֵין רִמּוֹן (one city), עֵתֶר, תֹּחֶן, and עֵשָׂן; in Joshua תֹּחֶן must have fallen out by mistake, in our text עֵתֶר has been erroneously exchanged for the better known city עֵיטָם in the tribe of Judah, while by reckoning both עֵין and רִמּוֹן the number four has become five. These conjectures are shown to be groundless by the order of the names in our text. For had עֵתֶר been exchanged for עֵיטָם, עֵיטָם would not stand in the first place, at the head of the four or five cities, but would have occupied the place of עֵתֶר, which is connected with עֵשָׂן in Josh. xix. 7 and xv. 43. Then again, the fact that in Josh. xv. 32 רִמּוֹן is separated from עֵין by the ו cop., and in Josh. xix. 7 is reckoned by itself as one city as in our verse, is decisive against taking עֵין and רִמּוֹן together as one name. The want of the conjunction, moreover, between the two names here and in Josh. xix. 7, and the uniting of the two words into one name, עֵין־רִמּוֹן, Neh. xi. 29, is explained by the supposition that the towns lay in the immediate neighbourhood of each other, so that they were at a later time united, or at least might be regarded as one city. Rimmon is perhaps the same as the ruin Rum er Rummanim, four hours to the north of Beersheba; and Ain is probably to be identified with a large half-ruined and very ancient well which lies at from thirty to thirty-five minutes distance. cf. on Josh. xv. 32. Finally, the assertion that the name עֵיטָם has come into our text by an exchange of the unknown עֵתֶר for the name of this better known city of Judah, is founded upon a double geographical error. It rests (1) upon the erroneous assumption that besides the Etam in the high lands of Judah to the south of Bethlehem, there was no other city of this name, and that the Etam mentioned in Judg. xv. 8, 11 is identical with that in the high lands of Judah; and (2) on the mistaken idea that Ether was also situated in the high

lands of Judah, whereas it was, according to Josh. xv. 42, one of the cities of the Shephelah; and the Simeonites, moreover, had no cities in the high lands of Judah, but had their dwelling-places assigned to them in the Negeb and the Shephelah. The existence of a second Etam, besides that in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, is placed beyond doubt by Judg. xv. 8 and 11; for mention is there made of an Etam in the plain of Judah, which is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Khuweilfe, on the border of the Negeb and the mountainous district: cf. on Judg. xv. 8. It is this Etam which is spoken of in our verse, and it is rightly grouped with Ain and Rimmon, which were situated in the Negeb, while Tochen and Ashan were in the Shephelah. The statement of Josh. xix. 7 and xv. 42 leaves no doubt as to the fact that the הַיָּמִן of our verse is only another name for עֵתָם. Etam must therefore have come into the possession of the Simeonites after Joshua's time, but as to when, or under what circumstances, we have no information.—Ver. 33. Concerning the villages belonging to these cities, cf. on Josh. xix. 8, where for בְּעַל we have the more accurate בְּעֵלֶת בְּאֵר, and Ramah of the south. The position of these places has not yet been certainly ascertained. "These are their dwelling-places, and their family register was to them;" i.e. although they were only a small tribe and dwelt in the midst of Judah, they yet had their own family register (Berth.). הַחֲרִישׁ infin. is used substantively, "the entering in the family register."

Vers. 34–43. *Emigrations of Simeonite families into other districts*.—Vers. 34–41 record an expedition of the Simeonites, in the time of Hezekiah, undertaken for purposes of conquest. In vers. 34–36, thirteen princes of the tribe of Simeon are enumerated who undertook this expedition. The families of some of them are traced through several generations, but in no case are they traced down so far as to show their connection with the families named in vers. 24–26.—Ver. 38. "These mentioned by their names were princes in their families; whose fathers'-houses had increased to a multitude. And they went," etc. הַבָּאִים בְּשֵׁמוֹת, properly "those who have come with their names," i.e. those who have been mentioned by name; for בָּא with אֵל = to come with, is to bring something in, to introduce: cf. Ps. lxxi. 16. This formula is synonymous with הַבָּנוּתִים בְּשֵׁמוֹת, ver. 41; but we cannot consider it, as J. H. Mich., Berth., and others do, identical in meaning with בְּשֵׁמוֹת נָקְבוּ, xii. 31, Num. i. 17, etc. The predicate to אֵלֶּה is נִשְׁאָרִים, and הַבָּאִים is a relative sentence, more

accurately defining the subject אֲנִי. Princes in their families are not heads of families, but heads of fathers'-houses, into which the families had divided themselves. בְּיַת־אֲבוֹת is not construed with the plural, as being collective (Berth.), but as the plural of the word בְּיַת־אָב: cf. Ew. § 270, c.—Ver. 39. The princes named “went westward from Gedor to the east side of the valley, to seek pasture for their flocks.” מְבוֹא גֵדוֹר does not mean the entrance of Gedor (Mich., Berth., and others); but is, as the corresponding מִזְרַח, “rising” of the sun, i.e. east, requires, a designation of the west, and is abridged from מְבוֹא הַשָּׁמֶשׁ, as in statements with reference to places מִזְרַח is used instead of מְבוֹא הַשָּׁמֶשׁ. The locality itself, however, is to us at present unknown. So much is clear, that by Gedor, the Gedor mentioned in Josh. xv. 58, situated in the high lands of Judah, north of Hebron, cannot be intended, for in that district there is no open valley stretching out on either hand; and the Simeonites, moreover, could not have carried on a war of conquest in the territory of the tribe of Judah in the reign of Hezekiah. But where this Gedor is to be sought cannot be more accurately determined; for הַנֵּיזָה is certainly not “the valley in which the Dead Sea lies, and the southern continuation of that valley,” as Ewald and Berth. think: that valley has, in the Old Testament, always the name הָעֲרֵבָה. From the use of the article, “the valley,” no further conclusion can be drawn, than that a definite valley in the neighbourhood of Gedor is meant.<sup>1</sup> Even the further statements, in ver. 30, with regard to the district, that they found there fat and good pasture, and that the land extended on both sides (i.e. was wide), and at rest and secure, because formerly the Hamites dwelt there, and the statement of ver. 41, that the Simeonites found the Meunim there, and smote them, give us no firm foothold for the ascertainment of the district referred to. The whole Negeb of Judah has been as yet too little travelled over and explored by modern travellers, to allow

<sup>1</sup> The LXX. have rendered גֵּדוֹר by Γερά, whence Ewald and Bertheau conclude that גֵּדוֹר is a transcriber's error for גֵּרָר. But a slip of the pen which would make the Gerar so famed in the history of the patriarchs into Gedor is *a priori* not very probable; and the defective writing גֵּדוֹר, while Gedor in the high lands is written גֵּדוֹר, cannot be adduced, as Bertheau thinks, in support of the hypothesis, since Gedor even in ver. 18 is written defectively. It is decisive against Gerar, that the dwelling-places of the Simeonites demonstrably did not extend till towards sunset (westward) from Gerar, for the cities assigned to them all lie to the east of Gerar.

of our forming any probable conjecture as to Gedor and the wide valley stretching out on both sides. The description of the Hamite inhabitants, *שְׁקֵטָה וְשֵׁלָה*, reminds us of the inhabitants of the ancient Laish (Judg. xviii. 7, 27). Those *מִן הָאֵם* are people from Ham, i.e. Hamites, and they may have been Egyptians, Cushites, or even Canaanites (chap. i. 8). This only is certain, that they were a peaceful shepherd people, who dwelt in tents, and were therefore nomads. *לְפָנֵינוּ*, "formerly," before the Simeonites took possession of the land.—Ver. 41. The above-mentioned Simeonite princes, with their people, fell upon the peaceful little people of the Hamites in the days of Hezekiah, and smote, i.e. destroyed, their tents, and also the Meunites whom they found there. The Meunites were strangers in this place, and were probably connected with the city Maan in the neighbourhood of Petra, to the east of Wady Musa (cf. on 2 Chron. xx. 1 and xxvi. 7), who dwelt in tents as nomads, with the Hamites in their richly pastured valley. *וַיַּחְרִימוּם*, and they destroyed them utterly, as the Vulgate rightly renders it, *et deleverunt*; and J. H. Mich., *ad internecionem usque eos exciderunt*. The word *וַיַּחְרִימוּם*, to smite with the curse, having gradually lost its original religious signification, came to be used in a wider sense, to denote complete extirpation, because all accursed persons were slain. Undoubted examples are 2 Chron. xx. 23, xxxii. 14, 2 Kings xix. 11, Isa. xxxvii. 11; and it is to be so understood here also.<sup>1</sup> "Until this day," i.e. till the composition of the historical work used by the author of the Chronicle, i.e. till the time before the exile.—Vers. 42 and 43. A part of the Simeonites undertook a second war of conquest against Mount Seir. Led by four chiefs of the sons of Shimei (cf. ver. 27), 500 men marched thither, smote the remainder of the Amalekites who had escaped, and they dwell there to this day (as in ver. 41). *וַיֵּשְׁבוּ* is more accurately defined by

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau ignores this secondary use of the word, and has drawn from *וַיַּחְרִימוּם* the extremely wide inference, that the Simeonites, impelled by holy enthusiasm, arising from the wondrous deliverance of Judah from the attack of the Assyrian power, and the elevation of feeling which it produced in the community, and filled with the thought awakened by the discourses of the great prophets, that the time had come to extend Israel's rule, and to bring the conquered peoples under the curse, just as was done in the time of Joshua, had undertaken this war of annexation. But there is unfortunately not a single trace of this enthusiastic thought in the narrative of our verse, for it knows no other motive for the whole undertaking than the purely earthly need to seek and find new pasture lands.



מִבְּנֵי שׁ, and is therefore to be referred to the Simeonites in general, and not to that part of them only mentioned in ver. 33 (Berth.). From the circumstance that the leaders were sons of Shimei, we may conclude that the whole troop belonged to this family. The escaped of Amalek are those who had escaped destruction in the victories of Saul and David over this hereditary enemy of Israel (1 Sam. xiv. 48, xv. 7; 2 Sam. viii. 12). A remnant of them had been driven into the mountain land of Idumea, where they were smitten, *i.e.* extirpated, by the Simeonites. It is not said at what time this was done, but it occurred most probably in the second half of Hezekiah's reign.

CHAP. V. 1-26.—THE FAMILIES OF REUBEN, GAD, AND THE HALF TRIBE OF MANASSEH BEYOND JORDAN.

Vers. 1-10. *The families of the tribe of Reuben.*—Vers. 1, 2. Reuben is called the first-born of Israel, because he was the first-born of Jacob, although, owing to his having defiled his father's bed (Gen. xlix. 4), his birthright, *i.e.* its privileges, were transferred to the sons of Joseph, who were not, however, entered in the family register of the house of Israel according to the birthright, *i.e.* as first-born sons. The inf. הִתְחַשׁ with ל expresses "shall" or "must," cf. Ew. § 237, e, "he was not to register," *i.e.* "he was not to be registered." The subject is Joseph, as the Rabbins, *e.g.* Kimchi, have perceived. The clauses after בְּיָהוֹיָה form a parenthesis, containing the reason of Reuben's being called בְּכוֹר יִשְׂרָאֵל, which is still further established by its being shown (in ver. 2) how it happened that Joseph, although the birthright was given to him, according to the disposition made by the patriarch (Gen. xlviii. 5 ff.), yet was not entered in the family registers as first-born. The reason of this was, "for Judah was strong among his brethren, and (one) from him became the Prince;" *scil.* on the strength of the patriarchal blessing (Gen. xlix. 8-12), and by means of the historic fulfilment of this blessing. The "prevailing" of Judah among his brethren showed itself even under Moses at the numbering of the people, when the tribe of Judah considerably outnumbered all the other tribes (cf. t. i. 2, S. 192). Then, again, it appeared after the division of the land of Canaan among the tribes of Israel, Judah being called by a declaration of the divine will to be the vanguard of the army in the war against the Canaanites

(Judg. i. 1 f.); and it was finally made manifest by the יְהוֹנָדָה over Israel being chosen by God from the tribe of Judah, in the person of David (cf. xxviii. 4 with 1 Sam. xiii. 14, xxv. 30). From this we gather that the short, and from its brevity obscure, sentence וְהַיְיִדִּים מִמֶּנִּי bears the signification we have given it. "But the birthright was Joseph's;" i.e. the rights of the progenitor were transferred to or remained with him, for two tribal domains were assigned to his two sons Ephraim and Manasseh, according to the law of the first-born (Deut. xxi. 15-17).

After this parenthetic explanation, the words "the sons of Reuben, the first-born of Israel," ver. 1, are again taken up in ver. 3, and the sons are enumerated. The names of the four sons correspond to those given in Gen. xlv. 9, Ex. vi. 14, and Num. xxvi. 5-7.—Vers. 4-6. From one of these sons descended Joel, whose family is traced down through seven generations, to the time of the Assyrian deportation of the Israelites. But we are neither informed here, nor can we ascertain from any information elsewhere given in the Old Testament, from which of the four sons Joel was descended. For although many of the names in vers. 4-6 frequently occur, yet they are nowhere met with in connection with the family whose members are here registered. The last-named, Beerah, was נָשִׂיא לְרֵאִיכָנִי, a prince of the Reubenites, not a prince of the tribe of Reuben, but a prince of a family of the Reubenites. This is expressed by לְ being used instead of the *stat. constr.*; cf. Ew. § 292, a. In reference to the leading away of the trans-Jordanic tribes into captivity by Tiglath-pilneser, cf. on 2 Kings xv. 29. The name of this king as it appears in the Chronicles is always Tiglath-pilneser, and in the book of Kings Tiglath-pileser, but its meaning has not yet been certainly ascertained. According to Oppert's interpretation, it = תְּגִלְת־פִּלְסֵר, i.e. "worship of the son of the Zodiac" (i.e. the Assyrian Hercules); *vid.* Delitzsch on Isaiah, Introd.—Vers. 7-9. "And his brothers, (each) according to his families in the registration, according to their descent (properly their generations; *vide* for תּוֹלְדוֹת on Gen. ii. 4), are (were) the head (the first) Jeiel and Zechariah, and Bela, . . . the son of Joel," probably the Joel already mentioned in ver. 4. "His (i.e. Beerah's) brothers" are the families related to the family of Beerah, which were descended from the brothers of Joel. That they were not, however, properly "brothers," is clear from the fact that Bela's descent is traced back to Joel as the third of the preceding

members of his family; and the conclusion would be the same, even if this Joel be another than the one mentioned in ver. 4. The singular suffix with **לְשֵׁחָהוּי** is to be taken distributively, or **וְהָיָה** may be supplied before it in thought; cf. Num. ii. 34, xi. 10. The word **רֹאשׁ**, "head," for the first-born, stands here before the name, as in xii. 3, xxiii. 8; elsewhere it stands after the name, e.g. ver. 12 and ix. 17. The dwelling-places of Bela and his family are then given in vers. 8b and 9. "He dwelt in Aroer," on the banks of the brook Arnon (Josh. xiii. 9, xii. 2), now the ruin Araayr on the northern bank of the Mojob (*vide* on Num. xxxii. 34). "Until Nebo and Baal-meon" westward. Nebo, a village on the hill of the same name in the mountains of Abarim, opposite Jericho (cf. on Num. xxxii. 38). Baal-meon is probably identical with the ruin Myun, three-quarters of an hour south-east from Heshbon.—Ver. 9. "Eastward to the coming to the desert (*i.e.* till towards the desert) from the river Euphrates," *i.e.* to the great Arabico-Syrian desert, which stretches from the Euphrates to the eastern frontier of Perea, or from Gilead to the Euphrates. Bela's family had spread themselves so far abroad, "for their herds were numerous in the land of Gilead," *i.e.* Perea, the whole trans-Jordanic domain of the Israelites.—Ver. 10. "In the days of Saul they made war upon the Hagarites, and they fell into their hands, and they dwelt in their tents over the whole east side of Gilead." The subject is not determined, so that the words may be referred either to the whole tribe of Reuben or to the family of Bela (ver. 8). The circumstance that in vers. 8 and 9 Bela is spoken of in the singular (**הָיָה יֶשֶׁב** and **יָשָׁב**), while here the plural is used in reference to the war, is not sufficient to show that the words do not refer to Bela's family, for the narrative has already fallen into the plural in the last clause of ver. 9. We therefore think it better to refer ver. 10 to the family of Bela, seeing that the wide spread of this family, which is mentioned in ver. 9, as far as the desert to the east of the inhabited land, presupposes the driving out of the Hagarites dwelling on the eastern plain of Gilead. The notice of this war, moreover, is clearly inserted here for the purpose of explaining the wide spread of the Belaites even to the Euphrates desert, and there is nothing which can be adduced against that reference. The **וְהָיָה** in ver. 7 does not, as Berthelette thinks probable, denote that Bela was a contemporary of Beor, even if the circumstance that from Bela to Joel only three



generations are enumerated, could be reconciled with this supposition. The spread of Bela's family over the whole of the Reubenite Gilead, which has just been narrated, proves decisively that they were not contemporaries. If Bela lived at the time of the invasion of Gilead by Tiglath-pileser, when the prince Beerah was carried away into exile, it is certainly possible that he might have escaped the Assyrians; but he could neither have had at that time a family "which inhabited all the east land," nor could he himself have extended his domain from "Aroer and Nebo towards the wilderness," as the words *הָיָה יְעֹשֶׁבֶת*, ver. 8, distinctly state. We therefore hold that Bela was much older than Beerah, for he is introduced as a great-grandson of Joel, so that his family might have been as widely distributed as vers. 8, 9 state, and have undertaken and carried out the war of conquest against the Hagarites, referred to in ver. 10, as early as the time of Saul. Thus, too, we can most easily explain the fact that Bela and his brothers Jeiel and Zechariah are not mentioned. As to *הַיְרֵאִים*, cf. on ver. 19.

Vers. 11–17. *The families of the tribe of Gad, and their dwelling-places.*—Ver. 11. In connection with the preceding statement as to the dwelling-places of the Reubenites, the enumeration of the families of Gad begins with a statement as to their dwelling-places: "Over against them (the Reubenites) dwelt the Gadites in Bashan unto Salcah." Bashan is used here in its wider signification of the dominion of King Og, which embraced the northern half of Gilead, *i.e.* the part of that district which lay on the north side of the Jabbok, and the whole district of Bashan; cf. on Deut. iii. 10. Salcah formed the boundary towards the east, and is now Szalchad, about six hours eastward from Bosra (see on Deut. iii. 10).—Ver. 12. The sons of Gad (Gen. xvi. 16) are not named here, because the enumeration of the families of Gad had been already introduced by ver. 11, and the genealogical connection of the families enumerated in ver. 12 ff., with the sons of the tribal ancestor, had not been handed down. In ver. 12 four names are mentioned, which are clearly those of heads of families or fathers'-houses, with the addition "in Bashan," *i.e.* dwelling, for *יָשָׁבוּ* is to be repeated or supplied from the preceding verse.—In ver. 13 seven other names occur, the bearers of which are introduced as brothers of those mentioned (ver. 12), according to their fathers'-houses. They are therefore heads of fathers'-houses, but the district in which they dwelt is not given; whence

Bertheau concludes, but wrongly, that the place where they dwelt is not given in the text. The statement which is here omitted follows in ver. 16 at a fitting place; for in vers. 14 and 15 their genealogy, which rightly goes before the mention of their dwelling-place, is given. גִּלְעָד, ver. 14, is not to be referred, as Bertheau thinks, to the four Gadites mentioned in vers. 12 and 13, but only to those mentioned in ver. 13. Nothing more was known of those four (ver. 12) but that they dwelt in Bashan, while the genealogy of the seven is traced up through eight generations to a certain Buz, of whom nothing further is known, as the name בּוּז occurs nowhere else, except in Gen. xxii. 21 as that of a son of Nahor. The names of his ancestors also are not found elsewhere among the Gadites.—Ver. 15. The head of their fathers' houses (*i.e.* of those mentioned in ver. 13) was Ahi the son of Abdiel, the son of Guni, who is conjectured to have lived in the time of King Jotham of Judah, or of Jeroboam II. of Israel, when, according to ver. 17, genealogical registers of the Gadites were made up.—Ver. 16. The families descended from Buz "dwelt in Gilead," in the part of that district lying to the south of the Jabbok, which Moses had given to the Gadites and Reubenites (Deut. iii. 12); "in Bashan and her daughters," that is, in the villages belonging to the cities of Bashan and Gilead inhabited by them (for the suffix in בְּבָנוֹתֶיהָ is to be referred distributively to both districts, or the cities in them). "And in all the pasture grounds (פְּנֵי, cf. on Num. xxxv. 2) of Sharon unto their outgoings." שָׂרֹן, Sharon, lay not in Perea, but is a great plain on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, extending from Carmel to near Joppa, famed for its great fertility and its rich growth of flowers (Song ii. 1; Isa. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 2, lxx. 10). "*A Cæsarea Palæstinæ usque ad oppidum Joppe omnis terra, quæ cernitur, dicitur Saronas.*" Jerome in *Onom.*; cf. v. Raumer, *Pal. S.* 50, and Robins. *Phys. Geog. S.* 123. It is this plain which is here meant, and the supposition of the older commentators that there was a second Sharon in the east-Jordan land is without foundation, as Reland, *Palestina illustr.* p. 370 sq., has correctly remarked. For it is not said that the Gadites possessed cities in Sharon, but only pastures of Sharon are spoken of, which the Gadites may have sought out for their herds even on the coast of the Mediterranean; more especially as the domain of the cis-Jordanic half-tribe of Manasseh stretched into the plain of Sharon, and it is probable that at all times

there was intercourse between the cis- and trans-Jordanic Manasites, in which the Gadites may also have taken part. מִן־הַיָּרְדֵּן are the outgoings of the pastures to the sea, cf. Josh. xvii. 9.—Ver. 17. “All these (בְּכָל, all the families of Gad, not merely those mentioned in ver. 13 ff.) were registered in the days of Jotham king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel.” These two kings did not reign contemporaneously, for Jotham ascended the throne in Judah twenty-five years after the death of Jeroboam of Israel. Here, therefore, two different registrations must be referred to, and that carried on under Jotham is mentioned first, because Judah had the legitimate kingship. That set on foot by Jeroboam was probably undertaken after that king had restored all the ancient boundaries of the kingdom of Israel, 2 Kings xiv. 25 ff. King Jotham of Judah could prepare a register of the Gadites only if a part of the trans-Jordanic tribes had come temporarily under his dominion. As to any such event, indeed, we have no accurate information, but the thing in itself is not unlikely. For as the death of Jeroboam II. was followed by complete anarchy in the kingdom of the ten tribes, and one ruler overthrew the other, until at last Pekah succeeded in holding the crown for ten years, while in Judah until Pekah ascended the throne of Israel Uzziah reigned, and raised his kingdom to greater power and prosperity, the southern part of the trans-Jordanic land might very well have come for a time under the sway of Judah. At such a time Jotham may have carried out an assessment and registration of the Gadites, until his contemporary Pekah succeeded, with the help of the Syrian king Rezin, in taking from the king of Judah the dominion over Gilead, and in humbling the kingdom of Judah in the reign of Ahaz.

Vers. 18–22. *War of the trans-Jordanic tribes of Israel with Arabic tribes.*—As the half-tribe of Manasseh also took part in this war, we should have expected the account of it after ver. 24. Bertheau regards its position here as a result of striving after a symmetrical distribution of the historical information. “In the case of Reuben,” he says, “the historical information is in ver. 10; in the case of the half-tribe of Manasseh, in vers. 25 and 26; as to Gad, we have our record in vers. 18–22, which, together with the account in vers. 25 and 26, refers to all the trans-Jordanic Israelites.” But it is much more likely that the reason of it will be found in the character of the authorities which the author of the Chronicle made use of, in which, probably, the

notes regarding this war were contained in the genealogical register of the Gadites.—Ver. 18. מִבְּנֵי חַיִל belongs to the predicate of the sentence, “They were the sons of valour,” *i.e.* they belonged to the valiant warriors, “men bearing shield and sword (weapons of offence and defence), and those treading (or bending) the bow,” *i.e.* skilful bowmen. לְמַדֵּי מִלְחָמָה, people practised in war; cf. the portrayal of the warlike valour of Gad and Manasseh, chap. xii. 8, 21. “The number 44,760 must be founded upon an accurate reckoning” (Berth.); but in comparison with the number of men capable of bearing arms in those tribes in the time of Moses, it is somewhat inconsiderable: for at the first numbering under him Reuben alone had 46,500 and Gad 45,650, and at the second numbering Reuben had 43,730 and Gad 40,500 men; see on Num. i.-iv. (i. 2, S. 192).—Ver. 19. “They made war with the Hagarites and Jetur, Nephish and Nodab.” So early as the time of Saul the Reubenites had victoriously made war upon the Hagarites (see ver. 10); but the war here mentioned was certainly at a later time, and has no further connection with that in ver. 10 except that both arose from similar causes. The time of the second is not given, and all we know from ver. 22*b* is that it had broken out before the trans-Jordanic Israelites were led captive by the Assyrians. הַגֵּרִי אִים, in Ps. lxxxiii. 7 contracted into הַגֵּרִים, are the *Ἀγραιοί*, whom Strabo, xvi. p. 767, introduces, on the authority of Eratosthenes, as leading a nomadic life in the great Arabico-Syrian desert, along with the Nabatæans and Chaulotæans. Jetur, from whom the Itureans are descended, and Nephish, are Ishmaelites; cf. on Gen. xxv. 15. Nodab, mentioned only here, is a Bedouin tribe of whom nothing more is known.—Ver. 20. The Israelites, with God’s help, gained the victory. עָזַר, “it was helped to them,” *i.e.* by God “against them”—the Hagarites and their allies. שָׁעַפְתָּם contracted from אֲשֶׁר עָפְתָּם. שָׁעַפְתָּ is not an uncommon form of the perf. Niph., which would not be suitable in a continuous sentence, but the inf. absol. Niph. used instead of the third pers. perf. (cf. Gesen. *Heb. Gramm.* § 131, 4): “and (God) was entreated of them, because they trusted in Him.” From these words we may conclude that the war was a very serious one, in which the possession of the land was at stake. As the trans-Jordanic tribes lived mainly by cattle-breeding, and the Arabian tribes on the eastern frontier of their land were also a shepherd people, quarrels could easily arise as to the possession of the pasture grounds, which might lead to a war

of extermination.—Ver. 21. The conquerors captured a great booty in herds, 50,000 camels, 250,000 head of small cattle (sheep and goats), 2000 asses, and 100,000 persons—all round numbers; cf. the rich booty obtained in the war against the Midianites, Num. xxxi. 11, 32 ff.—Ver. 22. This rich booty should not surprise us, “for there fell many slain,” *i.e.* the enemy had suffered a very bloody defeat. “For the war was from God,” *i.e.* conducted to this result: cf. 2 Chron. xxv. 20; 1 Sam. xvii. 47. “And they dwelt in their stead,” *i.e.* they took possession of the pasture grounds, which up to that time had belonged to the Arabs, and held them until they were carried away captive by the Assyrians; see ver. 26.

Vers. 23–26. *The families of the half-tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, and the leading away of the East-Jordan Israelites into the Assyrian exile.*—Ver. 23. The half-tribe of Manasseh in Bashan was very numerous (הַמָּנַשֶׁה רַבִּי), “and they dwelt in the land of Bashan (*i.e.* the Bashan inhabited by Gad, ver. 12) (northwards) to Baal Hermon,”—*i.e.*, according to the more accurate designation of the place in Josh. xii. 7 and xiii. 5, in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon, probably the present Bânjas, at the foot of Hermon (see on Num. xxxiv. 8),—“and Senir and Mount Hermon.” שֵׁנִיר, which according to Deut. iii. 9 was the name of Hermon or Antilibanus in use among the Amorites, is here and in Ezek. xxvii. 5 the name of a part of those mountains (*vide* on Deut. iii. 9), just as “Mount Hermon” is the name of another part of this range.—Ver. 24. Seven heads of fathers’-houses of the half-tribe of Manasseh are enumerated, and characterized as valiant heroes and famous men. The enumeration of the names begins strangely with וְהַמְעֵרָה (וְהַמְעֵרָה); perhaps a name has fallen out before it. Nothing has been handed down as to any of these names.—Vers. 25 and 26 form the conclusion of the register of the two and a half trans-Jordanic tribes. The sons of Manasseh are not the subject to וְהַמְעֵרָה, but the Reubenites and Manassites, as is clear from ver. 26. These fell away faithlessly from the God of their fathers, and went a whoring after the gods of the people of the land, whom God had destroyed before them, *i.e.* the Amorites or Canaanites. “And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of the Assyrian kings Pul and Tiglath-pileser, and he (this latter) led them away captives to Halah and Habor,” etc. וְהָעַר אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ, Lavater has rightly rendered, “*in mentem illis dedit, movit eos, ut expeditionem facerent contra illos;*” cf. 2 Chron. xxi. 16.



Pul is mentioned as being the first Assyrian king who attacked the land of Israel, cf. 2 Kings xv. 19 f. The deportation began, however, only with Tiglath-pileser, who led the East-Jordan tribes into exile, 2 Kings xv. 29. To him חֲלָהּ sing. refers. The suffix is defined by the following acc., 'לְרֵאשִׁיטֵי וּ'; חֲלָהּ is, according to the later usage, *nota acc.*; cf. Ew. § 277, e. So also before the name חֲלָהּ, "to Halah," *i.e.* probably the district *Καλαχίμη* (in Strabo) on the east side of the Tigris near Adiabene, to the north of Nineveh, on the frontier of Armenia (cf. on 2 Kings xvii. 6). In the second book of Kings (xv. 29) the district to which the two and a half tribes were sent as exiles is not accurately determined, being only called in general Asshur (Assyria). The names in our verse are there (2 Kings xvii. 6) the names of the districts to which Shalmaneser sent the remainder of the ten tribes after the destruction of the kingdom of Israel. It is therefore questionable whether the author of the Chronicle took his account from an authority used by him, or if he names these districts only according to general recollection, in which the times of Shalmaneser and of Tiglath-pileser are not very accurately distinguished (Berth.). We consider the first supposition the more probable, not merely because he inverts the order of the names, but mainly because he gives the name חֲרָא instead of "the cities of Media," as it is in Kings, and that name he could only have obtained from his authorities. חֲרָא is not the river Chaboras in Mesopotamia, which falls into the Euphrates near Circesium, for that river is called in Ezekiel חֲבֵר, but is a district in northern Assyria, where Jakut mentions that there is both a mountain *Χαβώρας* on the frontier of Assyria and Media (Ptolem. vi. 1), and a river Khabur Chasaniz, which still bears the old name Khâbur, rising in the neighbourhood of the upper Zab, near Amadijeh, and falling into the Tigris below Jezirah. This Khâbur is the river of Gozan (*vide* on 2 Kings xvii. 6). The word חֲרָא appears to be the Aramaic form of the Hebrew חָרָא, mountains, and the vernacular designation usual in the mouths of the people of the mountain land of Media, which is called also in Arabic el Jebâl (the mountains). This name can therefore only have been handed down from the exiles who dwelt there.

## CHAP. V. 27-VI. 66.—THE FAMILIES OF LEVI, AND THEIR CITIES.

As to the tribe of Levi, we have several communications: (1.) the genealogy of the high-priestly family of Aaron, down to Jehozadak, who was led away into exile by Nebuchadnezzar (v. 27-41); (2.) a short register of the families of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, which does not extend far into later times (vi. 1-15); (3.) the genealogies of the musicians Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (vi. 16-32), with remarks on the service of the other Levites (vers. 33, 34); (4.) a register of the high priests from Eleazar to Ahimaaz the son of Zadok (vi. 35-38), with a register of the cities of the Levites (vi. 39-66). If we look into these genealogies and registers, we see, both from a repetition of a part of the genealogy of the high priest (vi. 35-38), and also from the name of the eldest son of Levi appearing in two different forms—in v. 27 ff. Gershon; in vi. 1, 2, 5, etc., Gershon—that the register in v. 27-41 is drawn from another source than the registers in chap. vi., which, with the exception of the genealogies of David's chief musicians, are throughout fragmentary, and in parts corrupt, and were most probably found by the author of the Chronicle in this defective state.

Chap. v. 27-41. *The family of Aaron, or the high-priestly line of Aaron, to the time of the Babylonian exile.*—Vers. 27-29. In order to exhibit the connection of Aharon (or Aaron) with the patriarch Levi, the enumeration begins with the three sons of Levi, who are given in ver. 27 as in Gen. xvi. 11, Ex. vi. 16, and in other passages. Of Levi's grandchildren, only the four sons of Kohath (ver. 28) are noticed; and of these, again, Amram is the only one whose descendants—Aaron, Moses, and Miriam—are named (ver. 29); and thereafter only Aaron's sons are introduced, in order that the enumeration of his family in the high-priestly line of Eleazar might follow. With ver. 28 cf. Ex. i. 18, and on ver. 19 see the commentary on Ex. vi. 20. With the sons of Aaron (29b) compare besides Ex. vi. 23, also Num. iii. 2-4, and 1 Chron. xxiv. 1, 2. As Nadab and Abihu were slain when they offered strange fire before Jahve (Lev. x. 1 ff.), Aaron's race was continued only by his sons Eleazar and Ithamar. After Aaron's death, his eldest son Eleazar was chosen by God to be his successor in the high priest's office, and thus the line of Eleazar came into possession of the high-priestly dignity.

In vers. 30-41 the descendants of Eleazar are enumerated

in twenty-two generations; the word הוֹלִיד, "he begat," being repeated with every name. The son so begotten was, when he lived after his father, the heir of the high-priestly dignity. Thus Phinehas the son of Eleazar (Ex. vi. 25) is found in possession of it in Judg. xx. 28. From this the older commentators have rightly drawn the inference that the purpose of the enumeration in vers. 30-40 was to communicate the succession of high priests from Eleazar, who died shortly after Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 33), to Jehozadak, whom Nebuchadnezzar caused to be carried away into Babylon. From the death of Aaron in the fortieth year after Israel came forth from Egypt, till the building of the temple in the fourth year of the reign of Solomon, 440 years elapsed ( $480 - 40 = 440$ , 1 Kings vi. 1). From the building of the temple to the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple by the Chaldeans there was an interval of 423 years (36 years under Solomon, and 387 years during which the kingdom of Judah existed; see the chronological table to 1 Kings xii.). Between the death of Aaron, therefore, and the time when Jehozadak was led away into captivity, supposing that that event occurred only under Zedekiah, lay a period of  $440 + 423 = 863$  years. For this period twenty-two generations appear too few, for then the average duration of each life would be  $39\frac{1}{4}$  years. Such an estimate would certainly appear a very high one, but it does not pass the bounds of possibility, as cases may have occurred in which the son died before the father, when consequently the grandson would succeed the grandfather in the office of high priest, and the son would be omitted in our register. The ever-recurring הוֹלִיד cannot be brought forward in opposition to this supposition, because הוֹלִיד in the genealogical lists may express mediate procreation, and the grandson may be introduced as begotten by the grandfather. On the supposition of the existence of such cases, we should have to regard the average above mentioned as the average time during which each of the high priests held the office. But against such an interpretation of this list of the posterity of Eleazar two somewhat serious difficulties are raised. The less serious of these consists in this, that in the view of the author of our register, the line of Eleazar remained in uninterrupted possession of the high-priestly dignity; but in the historical books of the Old Testament another line of high priests, beginning with Eli, is mentioned, which, according to 1 Chron. xxiv. 5, and Joseph. *Antt.* v. 11. 5, belonged to the

family of Ithamar. The list is as follows: Eli (1 Sam. ii. 20); his son Phinehas, who, however, died before Eli (1 Sam. iv. 11); his son Ahitub (1 Sam. xiv. 3); his son Ahijah, who was also called Ahimelech (1 Sam. xiv. 3, xxii. 9, 11, 20); his son Abiathar (1 Sam. xxii. 20), from whom Solomon took away the high-priesthood (1 Kings ii. 26 f.), and set Zadok in his place (1 Kings ii. 35). According to Josephus, *loc. cit.*, the high-priestly dignity remained with the line of Eleazar, from Eleazar to Ozi (וִי, ver. 31 f.); it then fell to Eli and his descendants, until with Zadok it returned to the line of Eleazar. These statements manifestly rest upon truthful historical tradition; for the supposition that at the death of Ozi the high-priesthood was transferred from the line of Eleazar to the line of Ithamar through Eli, is supported by the circumstance that from the beginning of the judgeship of Eli to the beginning of the reign of Solomon a period of 139 years elapsed, which is filled up in both lines by five names,—Eli, Phinehas, Ahitub, Ahijah, and Abiathar in the passages above quoted; and Zerariah, Meraioth, Amariah, Ahitub, and Zadok in vers. 32–34 of our chapter. But the further opinion expressed by Joseph. *Antt.* viii. 1. 3, that the descendants of Eleazar, during the time in which Eli and his descendants were in possession of the priesthood, lived as private persons, plainly rests on a conjecture, the incorrectness of which is made manifest by some distinct statements of the Old Testament: for, according to 2 Sam. viii. 17 and xx. 25, Zadok of Eleazar's line, and Abiathar of the line of Ithamar, were high priests in the time of David; cf. 1 Chron. xxiv. 5 f. The transfer of the high-priestly dignity, or rather of the official exercise of the high-priesthood, to Eli, one of Ithamar's line, after Ozi's death, was, as we have already remarked on 1 Sam. ii. 27 ff., probably brought about by circumstances or relations which are not now known to us, but without an extinction of the right of Ozi's descendants to the succession in the dignity. But when the wave of judgment broke over the house of Eli, the ark was taken by the Philistines; and after it had been sent back into the land of Israel, it was not again placed beside the tabernacle, but remained during seventy years in the house of Abinadab (1 Sam. iv. 4–vii. 2). Years afterwards David caused it to be brought to Jerusalem, and erected a separate tent for it on Zion, while the tabernacle had meanwhile been transferred to Gibeon, where it continued to be the place where sacrifices were

offered till the building of the temple. Thus there arose two places of worship, and in connection with them separate spheres of action for the high priests of both lines,—Zadok performing the duties of the priestly office at Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi. 39; cf. 1 Kings iii. 4 ff.), while Abiathar discharged its functions in Jerusalem. But without doubt not only Zadok, but also his father Ahitub before him, had discharged the duties of high priest in the tabernacle at Gibeon, while the connection of Eli's sons with the office came to an end with the slaughter of Ahijah (Ahimelech) and all the priesthood at Nob (1 Sam. xxii.); for Abiathar, the only son of Ahimelech, and the single survivor of that massacre, fled to David, and accompanied him continuously in his flight before Saul (1 Sam. xxii. 20-23). But, not content with the slaughter of the priests in Nob, Saul also smote the city itself with the edge of the sword; whence it is probable, although all definite information to that effect is wanting, that it was in consequence of this catastrophe that the tabernacle was removed to Gibeon and the high-priesthood entrusted to Zadok's father, a man of the line of Eleazar, because the only son of Ahimelech, and the only representative of Ithamar's line, had fled to David. If this view be correct, of the ancestors of Ahitub, only Amariah, Meraioth, and Zerariah did not hold the office of high priest. But if these had neither been supplanted by Eli nor had rendered themselves unworthy of the office by criminal conduct; if the only reason why the possession of the high-priesthood was transferred to Eli was, that Ozi's son Zerariah was not equal to the discharge of the duties of the office under the difficult circumstances of the time; and if Eli's grandson Ahitub succeeded his grandfather in the office at a time when God had already announced to Eli by prophets the approaching ruin of his house, then Zerariah, Meraioth, and Amariah, although not *de facto* in possession of the high-priesthood, might still be looked upon as *de jure* holders of the dignity, and so be introduced in the genealogies of Eleazar as such. In this way the difficulty is completely overcome.

But it is somewhat more difficult to explain the other fact, that our register on the one hand gives too many names for the earlier period and too few for the later time, and on the other hand is contradicted by some definite statements of the historical books. We find too few names for the time from the death of Aaron to the death of Uzzi (Ozi), when Eli became

high priest,—a period of 299 years (*vide the Chronological View of the Period of the Judges*, ii. 1, S. 217). Five high priests—Eleazar, Phinehas, Abishua, Bukki, and Uzzi—are too few; for in that case each one of them must have discharged the office for 60 years, and have begotten the son who succeeded him in the office only in his 60th year, or the grandson must have regularly succeeded the grandfather in the office,—all of which suppositions appear somewhat incredible. Clearly, therefore, intermediate names must have been omitted in our register. To the period from Eli till the deposition of Abiathar, in the beginning of Solomon's reign—which, according to the chronological survey, was a period of 139 years—the last five names from Zerariah to Zadok correspond; and as 24 years are thus assigned to each, and Zadok held the office for a number of years more under Solomon, we may reckon an average of 30 years to each generation. For the following period of about 417 years from Solomon, or the completion of the temple, till the destruction of the temple by the Chaldæans, the twelve names from Ahimaaz the son of Zadok to Jehozadak, who was led away into captivity, give the not incredible average of from 34 to 35 years for each generation, so that in this part of our register not many breaks need be supposed. But if we examine the names enumerated, we find (1) that no mention is made of the high priest Jehoiada, who raised the youthful Joash to the throne, and was his adviser during the first years of his reign (2 Kings xi., and 2 Chron. xxii. 10, xxiv. 2), and that under Ahaz, Urijah, who indeed is called only יְרִיָּהּ, but who was certainly high priest (2 Kings xvi. 10 ff.), is omitted; and (2) we find that the name Azariah occurs three times (vers. 35, 36, and 40), on which Berth. remarks: "Azariah is the name of the high priest in the time of Solomon (1 Kings iv. 2), in the time of Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 17), and in the time of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxi. 10)." Besides this, we meet with an Amariah, the fifth after Zadok, whom Lightf., Oehler, and others consider to be the high priest of that name under Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xix. 11. And finally, (3) in the historical account in 2 Kings xxii. 4 ff., Hilkiyah is mentioned as high priest under Josiah; while according to our register (ver. 39) Hilkiyah begat Azariah; whence we must conclude either that Hilkiyah is not the high priest of that name under Josiah, or Azariah is not the person of that name who lived in the time of Hezekiah. As regards

the omission of the names Urijah and Jehoiada in our register, Urijah may have been passed over as an unimportant man; but Jehoiada had exerted far too important an influence on the fate of the kingdom of Judah to allow of his being so overlooked. The only possibilities in his case are, either that he occurs in our register under another name, owing to his having had, like so many others, two different names, or that the name יהוידע has fallen out through an old error in the transcription of the genealogical list. The latter supposition, viz. that Jehoiada has fallen out before Johanan, is the more probable. Judging from 2 Kings xii. 3 and 2 Chron. xxiv. 2, Jehoiada died under Joash, at least five or ten years before the king, and consequently from 127 to 132 years after Solomon, at the advanced age of 130 years (2 Chron. xxiv. 15). He was therefore born shortly before or after the death of Solomon, being a great-grandson of Zadok, who may have died a considerable time before Solomon, as he had filled the office of high priest at Gibeon under David for a period of 30 years.

Then, if we turn our attention to the thrice recurring name Azariah, we see that the Azariah mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 2 cannot be regarded as the high priest; for the word בִּנְיָן in this passage does not denote the high priest, but the viceroy of the kingdom (*vide* on the passage). But besides, this Azariah cannot be the same person as the Azariah in ver. 35 of our genealogy, because he is called a son of Zadok, while our Azariah is introduced as the son of Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, and consequently as a grandson of Zadok; and the grandson of Zadok who is mentioned as being high priest along with Abiathar, 1 Kings iv. 4, could not have occupied in his grandfather's time the first place among the highest public officials of Solomon. The Azariah mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 2 as the son of Zadok must not be considered to be a brother of the Ahimaaz of our register, for we very seldom find a nephew and uncle called by the same name. As to the Azariah of ver. 36, the son of Johanan, it is remarked, "This is he who was priest (or who held the priest's office; קֹהֵן, cf. Ex. xl. 13, Lev. xvi. 32) in the house (temple) which Solomon had built in Jerusalem." R. Sal. and Kimchi have connected this remark with the events narrated in 2 Chron. xxvi. 17, referring it to the special jealousy of King Uzziah's encroachments on the priest's office, in arrogating to himself in the temple the priestly function of offering incense in the holy place. Against this, indeed, J. H.

Mich. has raised the objection, *quod tamen chronologiæ rationes viz admittunt*; and it is true that this encroachment of Uzziah's happened 200 years after Solomon's death, while the Azariah mentioned in our register is the fourth after Zadok. But if the name Jehoiada has been dropped out before Johanan, and Jehoiada held the high priest's office for a considerable time under Joash, the high-priesthood of his grandson Azariah would coincide with Uzziah's reign, when of course the chronological objection to the above-mentioned explanation of the words *וְאֶזְרִיָּהוּ* 'אֶזְרִיָּהוּ בֶּן־יְהוֹאָדָב' is removed.<sup>1</sup> But lastly, the difficulty connected with the fact that in our passage Azariah follows Hilkiyah, while in 2 Kings xxii. 4 ff. and 2 Chron. xxxi. 10, 13, Azariah occurs as high priest under King Hezekiah, and Hilkiyah in the time of his great-grandson Josiah, cannot be cleared away by merely changing the order of the names Hilkiyah and Azariah. For, apart altogether from the improbability of such a transposition having taken place in a register formed as this is, "Shallum begat Hilkiyah, and Hilkiyah begat Azariah, and Azariah begat," the main objection to it is the fact that between Azariah, ver. 26, who lived under Uzziah, and Hilkiyah, four names are introduced; so that on this supposition, during the time which elapsed between Uzziah's forcing his way into the temple till the pass-over under Hezekiah, i.e. during a period of from 55 to 60 years,

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau's explanation is inadmissible. He says: "If we consider that in the long line of the high priests, many of them bearing the same name, it would naturally suggest itself to distinguish the Azariah who first discharged the duties of his office in the temple, in order to bring a fixed chronology into the enumeration of the names; and if we recollect that a high priest Azariah, the son, or according to our passage more definitely the grandson, of Zadok, lived in the time of Solomon; and finally, if we consider the passage chap. vi. 17, we must hold that the words, 'He it is who discharged the duties of priest in the temple which Solomon had built in Jerusalem,' originally stood after the name Azariah in ver. 35; cf. 1 Kings iv. 2." All justification of the proposed transposition is completely taken away by the fact that the Azariah of 1 Kings iv. 2 was neither high priest nor the same person as the Azariah in ver. 35 of our register; and it is impossible that a grandson of Zadok whom Solomon appointed to the high-priesthood, instead of Abiathar, can have been the first who discharged the duties of high priest in the temple. Oehler's opinion (in *Herzog's Realencyklop.* vi. 205), that the Amariah who follows Azariah (ver. 37) is identical with the Amariah under Jehoshaphat, is not less improbable; for Jehoshaphat was king sixty-one years after Solomon's death, and during these sixty-one years the four high priests who are named between Zadok and Amariah could not have succeeded each other.



four generations must have followed one another, which is quite impossible. In addition to this, between Hezekiah and Josiah came the reigns of Manasseh and Amon, who reigned 55 years and 2 years respectively; and from the passover of Hezekiah to the finding of the book of the law by the high priest Hilkiah in the eighteenth year of Josiah, about 90 years had elapsed, whence it is clear that on chronological grounds Hilkiah cannot well have been the successor of Azariah in the high-priesthood. The Azariah of ver. 39 f., therefore, cannot be identified with the Azariah who was high priest under Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxi. 10); and no explanation seems possible, other than the supposition that between Ahitub and Zadok the begetting of Azariah has been dropped out. On this assumption the Hilkiah mentioned in ver. 39 may be the high priest in the time of Josiah, although between him and the time when Jehozadak was led away into exile three names, including that of Jehozadak, are mentioned, while from the eighteenth year of Josiah till the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans only 30 years elapsed. For Hilkiah may have been in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign very old; and at the destruction of Jerusalem, not Jehozadak, but his father Seraiah the grandson of Hilkiah, was high priest, and was executed at Riblah by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 18, 21), from which we may conclude that Jehozadak was led away captive in his early years. The order in which the names occur in our register, moreover, is confirmed by Ezra vii. 1-5, where, in the statement as to the family of Ezra, the names from Seraiah onwards to Amariah ben-Azariah occur in the same order. The correspondence would seem to exclude any alterations of the order, either by transposition of names or by the insertion of some which had been dropped; but yet it only proves that both these genealogies have been derived from the same authority, and does not at all remove the possibility of this authority itself having had some defects. The probability of such breaks as we suppose in the case of Jehoiada and Azariah, who lived under Hezekiah, is shown, apart altogether from the reasons which have been already brought forward in support of it, by the fact that our register has only eleven generations from Zadok, the contemporary of Solomon, to Seraiah, who was slain at the destruction of Jerusalem; while the royal house of David shows seventeen generations, viz. the twenty kings of Judah, omitting Athaliah, and Jehoahaz and Zedekiah, the last two as being brothers of Jehoiakim (1 Chron.

iii. 10-27). Even supposing that the king's sons were, as a rule, earlier married, and begat children earlier than the priests, yet the difference between eleven and seventeen generations for the same period is too great, and is of itself sufficient to suggest that in our register of the high priests names are wanting, and that the three or four high priests known to us from the historical books who are wanting—Amariah under Jehoshaphat, Jehoiada under Joash, (Urijah under Ahaz,) and Azariah under Hezekiah—were either passed over or had fallen out of the list made use of by the author of the Chronicle.<sup>1</sup>—Ver. 41. Jehozadak is the father of Joshua who returned from exile with Zerubbabel, and was the first high priest in the restored community (Ezra iii. 2, v. 2; Hagg. i. 1). After הָלַךְ, "he went forth," בָּנִיָּהּ is to be supplied from בָּרְהִינֹת וְנִי, "he went into exile" to Babylon; cf. Jer. xlix. 3.

Chap. vi. *The families and cities of the Levites.*—Vers. 1-34. *Register of the families of the Levites.*—This is introduced by an enumeration of the sons and grandsons of Levi (vers. 1-4), which is followed by lists of families in six lines of descent: (a) the descendants of Gershon (vers. 5-7), of Kohath (vers. 1-13), and of Merari (vers. 14 and 15); and (b) the genealogies of David's chief musicians (vers. 16 and 17), of Heman the Kohathite (vers. 18-23), of Asaph the Gershonite (vers. 24-28), and of Ethan the Merarite (vers. 29-32); and in vers. 33, 34, some notes as to the service performed by the other Levites and the priests are added.

Vers. 1-4. The sons of Levi are in ver. 1 again enumerated as in v. 27; then in vers. 2-4a the sons of these three sons, *i.e.* the grandsons of Levi, are introduced, while in chap. v. 28 only the sons of Kohath are mentioned. The only object of this enumeration is to make quite clear the descent of the Levitic families which follow. The name of the first son of Levi is in vers. 1, 2, 4, etc. of this chapter גִּרְשֹׁן, which was the name of Moses' son, cf. xxiii. 15 f.; whereas in v. 27 and in the Pentateuch we find a different pronunciation, viz. גִּרְשֹׁן. The names of Levi's grandsons in vers. 2-4a coincide with the statements of the Pentateuch, Ex. vi. 17-19, and Num. iii. 17-20, cf. xxvi. 57 f. Bertheau and other commentators consider the words in 4b, "and these are the

<sup>1</sup> The extra-biblical information concerning the præ-exilic high priests in Josephus and the Seder Olam, is, in so far as it differs from the account of the Old Testament, without any historical warrant. *Vide* the comparison of these in Lightfoot, *Ministerium templi*, Opp. ed. ii. vol. i. p. 682 sqq.; Selden, *De success. in pontific.* lib. i.; and Reland, *Antiquitatt. ss.* ii. c. 2.

families of Levi according to their fathers," to be a "concluding subscription" to the statements of vers. 1-4a, and would remove י before וְהָיָה, as not compatible with this supposition. But in this he is wrong: for although the similar statement in Ex. vi. 20 is a subscription, yet it is in Num. iii. 20 a superscription, and must in our verse also be so understood; for otherwise the enumeration of the descendants of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, which follows, would be brought in very abruptly, without any connecting particle, and the י before וְהָיָה points to the same conclusion.

Vers. 5-15. The three lists of *the descendants of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari* are similar to one another in plan, and in all, each name is connected with the preceding by וְהָיָה, "his son," but they differ greatly in the number of the names.—Vers. 5 and 6. The י before וְהָיָה is introductory: "as to Gershom." Those of his descendants who are here enumerated belong to the family of his oldest son Libni, which is traced down through seven generations to Jeaterai, a name not elsewhere met with. Of the intermediate names, Johath, Zimmah, and Zerah occur also among the descendants of Asaph, who is descended from the line of Shimei, vers. 24-28.—Vers. 7-13. The genealogy of the descendants of Kohath consists of three lists of names, each of which commences afresh with וְהָיָה, vers. 7, 10, and 13; yet we learn nothing from it as to the genealogical connection of these three lines. The very beginning, "The sons of Kohath, Amminadab his son, Korah his son, Assir his son," is somewhat strange. For, according to Ex. vi. 18, 21, and 24, Kohath's second son is called Izhar, whose son was Korah, whose sons were Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph. Amminadab is nowhere met with as a son of Kohath; but among the descendants of Uzziel, a prince of a father's-house is met with in the time of David who bore this name. The name Amminadab occurs also in the time of Moses, in the genealogies of the tribe of Judah, chap. ii. 10, Num. i. 7, Ruth i. 19, as that of the father of the prince Nahshon, and of Elisheba, whom Aaron took to wife, Ex. vi. 23. But since the names Korah and Assir point to the family of Izhar, the older commentators supposed the Amminadab of our verse to be only another name for Izhar; while Bertheau, on the contrary, conjectures "that as an Amminadab occurs in the lists of the descendants of Kohath as father-in-law of Aaron, Amminadab has been substituted for Izhar by an ancient error, which might very easily slip into an abridgment of more detailed

lists." But we have here no trace of an abridgment of more detailed lists. According to Ex. vi. 21 and 24, Korah was a son of Izhar, and Assir a son of Korah; and consequently in our genealogies only the name Izhar is wanting between Korah and Kohath, while instead of him we have Amminadab. An exchange or confusion of the names of Izhar and Amminadab the father-in-law of Aaron, is as improbable as the supposition that Amminadab is another name for Izhar, since the genealogies of the Pentateuch give only the name Izhar. Yet no third course is open, and we must decide to accept either one or the other of these suppositions. For that our verses contain a genealogy, or fragments of genealogies, of the Kohathite line of Izhar there can be no doubt, when we compare them with the genealogy (vers. 18-23) of the musician Heman, a descendant of Kohath, which also gives us the means of explaining the other obscurities in our register. In vers. 7 and 8 the names of Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph, and again Assir, follow that of Korah, with יִזָּר after each. This יִזָּר cannot be taken otherwise than as denoting that the names designate so many consecutive generations; and the only peculiarity in the list is, that the conjunction ו is found before Abiasaph and the second Assir, while the other names do not have it. But if we compare the genealogy in Ex. vi. with this enumeration, we find that there, in ver. 24, the same three names, Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph, which are here enumerated as those of the son, grandson, and great-grandson of Korah, are said to be the names of the sons of the Izharite Korah. Further, from Heman's genealogy in ver. 22, we learn that the second Assir of our list is a son of Abiasaph, and, according to ver. 22 and ver. 8, had a son Tahath. Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph must consequently be held to have been brothers, and the following Assir a son of the last-named Abiasaph, whose family is in ver. 9 further traced through four generations (Tahath, Uriel, Uziah, and Shaul). Instead of these four, we find in vers. 22 and 21 the names Tahath, Zephaniah, Azariah, and Joel. Now although the occurrence of Uziah and Azariah as names of the same king immediately suggests that in our register also Uziah and Azariah are two names of the same person, yet the divergence in the other names, on the one hand Zephaniah for Joel, and on the other Uriel for Shaul, is strongly opposed to this conjecture. The discrepancy can scarcely be naturally explained in any other way, than by supposing that after Tahath

the two genealogies diverge,—ours introducing his son Uriel and his descendants; the other, in ver. 21 f., mentioning a second son of Tohath, Zephaniah, of whose race Heman came.—Ver. 10. “And the sons of Elkanah, Amasai and Ahimoth.” As it is clear that with **וְיָבִי אֶלְקָנָה** a new list begins, and that the preceding enumeration is that of the descendants of Abiasaph, it is at once suggested that this Elkanah was the brother of the Abiasaph mentioned in ver. 8. If, however, we compare the genealogy of Heman, we find there (vers. 21 and 20) a list of the descendants of Joel in an ascending line, thus,—Elkanah, Amasai, Mahath, Elkanah, Zuph; from which it would seem to follow that our Elkanah is the son of Joel mentioned in ver. 21, for Ahimoth may be without difficulty considered to be another form of the name Mahath. This conclusion would be assured if only the beginning of ver. 11 were in harmony with it. In this verse, indeed, **אֶלְקָנָה בֶּן**, as we read in the Kethibh, may be without difficulty taken to mean that Elkanah was the son of Ahimoth, just as in ver. 20 Elkanah is introduced as son of Mahath. But in this way no meaning can be assigned to the **אֶלְקָנָה** which follows **בֶּן**, and Bertheau accordingly is of opinion that this **אֶלְקָנָה** has come into the text by an error. The Masoretes also felt the difficulty, and have substituted for the Kethibh **בֶּן** the Keri **בֶּן**, but then nothing can be made of the first **אֶלְקָנָה** in ver. 11. Beyond doubt the traditional text is here corrupt, and from a comparison of vers. 20 and 19 the only conclusion we can draw with any certainty is that the list from **צִוִּי** onwards contains the names of descendants of Elkanah the son of Mahath, which is so far favourable to the Keri **אֶלְקָנָה בֶּן**. The name Elkanah, on the contrary, which immediately precedes **בֶּן**, seems to point to a hiatus in the text, and gives room for the conjecture that in ver. 10 the sons of Elkanah, the brother of Abiasaph and Assir, were named, and that there followed thereupon an enumeration of the sons or descendants of the Elkanah whom we meet with in ver. 21 as son of Joel, after which came the names Elkanah **בֶּן**, Zophai **בֶּן**, etc. **וְיָבִי** and **אֶלְקָנָה** we consider to be other forms of **וְיָבִי** and **אֶלְקָנָה**, ver. 19, and **צִוִּי** is only another form of **צִוִּי**. The succeeding names, Jeroham and Elkanah (ver. 12), agree with those in ver. 19; but between the clauses “Elkanah his son” (ver. 12), and “and the sons of Samuel” (ver. 13), the connecting link **בֶּן**, cf. ver. 18, is again wanting, as is also, before or after **הַבְּכֹר** (ver. 13), the name of the first-born, viz.

Joel; cf. ver. 18 with 1 Sam. viii. 2. Now, although the two last-mentioned omissions can be supplied, they yet show that the enumeration in vers. 7-13 is not a continuous list of one Kohathite family, but contains only fragments of several Kohathite genealogies.—In vers. 14 and 15, descendants of Merari follow; sons of Mahli in six generations, who are not mentioned elsewhere. Bertheau compares this list of names, Mahli, Libni, Shimei, Uzza, Shimea, Haggiah, and Asaiah, with the list contained in vers. 29-32, Mushi, Mahli, Shamer, Bani, Amzi, Hilkiah, and Amaziah, and attempts to maintain, notwithstanding the great difference in the names, that the two lists were originally identical, in order to find support for the hypothesis "that the three lists in vers. 5-15 have not found a place in the Chronicle from their own intrinsic value, or, in other words, have not been introduced there in order to give a register of the ancestors of Jeaterai, the sons of Samuel and Asaiah, but have been received only because they bring us to Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, vers. 19, 24, 29, in another fashion than the lists of names in vers. 18-32." But this hypothesis is shown to be false, apart altogether from the other objections which might be raised against it, by the single fact of the total discrepancy between the names of the Merarites in vers. 14 and 15 and those found in vers. 29-32. Of all the six names only Mahli is found in both cases, and he is carefully distinguished in both—in the genealogy of Ethan as the son of Mushi and grandson of Merari; in our list as the son of Merari. When we remember that Merari had two sons, Mahli and Mushi, after whom the fathers'-houses into which his descendants divided themselves were named (Num. iii. 20, xxvi. 58), and that the same names very frequently occur in different families, it would never suggest itself to any reader of our register to identify the line of Mushi with the line of Mahli, seeing that, except the name of Mahli the son of Mushi, which is the same as that of his uncle, all the other names are different. Vers. 14 and 15 contain a register of the family of Mahli, while the ancestors of Ethan, vers. 29-32, belonged to the family of Mushi. Our list then absolutely cannot be intended to form a transition to Ethan or Ethan's ancestors. The same may be said of the two other lists vers. 5-7 and vers. 8-13, and this transition hypothesis is consequently a mere airspun fancy. The three lists are certainly not embodied in the Chronicle on account of the persons with whose

names they end—Jeaterai, the sons of Samuel, and Asaiah; but the author of the Chronicle has thought them worthy of being received into his work as registers of ancient families of the three sons of Levi which had been transmitted from ancient times.

Vers. 16-34. *The genealogies of the Levite musicians—Heman, Asaph, and Ethan.*—These registers are introduced by an account of the service of the Levites about the sanctuary (vers. 16, 17), and conclude with remarks on the service of the remaining Levites (vers. 33, 34).—Ver. 16. "These are they whom David set for the leading of the song in the house of Jahve, after the resting of the ark," cf. 15, 17. *עַל יָדַי* "upon the hands," "to the hands;" that is, both for leading, and, according to arrangement. To the hands of the song, *i.e.* to manage the singing, to carry it on, to conduct it. *מִפְּנוֹת הָאָרֶץ*, "from the resting of the ark," *i.e.* from the time that the ark of the covenant, which in the præ-Davidic time had been carried about from one place to another, had received a permanent resting-place on Zion, and had become the centre of the worship instituted by David, 2 Sam. vi. 17. "And they served before the dwelling of the tabernacle with song." *לִפְנֵי מִשְׁכָּן*, "before the dwelling," for the sacrificial worship, with which the singing of psalms was connected, was performed in the court before the dwelling. The genitive *אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי מוֹעֵד* is to be taken as explanatory: "The dwelling (of Jahve), which was the tent of the meeting (of God with His people)." *אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי מוֹעֵד* was the usual designation of the tabernacle built by Moses, which was at first set up in Shiloh, then in the time of Saul at Nob, and after the destruction of that city by Saul (1 Sam. xxii.) in Gibeon (1 Chron. xxi. 29). It denotes here the tent which David had erected upon Mount Zion for the ark of the covenant, because from its containing the ark, and by the institution of a settled worship in it (cf. xvi. 1-4 ff.), it thenceforth took the place of the Mosaic tabernacle, although the Mosaic sanctuary at Gibeon continued to be a place of worship till the completion of the temple (1 Kings iii. 4; 2 Chron. i. 3),—"till Solomon built the house of Jahve in Jerusalem," into which the ark was removed, and to which the whole of the religious services were transferred. In their services they stood *כַּמִּשְׁפָּחָם*, according to their right, *i.e.* according to the order prescribed for them by David; cf. xvi. 37 ff.—Vers. 18-23. "These (following three men, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan) are they who stood (in service) with their sons." The three were the heads of the three Levitic families, to

whom the execution of the liturgic singing was entrusted. The names of their sons, *vide* chap. xxv. 1-6. The object of the following genealogies is to show their descent from Levi. "Of the sons of the Kohathite family (is) Heman the singer." הֶמָּן הַשִּׁירֵי, ὁ ψαλτῳδός LXX. Heman is named first as being the head of the choir of singers who stood in the centre, while Asaph and his choir stood on his right hand, and on the left Ethan and his choir, so that when they sang in concert the conducting of the whole fell to Heman. His family is traced back in vers. 18-23 through twenty members to "Kohath the son of Levi, the son of Israel" (Jacob).—Vers. 24-28. "His brother Asaph," who is Heman's brother only in the more general sense of being closely connected with him, partly by their common descent from Levi, partly by their common calling, was a descendant of Gershon from his younger son Shimei. His genealogy contains only fifteen names to Gershon, five less than that of his contemporary Heman, probably because here and there intermediate names are omitted.—Vers. 29-32. "And the sons of Merari their brethren (*i.e.* the brethren of the choirs of Heman and Asaph) on the left (*i.e.* forming the choir which stood on the left hand) were Ethan and his sons." As in the case of Asaph, so also in that of Ethan, וְבְנָיָהּ (ver. 18) is omitted, but is to be supplied; when the introductory clause "and the sons of Merari" is at once explained. Ethan is a Merarite of the younger line of Mushi (see above). The name of his father is here קִישִׁי, and in chap. xv. 17 it is קִישִׁיָּה, which latter is clearly the original form, which has been shortened into Kishi. Instead of the name Ethan (אֵתָן) as here and in chap. xv. 19, we find in other passages a Jeduthun mentioned as third chief-musician, along with Heman and Asaph (cf. xxv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxv. 15; Neh. xi. 17, cf. 1 Chron. vi. 41); from which we see that Jeduthun was another name for Ethan, probably a by-name—יְדֻתָּן, "praiseman"—which he had received from his calling, although nothing is said in the Old Testament as to the origin of this name. His genealogy contains only twelve names to Merari, being thus still more abridged than that of Asaph.—Vers. 33 and 34. "And their brethren the Levites," *i.e.* the other Levites besides the singers just mentioned, "were נְתֻנִים given for every service of the dwelling of the house of God," *i.e.* given to Aaron and his sons (the priests) for the performance of service in the carrying on of the worship; cf. Num. iii. 9, viii. 16-19, xviii. 6. But Aaron and his sons had three duties to perform:



(1) they burnt the offerings on the altar of burnt-offering and on the altar of incense, cf. Num. xviii. 1-7; (2) they looked after all the service of the holy place; (3) they had to atone for Israel by offering the atoning-sacrifices, and performing the cleansings according to all that Moses commanded. This last clause refers to all the three above-mentioned duties of the priests. Moses is called the servant of God, as in Deut. xxxiv. 5, Josh. i. 1, 13.

Vers. 35-38. The remarks as to the service of the priests are followed by a catalogue of the high priests, which runs from Eleazar to Ahimaaz the son of Zadok (cf. 2 Sam. xv. 27), who probably succeeded his father in the high-priesthood even in the time of Solomon. This genealogy is similar in form to the genealogies given in vers. 5-15, and has therefore most probably been derived from the same source as this, and has been drawn in here to form a transition to the enumeration of the cities of the Levites; for it begins in ver. 39 with the dwelling-places of the sons of Aaron, and the *לְבִי אֶהְרֹן* . . . *וְאֵלֶּה מְשֻׁבוֹתָם* of ver. 39 corresponds to the *וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי אֶהְרֹן* of ver. 35. The order of the names coincides exactly with that of the longer register in chap. v. 30-34.

Vers. 39-66. *Register of the cities of the Levites*, which agrees on the whole with the register in Josh. xxi., if we except different forms of some names of cities, and many corruptions of the text, but differing in many ways from it in form; whence we gather that it is not derived from the book of Joshua, but from some other ancient authority.—Ver. 39 contains the superscription, “These are their dwelling-places according to their districts, in their boundaries.” So far the superscription belongs to the whole catalogue of cities. The suffixes point back to the *בְּנֵי לֵוִי*, ver. 1. *מִיָּדָה*, from *מִדָּה*, to surround in a circle, signifies in the older language a “nomad village” (cf. Gen. xxv. 16; Num. xxxi. 10); here, on the contrary, it is used in a derivative sense for “district,” to denote the circle of dwellings which were granted to the Levites in the cities of the other tribes. The following words, “For the sons of Aaron of the family of Kohath,” etc., are the superscription to vers. 42-45, and together with the confirmatory clause, “for to him the (first) lot had fallen,” are a repetition of Josh. xxi. 10, where, however, *וְאֵלֶּה* is found after *וְהַיָּדָה*, and has perhaps been here dropped out.—Vers. 40 and 41 correspond almost verbally with Josh. xxi. 11 and 12, as vers. 42-45 also do with Josh. xxi. 13-19. As we have already in our remarks on Joshua

commented upon the whole catalogue, it will not be necessary to do more here than to group together the errors and defects of our text.—Ver. 42. The plural עָרֵי הַמִּקְלָט is incorrect, for only one of the cities thereafter named, viz. Hebron, was a city of refuge for homicides, and in Josh. xxi. 13 it is correctly written עִיר מִקְלָט. After יִתִּיר the usual addition וְאֶת־מִנְרָשִׁיָּהּ is omitted, ver. 44 f. Before Bethshemesh the name Juttah has been lost, and before Geba (ver. 45) the name Gibeon, so that only eleven cities are mentioned, but the sum is rightly given as thirteen. Instead of the name חִילָן, ver. 43, there is found in Josh. xxi. 15 and xv. 51 חֶלֶן; instead of עֶזְרָא, Josh. xxi. 16, we have in ver. 44 the more correct name עֶשֶׂן; and the name עֶלְמָת, ver. 45, is in Josh. xxi. 18 עֶלְמָן.—Vers. 46–48. Summary statements of the number of cities which the remaining Kohathites, the Gershonites, and the Merarites received in the domains of the various tribes, corresponding to vers. 5–7 in Josh. xxi. In ver. 46 occurs a hiatus; between הַמִּנְחָה and מִמַּחֲצִית the words “Ephraim and of the tribe of Dan and” have been omitted. In ver. 48 the words “of the tribe of Manasseh in Bashan” are quite intelligible without בָּשָׁן, which is found in Joshua.—Vers. 49 and 50 are not here in their proper place; for their contents show that they should be in the middle of the thirty-ninth verse, after the general superscription, and before the words “for the sons of Aaron.” They are found also in Josh. xxi. 8, 9, as a superscription before the enumeration by name of the cities assigned to the priests; but how the confusion has arisen in our text cannot be certainly ascertained. Bertheau thinks “the wish to make mention of the cities of the high-priestly family at the beginning of the enumeration, has induced the author of the Chronicle to communicate the introductory remarks belonging to the lists of cities with their statements as to the tribal domains, only after the enumeration of the cities of the sons of Aaron.” By that supposition the position of vers. 46–48 is certainly explained, but not that of vers. 49 and 50; for even with the supposed desire, vers. 49 and 50 should have been placed before vers. 46–48. But besides this, the clause לִבְנֵי אֶהֱרָן וגו' in ver. 39 neither has anything to connect it with the preceding superscription nor a verb; and the subject of וְיָמֵינוּ, ver. 40, is also wanting. That which was missed before ver. 39b and in ver. 40 is contained in vers. 49 and 50; whence it is manifest that vers. 49 and 50 ought to stand before ver. 39b, and have by some inexplicable accident

fallen out of their proper place, and have come into an unsuitable position after ver. 48. The plurals יִקְרָא and שְׂמֹת, instead of the singulars יִקְרָא and שֵׁם, as in Josh. xxi. 9b, bring the words into more manifest correspondence with the circumstances, since the subject of יִקְרָא, "the sons of Israel," may be easily supplied from ver. 48, and *many* names of cities are mentioned. The masc. אֲחֵהֶם instead of the fem. אֲחֵהֶן is probably only an oversight. With ver. 51 begins the enumeration of the cities of the other Levitic families only summarily given in vers. 46-48, which forms a very suitable continuation of ver. 48.

Vers. 51-55. *The cities of the remaining Kohathites*; cf. Josh. xxi. 20-26. For יִבְשֶׁתָּחֹת we must read יִבְשֶׁתָּחֹת, for the preposition מִן gives no suitable sense: it is never used to introduce a subject. The sense is, "as regards the families of the sons of Kohath, the cities of their dominion in the tribe of Ephraim were (the following). They gave them." The plur. עָרֵי הַמִּלְחָמָה instead of the sing., as in ver. 42. As to the four cities of the tribe of Ephraim, vers. 52, 53, see on Josh. xxi. 21, 22, where instead of יִקְמָעִם we find the name קִבְיָתִים. Before ver. 54 a whole verse has been lost, which was as follows: "And of the tribe of Dan, Eltekeh and her pastures, Gibbethon and her pastures;" cf. Josh. xxi. 23. Then follows ver. 54, which contains the names of the two other cities of the tribe of Dan. In ver. 55 we have the names of the cities of half Manasseh, Aner and Bileam, i.e. Ibleam (Josh. xvii. 11), correctly given; but the names Taanach and Gath-rimmon in Josh. xxi. 25 are incorrect, and have been inserted through a transcriber's error, arising from the copyist's eye having wandered to the preceding verse. The singular לְמִשְׁפַּחַת, ver. 55, is incorrect; and the plural לְמִשְׁפָּחוֹת is to be substituted (as in ver. 51). The words לְמִשְׁפָּחוֹת לְבְנֵי וְגו' are a subscription, which corresponds to לָהֶם וְיִתְּנוּ לָהֶם in ver. 52.

Vers. 56-61. *The cities of the Gershonites*; cf. Josh. xxi. 27-33. "To the sons of Gershon (they gave) out of the family of the half-tribe of Manasseh, Golan and Ashtaroth;" see on Josh. xxi. 27. In ver. 57, קָרַשׁ is a mistake for קָשִׁיּוֹן, Josh. xxi. 28 (see on Josh. xix. 20); in ver. 58, רָאִמֹת for the more correct יִרְמֹת, Josh. xxi. 29, a city which was also called רָמֶת, Josh. xix. 21, or had been so called originally; and עֵנָם for עֵרְוָנִים (Josh.), as the city is called also in Josh. xix. 21. It cannot be determined whether עֵנָם is a transcriber's error, or another name for עֵרְוָנִים. In ver. 59, מִשְׁלֵל (which should perhaps

be pointed <sup>לְשֵׁל</sup> is a contracted form of <sup>לְשֵׁל</sup>, Josh. xxi. 30, xix. 26; and in ver. 60, חָקֶק is probably an error for חָלָקֶת, Josh. xxi. 31, xix. 25, occasioned by its being confounded with חָקֶק in the tribe of Naphtali, Josh. xix. 34. In ver. 61 the fact that Kadesh was a city of refuge is not mentioned, as it is in Josh. xxi. 32. חֲמֹן is a shortened form of חֲמֹת-דָּאָר, Josh. xxi. 32; for this city is called in Josh. xix. 35 חֲמֹת, from the warm springs in the neighbourhood. Finally, Kirjathaim is contracted in Josh. xxi. 32 into קִרְיָתַיִם.

Vers. 62–66. *The cities of the Merarites*; cf. Josh. xxi. 34–37. “To the sons of Merari the remaining,” *sc.* Levites. In Josh. xxi. 34 it is more clearly put הָלְוִיִּם הַנּוֹתָרִים, for the remaining Merarites are not spoken of. What is intended to be said is, that the Merarites, alone of the Levites, are still to be mentioned. In the tribe of Zebulun, in ver. 62, only two cities are named, Rimmon and Tabor, instead of the four—Jokneam, Karthah, Dimnah, and Nahalal—in Josh. xxi. 34. The first two names have been dropped out of our text, while רִמּוֹן corresponds to the רִמְנָה of Joshua, but is a more correct reading, since רִמּוֹן occurs in Josh. xix. 13 among the cities of Zebulun, while רִמְנָה is not mentioned; and תָּבוֹר must consequently correspond to the תְּבֵל in Joshua. Nahalal occurs in Josh. xix. 15 and in Judg. i. 30, in the form Nahalol, among the cities of Zebulun, and consequently seems to be the more correct name, but has not yet been pointed out with certainty, since its identification with Mâlul (معلول), south-west from Nazareth, rests upon very slender foundation. Bertheau’s conjecture that the name of the city has been dropped out, and that of a more exact description of its position, perhaps עַל גְּבֵל בְּסֵלַח הָהָר, Josh. xix. 12, only the last word has remained, is no more probable than that of Movers, that instead of the name of the city, only the neighbourhood in which the city lay, viz. Mount Tabor, is mentioned.—Vers. 63 and 64 are wanting in some editions of the book of Joshua, but are found in many mss. and in the oldest printed copies, and have been omitted only by an oversight; see on Josh. xxi. 30 f., note 2. As to the city Bezer, see on Deut. iv. 43; and concerning Jahzah, Kedemoth, Mephaath, *vide* on Josh. xiii. 18.—Ver. 65 f. For Ramoth in Gilead, a city of refuge (Josh. xxi. 36), and Mahanaim, see on Josh. xiii. 26; and for Heshbon and Jazer, on Num. xxi. 28, 32.

CHAP. VII.—FAMILIES OF ISSACHAR, BENJAMIN, NAPHTALI,  
HALF MANASSEH, EPHRAIM, AND ASHER.

Vers. 1-5. *Sons and families of Issachar.*—Ver. 1. Instead of לִבְנֵי, we must certainly read בְּנֵי, as in vers. 14, 30, or בְּנֵי, as in ver. 20, chap. v. 11, and elsewhere. The לִבְנֵי has come into the text only by the recollection of the copyist having dwelt on the so frequently recurring לִבְנֵי in vi. 42, 46, 47, cf. vers. 48, 56, 62, for it is not possible to take ל as the ל of introduction, because the names of the sons follow immediately. The names of the four sons are given as in Num. xxvi. 23 f., while in Gen. xli. 13 the second is written בְּנֵי, and the third יִזְחַר; *vide* on Gen. loc. cit.—Ver. 2. The six sons of Tola are not elsewhere met with in the Old Testament. They were “heads of their fathers’-houses of Tola.” לְבֵית אֲבוֹתָם after לְחֹלֶעַ (with the suffix) is somewhat peculiar; the meaning can only be, “of their fathers’-houses which are descended from Tola.” It is also surprising, or rather not permissible, that לְחֹלֶעַ should be connected with בְּנֵי חֵל. לְחֹלֶעַ belongs to the following: “(registered) according to their births, they numbered in the days of David 22,600.” The suffixes ם־ do not refer to רָאשִׁים, but to the בְּנֵי אֲבוֹת, the fathers’-houses, the males in which amounted to 22,600 souls. As David caused the people to be numbered by Joab (2 Sam. xxiv.; 1 Chron. xxi.), this statement probably rests on the results of that census.—Ver. 3. From Uzzi, the first-born of Tola, are descended through Izrahiah five men, all heads of groups of related households (ver. 4); “and to them (*i.e.* besides these) according to their generations, according to their fathers’-houses, bands of the war host, 36,000 (men), for they (these chiefs) had many wives and sons.” From the fact that Izrahiah is introduced as grandson of Tola, Bertheau would infer that vers. 3, 4 refer to times later than David. But this is an erroneous inference, for Tola’s sons did not live in David’s time at all, and consequently it is not necessary that his grandson should be assigned to a later time. The only assertion made is, that the descendants of Tola’s sons had increased to the number mentioned in ver. 2 in the time of David. By that time the descendants of his grandson Izrahiah might have increased to the number given in ver. 4. That the number, 36,000, of the descendants of the grandson Izrahiah was greater than the number of those descended from the sons of Tola (22,600), is

explained in the clause, "for they had many wives and sons." That the two numbers (in vers. 2, 4) refer to the same time, i.e. to the days of David, is manifest from ver. 5, "and their brethren of all the families of Issachar, valiant heroes; 87,000 their register, as regards everything," i.e. the sum of those registered of all the families of Issachar. Whence we gather that in the 87,000 both the 22,600 (ver. 2) and the 36,000 (ver. 4) are included, and their brethren consequently must have amounted to 28,400 ( $22,600 + 36,000 + 28,400 = 87,000$ ). In the time of Moses, Issachar numbered, according to Num. i. 29, 54,400; and at a later time, according to Num. xxvi. 25, already numbered 64,300 men.

Vers. 6–11. *Sons and families of Benjamin.*—In ver. 6 only three sons of Benjamin—Bela, Becher, and Jediael—are mentioned; and in vers. 7–11 their families are registered. Besides these, there are five sons of Benjamin spoken of in chap. viii. 1, 2,—Bela the first, Ashbel the second, Aharah the third, Nohah the fourth, and Rapha the fifth; while in vers. 3–5 five other בָּנִים are enumerated, viz. גֵּרָא, אֶחָי, (twice), שְׁפֻפָּם, נַעֲמָן, and חִירָם. If we compare here the statements of the Pentateuch as to the genealogy of Benjamin, we find in Gen. xlv. 21 the following sons of Benjamin: Bela, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ehi (אֶחָי) and Rosh, Muppim and Huppim and Ard (אֶרְדָּ); and in Num. xxvi. 38–40 seven families, of which five are descended from his sons Bela, Ashbel, Ahiham, Shephupham, and Hupham (חֻפָּם); and two from his grandsons, the sons of Bela, Ard and Naaman. From this we learn, not only that of the בָּנִים mentioned in Gen. xlv. 21 at least two were grandsons, but also that the names אֶחָי and חֻפָּם (Gen.) are only other forms of אֶחָיִם and שְׁפֻפָּם (Num.). It is, however, somewhat strange that among the families (in Num.) the names בֶּכֶר, גֵּרָא, and רֹאשׁ are wanting. The explanation which at once suggests itself, that their descendants were not numerous enough to form separate families, and that they on that account were received into the families of the other sons, though it may be accepted in the case of Gera and Rosh, of whom it is nowhere recorded that they had numerous descendants, cannot meet the case of Becher, for in vers. 8 and 9 of our chapter mention is made of nine sons of his, with a posterity of 20,200 men. The supposition that the name of Becher and his family has been dropped from the genealogical register of the families in Num. xxvi., will not appear in the

slightest degree probable, when we consider the accuracy of this register in other respects. The only remaining explanation therefore is, that the descendants of Becher were in reality not numerous enough to form a *בֵּית אֲבֹתָם* by themselves, but had afterwards so increased that they numbered nine fathers'-houses, with a total of 20,200 valiant warriors. The numbers in our register point unquestionably to post-Mosaic times; for at the second numbering by Moses, all the families of Benjamin together numbered only 45,600 men (Num. xxvi. 41), while the three families mentioned in our verses number together 59,434 (22,034 + 20,200 + 17,200). The tribe of Benjamin, which moreover was entirely destroyed, with the exception of 600 men, in the war which it waged against the other tribes in the earlier part of the period of the judges (Judg. xx. 47), could not have increased to such an extent before the times of David and Solomon. The name of the third son of Benjamin, Jedial, occurs only here, and is considered by the older commentators to be another name of Ashbel (Gen. xlv. 21 and Num. xxvi. 38), which cannot indeed be accepted as a certainty, but is very probable.—Ver. 7. The five heads of fathers'-houses called sons of Bela are not sons in the proper sense of the word, but more distant descendants, who, at the time when this register was made up, were heads of the five groups of related households of the race of Bela. *בְּנוֹי הָאֵלִים* is synonymous with *בְּנוֹי הָאֵל*, ver. 9, and is a plural, formed as if from a *nomen compositum*, which arose after the frequent use of the words as they are bound together in the *status constructus* had obscured the consciousness of the relation between them.—Ver. 8. Becher's descendants. Of these nine names there are two, *עֵלְמָת* and *עֵנְתוֹת*, which occur elsewhere as names of cities (cf. for *עֵלְמָת* in the form *עֵלְמָת*, vi. 45; and for *עֵנְתוֹת*, Josh. xxi. 18, Isa. x. 30, Jer. i. 1). We may, without doubt, accept the supposition that in these cases the cities received their names from the heads of the families which inhabited them. In ver. 9, *רָאשֵׁי בֵּית אֲבֹתָם* stands in apposition to, and is explanatory of, *לְחֻלּוֹתָם*: "And their register, according to their generations," viz. according to the generations, that is, the birth-lists, "of the heads of their fathers'-houses, is (amounts to) in valiant heroes 20,200 men."—Ver. 10 f. Among the descendants of Jedial we find Benjamin and Ehud, the first of whom is named after the patriarch; but the second is not the judge Ehud (Judg. iii. 15), who was indeed a Benjamite,

but of the family of Gera. Chenaanah does not necessarily indicate a Canaanite family. Tharshish, which is elsewhere a precious stone, is here the name of a person; Ahishahar, that is, Brother of the Dawn, perhaps so named because *sub auroram natus*.—In ver. 11 the expression is contracted, as often happens in formulæ which frequently recur; and the meaning is, “All these are sons of Jediael (for as sons of Bilhan the son of Jediael, they are at the same time sons of the latter), (registered) according to the heads of their fathers’-houses, valiant heroes 17,200, going forth in the host to war.” ראשי בתי אבות is contracted from ראשי האבות, *vide* on Ex. vi. 25; and the ל before ראשי, which Bertheau from a misinterpretation wishes to remove, depends upon the הַחֲתָּוּת (ver. 9) to be supplied in thought.

Ver. 12 is unintelligible to us. The first half, “And Shuppim and Huppim, sons of Ir,” would seem, if we may judge from the 1 cop., to enumerate some other descendants of Benjamin. And besides, (1) the names מְשִׁים חֲמִישִׁים occur in Gen. xli. 21 among those of the sons of Benjamin, and in Num. xxvi. 39, among the families of Benjamin, one called מְשִׁים from מְשִׁים, and another חֲמִישִׁים from חֲמִישִׁים, are introduced; we must consequently hold מְשִׁים to be an error for מְשִׁים or מְשִׁים. And (2) the name עִיר is most probably identical with עִיר in ver. 7. The peculiar forms of those names, viz. מְשִׁים חֲמִישִׁים, seem to have arisen from an improper comparison of them with חֲמִישִׁים מְשִׁים in ver. 15, in which the fact was overlooked that the Huppim and Shuppim of ver. 15 belong to the Manassites. Here, therefore, two other families descended from the Benjamite Ir or Iri would seem to be mentioned, which may easily be reconciled with the purpose (ver. 6) to mention none of the Benjamites but the descendants of Bela, Becher, and Jediael. The further statement, “Hushim, sons of Aher,” is utterly enigmatical. The name חֲשִׁים is found in Gen. xli. 23 as that of Dan’s only son, who, however, is called in Num. xxvi. 42 חֲשִׁים, and who founded the family of the Shuhami. But as the names חֲשִׁים and חֲשִׁים are again met with in chap. viii. 8, 11 among the Benjamites, there is no need to imagine any connection between our חֲשִׁים and that family. The word אַחֵר, *alius*, is not indeed found elsewhere as a *nomen proprium*, but may notwithstanding be so here; when we might, notwithstanding the want of the conjunction ו, take the Hushim sons of Aher to be another Benjamite family. In that case, certainly, the tribe of Dan would be omitted



from our chapter; but we must not allow that to lead us into arbitrary hypotheses, as not only Dan but also Zebulun is omitted.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 13. *The sons of Naphtali*.—Only the sons of Naphtali are named, the families descended from them being passed over. The names correspond to those in Gen. xvi. 24 and Num. xxv. 48 f., except that there the first is נַפְתָּלִי, and the last זְבֻלֻן instead of נַפְתָּלִי.

Vers. 14-19. *Families of the half-tribe of Manasseh*.—The families of Manasseh which dwelt in Gilead and Bashan have already been mentioned in chap. v. 23, 14. Our verses deal with the families of this tribe which received their inheritance in Canaan, on this side Jordan. These were, according to Num. xxvi. 30, 34, and Josh. xvii. 2, six families, of which, however, only two are here spoken of—Ashriel, ver. 14, and Shemidah, ver. 19; or perhaps three, if Abiezer, ver. 18, be the same person as Jeezer (Num. xxvi. 30), who is called Abiezer in Josh. xvii. 2. The statements

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau's judgment in the matter is different. Starting from the facts that דָּן (Gen. xvi. 27) is called a son of Dan, and that further, in the enumeration of the tribes in Gen. xvi. and Num. xxvi., Dan follows after Benjamin; that in Gen. xvi. Dan stands between Benjamin and Naphtali, and that in our chapter, in ver. 13, the sons of Naphtali follow immediately; and that the closing words of this verse, "sons of Bilhah," can, according to Gen. xvi. 25, refer only to Dan and Naphtali, and consequently presuppose that Dan or his descendants have been mentioned in our passage,—he thinks there can be no doubt that originally Danites were mentioned in our verse, and that דָּן was introduced as the son of Dan. Moreover, from the word אֲחֵר, "the other," he draws the further inference that it may have been, according to its meaning, the covert designation of a man whose proper name fear, or dislike of some sort, prevented men from using, and was probably a designation of the tribe of Dan, which set up its own worship, and so separated itself from the congregation of Israel; cf. Judg. xvii. f. The name is avoided, he says, in our chapter, in chap. vi. 46 and 54, and is named only in chap. ii. 2 among the twelve tribes of Israel, and in chap. xii. 35. The conjecture, therefore, is forced upon us, that דָּן בֶּן אֲחֵר, "Hushim the son of the other," viz. of the other son of Bilhah, whose name he wished to pass over in silence, stands for דָּן אֲחֵר. The name Aher, then, had so completely concealed the tribe of Dan, that later readers did not mark the new commencement, notwithstanding the want of the conjunction, and had no scruple in adding the well-known names of the Benjamites, שֵׁם and חֵם, to the similarly-sounding חֵם, though probably at first only in the margin. This hypothesis has no solid foundation. The supposed dislike to mention the name of Dan rests upon an erroneous imagination, as is manifest from the thrice repeated mention of that name, not merely in chap. ii. 2 and xii. 35,

of vers. 14 and 15 are very obscure. At the head of the register of the Manassites stands Ashriel, who, according to Num. xxvi. 31, belonged to the sons of Gilead the son of Manasseh and the grandson of Joseph (cf. Gen. l. 23), and founded one of the six families of the cis-Jordanic Manassites. But the words which follow are obscure; the words are אִשְׂרֵי יִלְדָהּ וְנִי, "whom his Aramaic concubine bore; she bore Machir the father of Gilead." But since Ashriel, according to this, was the great-grandson of Manasseh, while Machir was his son, the relative clause can refer only to Manasseh, to whom his concubine bore Machir. Movers and Berth. would therefore erase אִשְׂרֵי יִלְדָהּ וְנִי, as a gloss arising out of a doubling of the following אִשְׂרֵי יִלְדָהּ וְנִי. By this expedient the difficulty as to the connection of the relative clause is certainly got rid of, but the obscurities of the following verse (15) are not thereby removed. The analogy of the other registers in our chapter requires, rather, that immediately after בְּנֵי מְנַשֶּׁה there should stand the name of a descendant,—a fact which speaks

but also in chap. xxvii. 22. The omission of the tribe of Dan in chap. vi. 46, 54, is only the result of a corruption of the text in these passages; for in ver. 46 the words, "Ephraim and of the tribe of Dan," and after ver. 54 a whole verse, have been dropped out in the copying. In neither of these verses can there be any idea of omitting the name Dan because of a dislike to mention it, for in ver. 46 the name Ephraim is lacking, and in ver. 54 the names of two cities are also omitted, where even Berth. cannot suppose any "dislike." When Berth. quotes Judg. xviii. 30 in favour of his concealment hypothesis, where under the Keri מְנַשֶּׁה the name מְנַשֶּׁה is supposed to be concealed, he has forgotten that the opinion that in this passage מְנַשֶּׁה has been altered into מְנַשֶּׁה from a foolish dialike, is one of the rabbinic caprices, which we cannot attribute as a matter of course to the authors of the biblical writings. With this groundless suspicion falls of itself the attempt which he bases upon it "to solve the enigma of our verse." If the words in question do really contain a remark concerning the family of Dan, we must suppose, with Ewald (*Gesch.* i. S. 242), that the text has become corrupt, several words having been dropped out. Yet the בְּנֵי בְלָהָה at the end of ver. 13 is not sufficient to warrant such a supposition. Had the register originally contained not only the sons of Naphtali, but also the sons of Dan, so that בְּנֵי בְלָהָה would have to be referred to both, the conj. וְ could not have been omitted before בְּנֵי נַפְתָּלִי. The want of this conjunction is, however, in conformity with the whole plan of our register, in which all the tribes follow, one after the other, without a conjunction; cf. vers. 6, 14, 30. וְ is found only before בְּנֵי אֶפְרַיִם, ver. 20, because Ephraim and Manasseh are closely connected, both continuing to form the one tribe of Joseph. We must accordingly hold בְּנֵי נַפְתָּלִי, ver. 13, without וְ cop., to have been the original reading, when the conjecture that בְּנֵי בְלָהָה includes also the sons of Dan is at once disposed of.

strongly in favour of the authenticity of אַשְׁרִיאל. It is therefore a much more probable suggestion, that after the name אַשְׁרִיאל, some additional clause, such as בְּרִמְנָשָׁה, has been dropped, or regarded as superfluous by a copyist, and so omitted. To such an omitted בן מנשה, the relative sentence, which gives more details as to the descent of Ashriel, would be attached in a simple and natural manner, since it was known from Num. xxvi. 30 f. that Ashriel was descended from Manasseh through Gilead.—Ver. 15 is literally, “And Machir took a wife to Huppim and Shuppim, and the name of his sister was Maachah, and the name of the second Zelophehad.” According to ver. 16, on the contrary, Maachah is the wife of Machir, and we should consequently expect to find in ver. 15 only the simple statement, “And Machir took a wife whose name was Maachah.” From the words לחפּים מעכה no meaning which harmonizes with the context can be obtained. Since לָקַח אִשָּׁה לְ means “to take a wife for one” (cf. Judg. xiv. 2), we can only suppose that by the names Huppim and Shuppim Machir’s sons are meant, to whom he, as their father, gave wives. But we cannot suppose that the sons of Machir are referred to, for the birth of the sons is first mentioned in ver. 16. But we have found the names חפּים and שפּים spoken of as descendants of Benjamin; and Berthieu consequently conjectures that these names have been brought thence into our verse by some gloss, and that the beginning of our verse originally stood thus: ומכיר לקח אשה ושמה מעכה ושם אחותו המלכת, “And Machir took a wife whose name is Maachah, and the name of his sister is Hammoleketh” (the last according to ver. 18). By this means we certainly bring some meaning into the words; but we cannot venture to maintain that this conjecture corresponds to the original text, but rather incline to doubt it. For, in the first place, the following words, “And the name of the second (is) Zelophehad,” do not suit the proposed reading. Berth. must here alter הַשֵּׁנִי into אָחִיו (the name of his brother). But even after this alteration, the mention of the brother of Machir is not suitable to the context; and moreover Zelophehad was not a true brother, but only a nephew of Machir, the son of his brother Hephher; cf. Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1. And besides this, according to the concluding formula, “These are the sons of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh” (ver. 17), we should expect to find in vers. 15, 16, not merely sons or descendants of Machir, but rather descendants of Gilead. We therefore hold the state-

ment of ver. 15b, "And the name of the second is Zelophehad, and Zelophehad had (only) daughters," to be correct and beyond criticism, and the first part of ver. 15 to be corrupt and defective; and conjecture that a son of Gilead's was mentioned in it, to whose name the words, "And the name of the second," etc., belonged. This son who was mentioned in the text, which has been handed down to us only in a defective state, was probably the Ashriel mentioned in ver. 14, a son of Gilead, whose descent from Machir was given more in detail in the corrupt and consequently meaningless first half of ver. 15. In vers. 16, 17, other descendants of Machir by his wife Maachah are enumerated, which favours the probable conjecture that the wife whom Machir took, according to ver. 15, was different from Maachah, that Machir had two wives, and that in ver. 15 originally the sons of the first were enumerated, and in vers. 16, 17, the sons of the second. Peresh and Shelesh are mentioned only here. יָרֵשׁ, "his sons" (that is, the sons of the last-named, Shelesh), were Ulam and Rakem, names which are also met with only here. The name דָּן is found in our Masoretic text, 1 Sam. xii. 11, as the name of a judge, but probably דָּנָה should be read instead.—Ver. 18. A third branch of the descendants of Gilead were descended from Machir's sister Hammoleketh, a name which the Vulgate has taken in an appellative sense. Of her sons, Ishod, *i.e.* "man of splendour," is not elsewhere mentioned. The name Abiezer occurs, Josh. xvii. 2, as that of the head of one of the families of Manasseh. In Num. xxvi. 30, however, he is called Jeezer, which is probably the original reading, and consequently our Abiezer is different from that in Josh. xvii. 2. Another circumstance which speaks strongly against the identification of the two men is, that the family descended from Jeezer holds the first place among the families of Manasseh, which is not at all consonant with the position of the son of Machir's sister here mentioned. Of the family of Abiezer came the judge Gideon, Judg. xi. 15. A daughter of Zelophehad is called Mahlah in Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, but she is not the person here mentioned.—Ver. 19. The sons of Shemida, the founder of the fourth family of the Manassites, Num. xxvi. 32. His four sons are nowhere else referred to, for שָׁכָם, the founder of a family of the Manassites (Num. xxvi. 31 and Josh. xvii. 2), is to be distinguished from the Shechem of our verse; nor is there any greater reason to identify Likhi with Helek, Num. xxvi. 30 (Berth.), than there

is for connecting אִנֶּעֱם with זֵלֶפְחָד, the daughter of Zelophehad, Num. xxvi. 33, Josh. xvii. 3.

Vers. 20-29. *The families of Ephraim.*—Ver. 20 f. Among the Ephraimites, the descendants of Shuthelah, the founder of one of the chief families of this tribe, Num. xxvi. 35, are traced down through six generations to a later Shuthelah. The names זִמְרִי וְזִמְרָה which follow שֻׁתֵּלָח בֶּן, “And his son Shuthelah,” after which בֶּן is wanting, are not to be considered descendants of the second Shuthelah, but are heads of a family co-ordinate with that of Shuthelah, or of two fathers’-houses intimately connected with each other. These names are to be taken as a continuation of the list of the sons of Ephraim, which commenced with שֻׁתֵּלָח. The suffix in זִמְרִי וְזִמְרָה refers to both these names: “The men of Gath, that were born in the land, smote Ezer and Elead.” These “men born in the land” Ewald and Bertheau take to be the Avvites, the aboriginal inhabitants of that district of country, who had been extirpated by the Philistines emigrating from Caphtor (Deut. ii. 23). But there is no sufficient ground for this supposition; for no proof can be brought forward that the Avvians (Avvites) had ever spread so far as Gath; and the Philistines had taken possession of the south-west part of Canaan as early as the time of Abraham, and consequently long before Ephraim’s birth. “The men of Gath who were born in the land” are rather the Canaanite or Philistine inhabitants of Gath, as distinguished from the Israelites, who had settled in Canaan only under Joshua. “For they (Ezer and Elead) had come down to take away their cattle” (to plunder). The older commentators assign this event to the time that Israel dwelt in Egypt (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. S. 490), or even to the pre-Egyptian time. But Bertheau has, in opposition to this, justly remarked that the narratives of Genesis know nothing of a stay of the progenitors of the tribe of Ephraim in the land of Palestine before the migration of Israel into Egypt, for Ephraim was born in Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 20). It would be more feasible to refer it to the time of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, as it is not impossible that the Israelites may have undertaken predatory expeditions against Canaan from Goshen; but even this supposition is not at all probable. Certainly, if in vers. 23-27 it were said, as Ewald thinks, that Ephraim, after the mourning over the sons thus slain, became by his wife the father of three other sons, from the last named of whom Joshua was descended

in the seventh generation, we should be compelled to refer the expedition to the pre-Egyptian period. But the opinion that Rephah and Resheph, ver. 25, were begotten only after that misfortune has no foundation. Moreover, the statement that Ephraim, after he was comforted for the loss of his slain sons, went in unto his wife and begat a son, to whom he gave the name Beriah, because he was born in misfortune in his house, does not at all presuppose that the patriarch Ephraim was still alive when Ezer and Elead were slain. Were that the case, the necessary result would of course be, that this event could only be referred to the time when the Israelites dwelt in Egypt. In opposition to this, Bertheau's remark that the event in that case would be *per se* enigmatical, as we would rightly have great hesitation in accepting the supposition of a war, or rather a plundering expedition to seize upon cattle carried out by the Ephraimites whilst they dwelt in Egypt, against the inhabitants of the Philistine city of Gath, is certainly not all decisive, for we know far too little about those times to be able to judge of the possibility or probability of such an expedition. The decision to which we must come as to this obscure matter depends, in the first place, on how the words *כִּי יָרְדוּ וְג'* are to be understood; whether we are to translate "for they had gone," or "when they had gone down to fetch their cattle," i.e. to plunder. If we take the *כִּי* as *partic. ration.*, for, because, we can only take the sons of Ephraim, Ezer and Elead, for the subject of *יָרְדוּ*, and we must understand the words to mean that they had gone down to carry off the cattle of the Gathites. In that case, the event would fall in the time when the Ephraimites dwelt in Canaan, and went down from Mount Ephraim into the low-lying Gath, for a march out of Egypt into Canaan is irreconcilable with the verb *יָרַד*. If, on the contrary, we translate *כִּי יָרְדוּ* "when they had gone down," we might then gather from the words that men of Gath went down to Goshen, there to drive away the cattle of the Ephraimites, in which case the Gathites may have slain the sons of Ephraim when they were feeding their cattle and defending them against the robbers. Many of the old commentators have so understood the words; but we cannot hold this to be the correct interpretation, for it deprives the words "those born in the land," which stand in apposition to *אֲנָשֵׁי הָאָרֶץ*, of all meaning, since there can be absolutely no thought of men of Gath born in Egypt. We therefore take the words to mean,

that the sons of Ephraim who are named in our verse attempted to drive away the cattle of the Gathites, and were by them slain in the attempt. But how can the statement that Ephraim after this unfortunate event begat another son, Beriah, be reconciled with such a supposition, since the patriarch Ephraim was dead long before the Israelites came forth out of Egypt? Bertheau understands the begetting figuratively, of the whole of the tribe of Ephraim, and would interpret the begetting of Beriah of the reception either of a Benjamite family into the tribe of Ephraim, or of a small Ephraimite family, which at first was not numbered with the others, into the number of the famous families of this tribe. But this straining of the words by an allegorical interpretation is not worthy of serious refutation, since it is manifestly only a makeshift to get rid of the difficulty. The words, "And Ephraim went in unto his wife, and she conceived and bare a son," are not to be interpreted allegorically, but must be taken in their proper sense; and the solution of the enigma will be found in the name Ephraim. If this be taken to denote the actual son of Joseph, then the event is incomprehensible; but just as a descendant of Shuthelah in the sixth generation was also called Shuthelah, so also might a descendant of the patriarch Ephraim, living at a much later time, have received the name of the progenitor of the tribe; and if we accept this supposition, the event, with all its issues, is easily explained. If Ezer and Elead went down from Mount Ephraim to Gath, they were not actual sons of Ephraim, but merely later descendants; and their father, who mourned for their death, was not Ephraim the son of Joseph, who was born in Egypt, but an Ephraimite who lived after the Israelites had taken possession of the land of Canaan, and who bore Ephraim's name. *He* may have mourned for the death of his sons, and after he had been comforted for their loss, may have gone in unto his wife, and have begotten a son with her, to whom he gave the name Beriah, "because it was in misfortune in his house," i.e. because this son was born when misfortune was in his house.—Ver. 24. "And his daughter Sherah," the daughter of the above-mentioned Ephraim, "built Beth-horon the nether and the upper," the present Beit-Ur-Foka and Tachta (see on Josh. x. 10), "and Uzzen-sherah," a place not elsewhere referred to, which she probably founded, and which was called after her. The building of the two Beth-horons is merely an enlarging and

fortifying of these towns. Sherah was probably an heiress, who had received these places as her inheritance, and caused them to be enlarged by her family. In vers. 25–27 the ancestors of Joshua the son of Nun, who brought Israel into the land of Canaan, are enumerated. As the word נִנְיָ is wanting after רֵשֶׁפֶת, we must hold Rephah and Resheph to be brothers, but we are not informed from which of the four Ephraimite stocks enumerated in Num. xxvi. 35 f. they were descended. “Telah his son,” Bertheau holds to be a son of Rephah. The name Tahan occurs in Num. xxvi. 35 as that of the founder of one of the families of Ephraim; but he can hardly be identical with our Tahan, who was probably a son of that Tahan from whom an Ephraimite family descended. If this conjecture be correct, Joshua would be of the family of Tahan.—Ver. 26. Elishama the son of Ammihud was a contemporary of Moses, Num. i. 10, and prince of the tribe of Ephraim, Num. vii. 48, x. 22. נֹן (Non) is so pronounced only in this place; in the Pentateuch and in the book of Joshua it is נֹחַ (Nun).

In vers. 28 and 29 the possessions and dwelling-places of the tribe of Ephraim (and as we learn from the superscription, ver. 29), also those of West Jordan Manasseh, are given, but in a very general way; only the chief places on the four sides being mentioned. Bethel, now Beitin, on the frontier of the tribal domains of Benjamin and Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 2, xviii. 13), and assigned to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 22), is here mentioned as an Ephraimite city on the southern frontier of the Ephraimite territory, as it belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes; whence we gather that this register was prepared after that kingdom had come into existence. As to its position, see on Josh. vii. 2. Her daughters are the smaller villages which belonged to Bethel. Naaran, without doubt the same place which is called in Josh. xvi. 17 נַעֲרָתָה (with ה *loc.*), is the eastern frontier city lying to the north-east of Jericho; see on Josh. xvi. 7. “And westward Gezer,” according to Josh. xvi. 13, lying between Beth-horon and the sea (see on Josh. x. 33), is the frontier city on the south-west; and Shechem and Avvah (עֵבָה), with their daughters, are places which mark the boundary on the north-west. As to שֵׁכֶם, Shechem, the present Nablus, see on Josh. xvii. 7. Instead of עֵבָה, most of the editions of the Bible agree with LXX. and Vulg. and Chald. in having עֵבָה, but not the Philistine Gaza: it is only an error of the transcribers



and printers, as all the more accurate MSS. and the better printed copies have ענה; see De Rossi, *Variae Lectt. ad h. l.* The locality ענה or ענה is certainly met with nowhere else, but, if we may judge by Josh. xvi. 6 and xvii. 17, is to be sought not far from Shechem in a north-western direction, perhaps on the site of the there mentioned Michmethah, the position of which has, however, not yet been ascertained.—Ver. 29. According to Josh. xvii. 11, the Manassites had received the four cities here named, lying within the territory of Issachar and Asher. This is attested also by עַל־יְדֵי בְנֵי מַנַּסֶּה, to the hands, i.e. in possession of the sons of Manasseh. As to its position, see Josh. xvii. 11. These cities formed the boundaries on the extreme north, of the dwellings “of the sons of Joseph,” i.e. of the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.

Vers. 30-40. *The sons and several families of Asher.*—Ver. 30. The names of the four sons of Asher and that of their sister coincide with the statement of Gen. xlv. 17; but in Num. xxvi. 44-47, on the contrary, the name Ishuai does not occur among the families of Asher.—Ver. 31. The sons of Beriah, Heber and Malchiel, are also to be found in Gen. xlv. 17 and Num. xxvi. 45 as the heads of two families; but the further statement, “he (i.e. Malchiel) the father of Birzavith,” is found only here. How בִּרְזָבִיחַ, the Kethibh, is to be pronounced, cannot be with certainty determined. Gesen. in *Thes.* p. 239 makes it בִּרְזָחַת, and considers the word to be the name of a woman; Bertheau, on the contrary, conjectures that it is a compound of בִּרְ = בָּאֵר and יָחַי, “well of the olive-tree,” and so the name of a place. In vers. 32-34 the descendants of Heber are enumerated in three generations, which are mentioned nowhere else. In ver. 32 we have four sons and one daughter. The name יִפְלֵט is not to be connected with יִפְלֵט, Josh. xvi. 3, “because a family of Asher is not to be sought for in the neighbourhood there referred to” (Berth.). In ver. 33 we have four sons of Japhlet, and in ver. 34 the sons of his brother Shemer. It is somewhat remarkable that שְׁמֵר, ver. 32, is called here שְׁמֵר. אָחִי is not an appellative, but a proper name, as the ו before the following name shows; cf. another Ahi in v. 15. For יִחְזָבֶה we should read יִחְזָבֶה.—Vers. 35-39. Descendants of Helem—in ver. 35 sons, in vers. 36-38 grandsons. As Helem is called אָחִי, “his brother” (i.e. the brother of the Shemer mentioned in ver. 34), הָלֵם would seem to be the third son of Heber, who is called in ver. 32 חֻתָּם. If so, one of the two names must have resulted from an error in transcription;

but it is now impossible to determine which is the original and correct form of the name. Eleven names are introduced as those of the sons of Zophah (vers. 36, 37); and in ver. 38 we have, besides, three sons of Jether (יֶתֶר), who is called in ver. 38 יֶתֶר. In ver. 39 there follow three names, those of the sons of Ulla; on which Bertheau rightly remarks, the whole character of our enumeration would lead us to conjecture that אֶלָּא had already occurred among the preceding names, although we find neither this name nor any similar one, with which it might be identified, in the preceding list.—Ver. 40 contains a comprehensive concluding statement as to the descendants of Asher: "All these (those just mentioned by name) were heads of fathers'-houses, chosen valiant heroes (יְהִיָּים, as in ver. 5), chief of the princes," Vulg. *duces ducum*, i.e. probably leaders of the larger divisions of the army, under whom were other יְהִיָּים. "And their genealogical register is for service of the host in war," i.e. was prepared with reference to the men capable of bearing arms, and had not, like other registers, reference to the number of inhabitants of the various localities; cf. ix. 22. It amounted to 26,000 men. According to Num. i. 41, Asher numbered 41,500, and according to Num. xxvi. 47, 53,000 men. But we must observe that the number given in our verse is only that of the men capable of bearing arms belonging to one of the greater families of Asher, the family of Heber, of which alone a register had been preserved till the time of the chronicler.

#### CHAP. VIII.—FAMILIES OF BENJAMIN, AND GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF SAUL.

The families of Benjamin enumerated in this chapter were probably separated from those in chap. vii. 6–11, merely on the ground that all the registers which are grouped together in chap. vii. were taken from another genealogical document than that from which the registers in our chapter, which form a supplement to the short fragments in chap. vii. 6–11, have been derived.

Vers. 1–5. *The sons of Benjamin and Bela*.—The manner in which the five sons begotten by Benjamin are enumerated is remarkable, "Bela his first-born, Ashbel the second," etc., since, according to Gen. xlvi. 21, after the first-born Bela, Becher follows as the second son, and Ashbel is the third; while Aharah, Nohah, and Rapha are not met with there, quite other

names occupying their place. In אֶחָדָם we can easily recognise the אֶחָדָם of Num. xxvi. 38, whence the enumeration in ver. 1 f. harmonizes with the order in Num. xxvi. 38. It is therefore clear, that in our genealogy only those sons are mentioned who founded the families of Benjamin. The names נֹחָה and רָפָא are nowhere else met with among the sons of Benjamin; but we may conclude, partly from the agreement of the first three names with the heads of the families of Benjamin enumerated in Num. xxvi. 38, and partly from the agreement as to the number, which is five in both passages, that נֹחָה and רָפָא are intended to correspond to the שֶׁפְּחֻפָּם and הֻפָּם of Num. xxvi. 39. The only question which then remains is, whether the variation in the names arises from these two sons of Benjamin having had different names, or from the families which issued from Shephupham and Hupham having afterwards perhaps received new names from famous chiefs, instead of the original designations, so that Nohah and Rapha would be later descendants of Shephupham and Hupham. Even this second supposition seems possible, since הוֹלִיד in such genealogical registers may denote mediate procreation. If, *e.g.*, Nohah were a grandson or great-grandson of Shephupham the son of Benjamin, he might well be introduced in the genealogical lists of the families as begotten by Benjamin.—Vers. 3–5. The sons of Bela. Of the six names borne by these sons, נֶרְאָה is twice met with; נִנְעָן is found in Gen. xvi. 21 as the son, and in Num. xxvi. 40 as grandson of Benjamin; שִׁפְחָן is another form of שֶׁפְּחֻפָּם, Num. xxvi. 39; and הִנְדָּם may be a transcriber's error for הֻפָּם, Num. xxvi. 39, just as אֶדֶר probably stands for אֶרֶד, Gen. xvi. 21. The occurrence of the name Gera would be incomprehensible only if בְּנִים denoted sons in the narrower sense of the word; but if בְּנִים are sons in the wider sense, *i.e.* descendants who founded fathers'-houses (groups of related households), two cousins might have the same name. In that case, Addar, Shephuphan, and Huram also may be different persons from Ard, Shephupham, and Hupham. Abihud and Abishua are met with as descendants of Benjamin only here, and אֶחָדָם may be connected with אֶחָדָם, ver. 7.

Vers. 6, 7. *Sons of Ehud*.—The descent of Ehud from the sons, grandsons, and descendants of Benjamin, enumerated in vers. 1–5, is not given. The names of Ehud's sons follow only at the end of the 7th verse, "And he begat Uzza and Ahihud," while the intermediate clauses contain historical remarks. These

sons were "heads of fathers'-houses of the inhabitants of Geba," i.e. Geba of Benjamin (1 Sam. xiii. 16), the Levite city, vi. 45, which still remains as the half-ruinous village Jeba, about three leagues to the north of Jerusalem; see on Josh. xviii. 24. "And they led them captive to Manahath, viz. Naaman and Ahiah and Gera, this man led them captive." The subject to וַיִּלְכְּדוּ are the men mentioned in the following verse, while the וְהָאֵלֶּה which follows shows that, of the three above mentioned, the last, Gera, was the author of their captivity. The place Manahath is not known, but is conjectured to be connected with Hazi-Hammanahti and Hazi-Hammenuhoth, ii. 54 and 52; but we cannot ascertain with certainty whether the name denotes a city or a district, and the situation of it has not yet been discovered. Of the hostile collision of these Benjamite families also, no more detailed accounts have come down to us.

Vers. 8-12. *The descendants of Shaharaim.*—The descent of Shaharaim from the sons and grandsons named in vers. 1-3 is obscure, and the conjecture which connects him with Ahishahar of chap. vii. 10 is unsupported. He was the father of a considerable number of heads of fathers'-houses, whom his two or three wives bore to him. According to ver. 8, he begat "in the country of Moab after he had sent them, Hushim and Baara his wives, away; (ver. 9) there begat he with Hodesh his wife, Jobab," etc. When and how Shaharaim, a Benjamite, came into the country of Moab, is not known; all that can be gathered from our verse is that he must have lived there for a considerable time. וְהָאֵלֶּה is *infin. Pi.*, the "i" being retained, and the Daghesh forte omitted with Sheva (cf. as to this formation, Ew. § 238, d). אֵלֶּם, accus. of the pronoun, which, as it precedes its noun, is in *gen. masc.*, although the names of women follow (cf. for this use of the pronoun, Ew. § 309, c). וְהָאֵלֶּה and וְהָאֵלֶּה are women, as we learn from the following וְהָאֵלֶּה. By this parenthesis, the beginning of the main sentence has been lost sight of, and the וְהָאֵלֶּה is taken up again in וְהָאֵלֶּה. As to וְהָאֵלֶּה with וְ, cf. the remark on ii. 8. וְהָאֵלֶּה is the third wife, which he took instead of those he had sent away. The seven names in vers. 9, 10 are grouped together as sons or descendants of the last-named wife, by the concluding remark, "These his sons are heads of fathers'-houses." Then, further, in vers. 11, 12, the sons and grandsons of the first (divorced) wives, one of whom built the cities Ono and Lydda, are enumerated; but we have no means of determining whether

the *וְהָאֵלְפָאֵל בְּנֵהוּ* refers to Shemer, the last mentioned, or to Elpaal the father of the three sons, Eber, and Misham, and Shemer. It would, however, naturally suggest itself, that the words referred to the first. *לֹד* (Lod) is without doubt the city Lydda, where Peter healed the paralytic (Acts ix. 32 ff.). It belonged in the Syrian age to Samaria, but it was added to Judea by the King Demetrius Soter, and given to Jonathan for a possession (1 Macc. xi. 34, cf. with x. 30, 38). In the Jewish war it was destroyed by the Roman general Cestius (Joseph. *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 19. 1), but was rebuilt at a later time, and became the site of a toparchy of Judea. In still later times it was called Diospolis, but is now a considerable Mohammedan village, lying between Jafa and Jerusalem to the north of Ramleh, which bears the old name Ludd, by the Arabs pronounced also Lidd. See v. Raumer, *Pal.* S. 10; Robins. *Pal. sub voce*; and Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, S. 69 f. Ono is mentioned elsewhere only in Ezra ii. 33, Neh. vii. 37 and xi. 35, along with Lod, and must have been a place in the neighbourhood of Lydda.

Vers. 13-28. *Heads of fathers'-houses of the tribe of Benjamin*, who dwelt partly in Aijalon (ver. 13) and partly in Jerusalem.— Their connection with the heads of fathers'-houses already mentioned is not clear. The names *בְּרִיעָה וְשִׁשְׁתַּי* might be taken for a fuller enumeration of the sons of Elpaal (ver. 12), were it not that the names enumerated from ver. 14 or 15 onwards, are at the end of ver. 16 said to be those of sons of Beriah; whence we must conclude that with *בְּרִיעָה*, ver. 13, a new list of heads of Benjamite fathers'-houses begins. This view is supported by the fact that the names from ver. 14 or 15 to ver. 27 are divided into five groups of families: the sons of Beriah (ver. 16), of Elpaal (ver. 18), of Shimhi (ver. 21), of Shashak (ver. 25), and of Jeroham (ver. 27). But as two of these, Beriah and Shashak, occur in vers. 13, 14, and *שִׁשְׁתַּי* is probably another form of *שִׁשְׁתַּי*, Bertheau conjectures that the last two names, Shashak and Jeroham, are represented by *אֲחִיו* and *יְרוֹחָם* (ver. 14). *יְרוֹחָם* and *יְרוֹחָם* may be explained by the supposition of a transcriber's error, or by one person having two names; but the word *אֲחִיו* is rendered by the LXX. by *ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ* (= *אֲחִיו*); and the view that *אֲחִיו* is a *nom. prop.* is opposed, as in ver. 31, by the fact that the *cop.* is not found before the following *שִׁשְׁתַּי*, for here, throughout, the names are all connected with each other by the *cop.* Bertheau therefore conjectures that the text originally

ran thus, וְאֶלְפָּאֵל אֲחִי הַשֵּׁשֶׁק, and that the name Elpaal was dropped out; and that in consequence of that, אֲחִי had been punctuated as a *nom. prop.* These conjectures seem satisfactory, especially as it may be adduced in their favour that אֲחִי has been added to the name Elpaal to connect the names in ver. 14 with the enumeration (ver. 13) interrupted by the parenthetical remarks. No certainty, however, can be attained in a matter so obscure. If a new series of groups of families begins with ver. 13, we should expect an introductory formula, as in ver. 6. Beriah and Shema are called heads of the fathers'-houses of the inhabitants of Aijalon, i.e. heads of the groups of related households inhabiting Aijalon, the present Jalo to the west of Gibeon (see on Josh. xix. 42). It is quite consistent with this that their sons or descendants dwelt in Jerusalem. Next a heroic deed of theirs is related, viz. that they (in some war or other) turned to flight the inhabitants of Gath (without doubt Philistines). This remark reminds us of the statement in chap. vii. 21, that sons of Ephraim were slain by those born in Gath, because they had gone down to drive away the herds of the inhabitants. But Bertheau draws an erroneous conclusion from this fact, when he says that because in both passages the name Beriah occurs, both refer to the same event, and thereafter attempts by various hypotheses to make the Benjamites mentioned in our verse into Ephraimites. For the name Beriah is not at all so rare as to allow of our inferring from that alone that the various persons so called are identical, for Jacob's son Asher also named one of his sons Beriah; cf. vii. 30 with Gen. xlv. 17. The notion that the Benjamites Beriah and Shema defeated those inhabitants of Gath who had slain the sons of Ephraim (vii. 21) is quite unsupported, as the Philistines lived at war and in feud with the Israelites for hundreds of years.—Vers. 15, 16. Several of the names of these six sons of Beriah who are mentioned in our verse occur elsewhere, but nowhere else are they met with as sons of Beriah.—Vers. 17, 18. Bertheau would identify three of the sons of Elpaal—Meshullam, Heber, and Ishmerai—with Misham, Eber, and Shemer, ver. 12, but without any sufficient reason; for it is questionable if even the Elpaal whose sons are named in our verses be the same person as the Elpaal mentioned in ver. 12. Of these descendants of Elpaal, also, nothing further is known, and the same may be said of the nine sons of Shimhi, vers. 19–21; of the eleven sons of Shashak, vers. 22–25; and of the six sons

of Jeroham, vers. 26, 27, although some of these names are met with elsewhere singly. The concluding remark, ver. 28, "These are heads of fathers'-houses," refers, without doubt, to all the names from ver. 15 or 14 to ver. 27. "According to their generations—heads" is in apposition to the preceding, as in ix. 24, but the meaning of the apposition is doubtful. The word ראשי can hardly be repeated merely for emphasis, as the old commentators understood it, in harmony with the Vulgate *principes inquam*, for why should this word be so emphasized? Bertheau thinks that "according to their births—heads" is to be taken to mean that those who are enumerated by name are not the heads living at the time of the preparation of this register, but the individual families, with the name of their progenitor after whom they were named in the genealogical lists. But how this meaning can be found in the words in question, I at least cannot understand. Can the individual families be called ראשי אבות, "heads of fathers'-houses"? The families are the fathers'-houses themselves, *i.e.* they are made up of the groups of related households comprehended under the name fathers'-houses. These groups of related households have, it is true, each of them their head, but cannot possibly be themselves called heads. The meaning seems rather to be that the persons named in the family registers, or registers of births, are introduced as heads (of fathers'-houses); and the reason why this is remarked would seem to be, to prevent those who are enumerated as the sons of this or that man from being regarded simply as members of fathers'-houses. The further remark, "these dwelt in Jerusalem," is manifestly not to be taken to mean that the heads alone dwelt there, while the households that were subordinated to them lived elsewhere; for it signifies that they dwelt in Jerusalem with the households which composed their respective fathers'-houses. That the households dwelt there also is not stated, merely because the register contains only the names of the heads.

Vers. 29-40. *The genealogy of Saul*.—Vers. 29-38 recur in chap. ix. 35-44 (see on that passage).—Vers. 29-32. The ancestors of Saul. They dwelt mainly in Gibeon, but a branch of them were settled in Jerusalem, ver. 32 f. In Gibeon, now El Jib, two hours north-west from Jerusalem (see on Josh ix. 3), dwelt the father of Gibeon, with his wife and his sons. The plural ראשי is used because there dwelt there, besides the father of Gibeon, also his wife and his sons. The father, *i.e.* the lord

and possessor of Gibeon, was called, according to ix. 35, Jehiel (יֵהִיֶּל, Keth. יֵהִיֶּל), and his wife Maachah, a not uncommon female name (see on ii. 48). The descent of Jehiel from Benjamin is not given. In ver. 30 eight names are given as those of his sons, while in ix. 36 f. ten are mentioned, the latter statement being correct; for a comparison of the two passages shows that in our verse two names have been dropped out,—Ner between Baal and Nadab, and Mikloth at the end, which must have originally stood in our register also,—for in vers. 32, 33 their descendants are mentioned. נֹכְרִי is called in ix. 37 נֹכְרִיָּה. These names are evidently those of actual sons of Jehiel who were progenitors of fathers'-houses (groups of related households), but in the case of only two is the race descended from these further noticed. In ver. 32 we have that of the youngest Mikloth, who begat Shimeah, called in ix. 38 Shimeam. These also (viz. Shimeah and his family) dwelt in Jerusalem נִגְדָה אֶחָדָם, "before their brethren," i.e. over against them, and עִם אֶחָדָם, "with their brethren." The brethren are the other Benjamites in the first clause, those dwelling outside of Jerusalem and inhabiting the neighbouring country as far as Gibeon (ver. 30); in the second, those dwelling in Jerusalem (ver. 28). From this it is clear that of the descendants of Abi-Gibeon only that branch which was descended from Mikloth went to Jerusalem.—Ver. 33. The family of Ner. Ner begat Kish, and Kish Saul. According to 1 Sam. ix. 1 and xiv. 51, Kish was a son of Abiel. This statement, on account of which Bertheau proposes to make alterations in the text, may be reconciled with that in our verses, by the simple supposition that in our verse intermediate names mentioned in 1 Sam. ix. 1, and probably others besides, are passed over, and Ner the son of Abi-Gibeon is named only because he was the progenitor of the line by which Saul was descended from him. Saul (שָׁאֻל) is King Saul. Only three of his four sons, 1 Sam. xiv. 49, are mentioned,—those, namely, who fell with him in the battle against the Philistines, 1 Sam. xxxi. 2. The second is called, in 1 Sam. xiv. 49, Ishui, but in xxxi. 2 Abinadab, as in our register, whence we gather that Ishui is another name for Abinadab. The fourth, Eshbaal, is the same who is called in 2 Sam. ii. 8, and elsewhere, Ishbosheth, who was set up as king in opposition to David by Abner (see on 2 Sam. ii. 8).—Ver. 34. Jonathan's sons and grandsons. His son is called here and in ix. 40 Meribbaal, while in 2 Sam. iv. 4, ix. 6, xvi. 1 ff.,



xix. 25, he is called Mephibosheth, because the name "striver with Baal" has been changed into מְפִיבִישֵׁת, *exterminans idolum*. This Meribbaal, who was lame in his feet (cf. 2 Sam. iv. 4), had a son Micha (מִיכָה, in 2 Sam. ix. 12 written מִיכָא), of whom came a numerous race. He had four sons (ver. 35), and the family of the last-named of these (Ahaz) is traced down, in vers. 36-40, through ten generations to the great-grandson of Eshek. First it is traced from Ahaz to Alemeth (ver. 36); then through Zimri, brother of this latter, to Binea, by הוֹלִיר; then further by בְּנִי (his son) to Azel, of whom in ver. 38 six sons are enumerated; and finally, in ver. 39, the sons of his brother Eshek are named, and the sons and grandsons of the first-born of this latter are then enumerated. The last two verses are wanting after ix. 44. The names in the two registers correspond, except at one point, where we cannot get rid of the discrepancy that for יְהוֹעָדָה (ver. 36) there stands in ix. 42 יְעָדָה both times, probably through an error of transcription, by which out of the shortened form יְעָדָה there arose יַעֲדָה, י, ד and ד, י being interchanged. Besides this, instead of the מִנְחָמֶה of ver. 35, we have in ix. 41, according to the harder pronunciation of the gutturals, מִנְחָמֶי; and for רַפָּה, ver. 37, we have in ix. 41 the longer original form רַפְּיָה. Now since Ahaz, whose posterity is traced down to the tenth generation, was descended from Jonathan in the third generation, and his grandfather Mephibosheth was a boy of five years of age at the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. iv. 4), the grandsons of Ulam, mentioned in ver. 40, will be the thirteenth generation of Jonathan's descendants. Now Jonathan fell along with Saul in the year 1055 B.C. (see the chronological table of the period of the judges, p. 217), and consequently this thirteenth generation of Jonathan's descendants lived probably about 700 B.C., i.e. about 100 years before the Babylonian exile; for, according to the analogy of the royal race of David, we cannot reckon more than twenty-five years on an average for each generation.<sup>1</sup>—Ver. 40.

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau holds a contrary opinion to that given in the text, and thinks that by the numerous sons and grandsons of Ulam the son of Eshek we are brought down to post-exilic times, seeing that if Saul lived about 1080 B.C., and thirty years are reckoned to each one of the thirteen generations (Eshek being a descendant of Saul in the thirteenth generation), Azel and Eshek must have lived about 690 B.C. But this estimate is too high, for we cannot reckon sixty years to Saul and Jonathan from 1080 onwards, since Jonathan fell along with Saul in 1055, and his son Meribbaal was then hardly five years old, and must consequently have been born in 1060. For the following

The sons of Ulam are called valiant heroes and archers, and must have shown the same capability for war by which the tribe of Benjamin had been distinguished at an earlier time; cf. Judg. xx. 16, and for קָשָׁתַי קִיָּי, cf. 1 Chron. v. 16. The subscription מִלֵּאֱלֹהִים refers back to the superscription in ver. 1, and binds all the names in our chapter together.

CHAP. IX.—THE FORMER INHABITANTS OF JERUSALEM, AND  
THE FAMILY OF SAUL.

Vers. 1-3 form the transition from the genealogies to the enumeration of the former inhabitants of Jerusalem in vers. 4-34. —Ver. 1. "And all the Israelites were registered; and, behold, they were written in the book of the kings of Israel, and Judah was led away to Babylon for her transgressions." The LXX. and Vulg. have erroneously connected יְהוֹנָדָה with the preceding words, and render, "in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah," and then have translated the following words הָלְלוּ וְנִי arbitrarily. Not less incorrect is Bertheau's opinion, that Israel here denotes only the tribes of the northern kingdom, because Israel is contrasted with Judah, and kings of Israel are spoken of, for both reasons are quite worthless. "The book of the kings of Israel" is cited in 2 Chron. xx. 34 (cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18), and is declared by Bertheau himself to be identical with the historical work cited as the "book of the kings of Israel and Judah" (2 Chron. xxvii. 7, xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8), or as the "book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Chron. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, and elsewhere). How then can it be inferred from the shortened title, "book of the kings of Israel," that kings of the northern kingdom are spoken of? Then, as to the contrast between Israel and Judah, it might, when looked at by itself, be adduced in favour of taking the name in its narrower sense; but when we

generations, moreover, not more than twenty-five years on an average should be reckoned. That being the case, the children's children of Ulam's sons, who were the twelfth generation of Micha's descendants, may have lived from 760 B.C. onwards, and during this period, from 760 to 700, may have increased to the troop of blooming grandchildren of Ulam mentioned in ver. 40. But even supposing that thirty years should be reckoned for each generation, the last-named generation of 150 grandsons and great-grandsons of Ulam would have lived in the period from 660 to 600, i.e. before the exile, or at least before the first great deportation of the people with Jehoiakim in the year 599 B.C.

consider the grouping together in ver. 10 of "Israel, the priests, the Levites, and the Nethinim," we see clearly that Israel in ver. 2 incontrovertibly denotes the whole Israel of the twelve tribes. In ver. 1, Israel is used in the same sense as in ver. 2; and the contrast between Israel and Judah, therefore, is analogous to the contrast "Judah and Jerusalem," *i.e.* Israel is a designation of the whole covenant people, Judah that of one section of it. The position of our verse also at the end of the genealogies of all the tribes of Israel, and not merely of the ten tribes of the northern kingdom, requires that the name Israel should be understood to denote the whole covenant people. That ver. 1 forms the transition from the genealogies to the enumeration of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and so is properly the conclusion of the genealogies in chap. ii.-viii., is so manifest that Bertheau cannot adduce a single tenable ground for his assertion to the contrary, that "the verse forms clearly quite a new beginning." For the assertion, "We recognise in it a short introduction to the historical statements regarding the tribe of Judah or the Israelites after the exile," cannot be adduced in support of his view, since it not only contradicts his former assertion that Israel here denotes the northern kingdom, but is also irreconcilable with the words of the verse.<sup>1</sup> The statement, "Judah was led captive to Babylon for her transgressions," corresponds to the statement chap. v. 25 f., 41. But when, after this statement, our writer continues, "And the former inhabitants which (lived) in their possessions in their cities were Israel, the priests, the Levites, and the Nethinim; and in Jerusalem there dwelt of the sons of Judah," etc., the "former inhabitants" can only be those who dwelt in their possessions before Judah was led captive into Babylon. This could hardly be misunderstood by any commentator, if the right interpretation of our passage were not obscured by the similarity of the register of the inhabitants of Jerusalem which follows to that contained in Neh xi.,—a similarity which has led some to believe that both registers treat of

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau's further remark, "Ver. 1 cannot have been written by our historian, because he did not consider it sufficient to refer his readers to the work he quotes from, but thought himself bound to communicate genealogical registers of the tribes of the northern kingdom (chap. v.-vii.), which he must have extracted from older registers prepared in the time of the kings (cf. v. 27), perhaps even out of the work here named," is quite incomprehensible by me. Notwithstanding repeated consideration of it clause by clause, I have not succeeded in comprehending the logic of this argument.

the post-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem. Bertheau, *e.g.*, comes to the following decision as to the relation of our register, vers. 2-34, to that in Neh. xi. 3-24: "As the result of the comparison, we have found that both registers correspond exactly in their plan, and agree as to all the main points in their contents." The first point in this result has some foundation; for if we turn our attention only to the enumeration of chiefs dwelling in Jerusalem, then the registers in vers. 4-17 of our chapter and in Neh. xi. 3-19 are identical in plan. But if we consider the whole of the registers, as found in 1 Chron. ix. 2-34 and Neh. xi. 3-24, we see that they do differ in plan; for in ours, the enumeration of the inhabitants of Jerusalem is introduced by the remark, ver. 2, "The former inhabitants in their possessions in their cities, were Israel, the priests," etc., according to which the following words, ver. 3, "And in Jerusalem there dwelt of the sons of Judah," etc., can only be understood of the pre-exilic inhabitants. When Bertheau refers, in opposition to this, to Neh. v. 15, where the time between Zerubbabel and Ezra is called the time of the former governors (הַמְּחֹת הָרִאשִׁימִים), with whom Nehemiah contrasts himself, the later governor, to prove that according to that the former inhabitants in our passage may very well denote the inhabitants of the land in the first century of the restored community, he forgets that the governors were changed within short periods, so that Nehemiah might readily call his predecessors in the office "former governors;" while the inhabitants of the cities of Judah, on the contrary, had not changed during the period from Zerubbabel to Ezra, so as to allow of earlier and later inhabitants being distinguished. From the fact that the inhabitants "of their cities" are not contrasted as the earlier, with the inhabitants of Jerusalem as the later, but that both are placed together in such a way as to exclude such a contrast, it is manifest that the conclusion drawn by Movers and Bertheau from Neh. xi. 1, that the "former inhabitants in their possessions in their cities" are those who dwelt in Jerusalem before it was peopled by the inhabitants of the surrounding district, is not tenable. In Neh. xi., on the contrary, the register is introduced by the remark, ver. 3, "These are the heads of the province who dwelt in Jerusalem; and they dwelt in the cities of Judah, each in his possession in their cities, Israel, the priests," etc. This introduction, therefore, announces a register of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and of the other cities

of Judah, at that time, *i.e.* at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. To this corresponds the manner in which the register has been made out, as in vers. 3-24 the inhabitants of Jerusalem are enumerated, and in vers. 25-36 the inhabitants of the other cities. The register in our chapter, on the contrary, deals only with the inhabitants of Jerusalem (vers. 3-19a), while in vers. 19b-34 there follow remarks as to the duties devolving upon the Levites. No mention is made in the register of the inhabitants of other cities, or of Israelites, priests, and Levites, who dwelt in their cities outside of Jerusalem (ver. 2), because all that was necessary had been already communicated in the preceding genealogies (chap. ii.-viii.).—Ver. 3, too, is not, as Bertheau and others think, “the superscription of the register of those dwelling in Jerusalem;” for were it that, mention must have been made in it of the priests and Levites, the enumeration of whom fills up the greater part of the following register, vers. 10-33. Ver. 3 corresponds rather to ver. 35, and serves to introduce the contents of the whole chapter, and with it commences the enumeration itself. In Neh. xi., consequently, we have a register of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, while our chapter contains only a register of the former inhabitants of Jerusalem. Only in so far as it treats of the inhabitants of Jerusalem does Nehemiah’s register resemble ours in plan; that is, to this extent, that the sons of Judah, the sons of Benjamin, priests and Levites, are enumerated *seriatim* as dwelling in Jerusalem, that is, the heads of the fathers’-houses of these inhabitants, as is stated by Nehemiah in the superscription xi. 3, and in our chapter, at the end of the respective paragraphs, vers. 9, 13, and in the subscription, vers. 33 and 34.

But if we examine the contents of the two catalogues more minutely, their agreement is shown by the identity of several of the names of these heads. On this point Bertheau thus speaks: “Of the three heads of Judah, Uthai, Asaiah, and Jeuel, vers. 4-6, we recognise the first two in Athaiah and Maaseiah, Neh. xi. 4, 5; only the third name, Jeuel, is omitted. Of the five heads of Benjamin, vers. 5-7, it is true, we meet with only two, Sallu and Hodaviah, in Neh. xi. 7-9; but it is manifest that there was no intention to communicate in that place a complete enumeration of the hereditary chiefs of Benjamin. The names of the six heads of the divisions of the priests, Jedaiah and Jehoiarib, Jachin, Azariah (Seriah occupies his place in the book of Nehe-

miah), Adaiah and Maasiah (represented in Nehemiah by Amashai), are enumerated in both places in the same order. Among the Levites there occur the names of Shemaiah and Mattaniah as representatives of the great Levitic divisions of Merari and Gershon-Asaph, and we easily recognise our עֲבֵרְיָה in the עֲבֵרְיָה of the book of Nehemiah. Only the two first of the four chiefs of the doorkeepers, Shallum, Akkub, Talmon, and Ahiman, are named in the abridged enumeration of the book of Nehemiah, while the two others are only referred to in the added וְאַחֵיהֶם." Now, even according to this statement of the matter, the difference is seen to be almost as great as the agreement; but in reality, as a more exact comparison of the catalogues shows, the true state of the case is very different. According to ver. 3, there dwelt in Jerusalem also sons of Ephraim and Manasseh; but the catalogue from ver. 4 onwards contains only sons of Judah and Benjamin, and not a single Ephraimite or Manassite. The reason of that is probably this, that only single families and individuals from among the latter dwelt there, while the register only makes mention of the heads of the larger family groups in the population of Jerusalem.—Vers. 4–6. In the same place there dwelt, of the sons of Judah, three chiefs of the three most important families of Judah, that of Pharez, that of Shelah, and that of Zerah; cf. ii. 3, 4. Of the family of Pharez was Uthai, whose descent is traced back in ver. 4 to Bani, of the children of Pharez. The Kethibh כְּזַבְנִימָדָנִי is clearly to be read according to the Keri כְּזַבְנִי מָדָנִי. The name Bani occurs, vi. 31, among the Merarites; while in the genealogies of Judah, chap. ii.–iv., neither Bani nor Uthai, nor any one of his ancestors who are here named, is mentioned. In Neh. xi. 4, on the contrary, there is named of the sons of Pharez, Athaiah (אַתָּהִיָּה, perhaps only another form of אֶתָּהִי), with quite other ancestors; while not a single one of the five names of the persons through whom his race is traced back to Mahalaleel, of the sons of Pharez, coincides with the ancestors of Uthai.—Ver. 5. Of the family of Shelah, Asaiah the first-born, and his (other) sons. אַחֲשָׁוִי, after הַבְּכוֹר, can only be understood of the other sons or descendants. But the epithet given to Asaiah, הַשִּׁלֹּנִי, is surprising, for it is a formation from שִׁלֹּה or שִׁלֹּנִי, and appears to denote a native of Shiloh, a well-known city of Ephraim. This derivation, however, is not suitable, since here the sons (descendants) of Judah are enumerated; and no connection between the inhabitants of Judah and the

Ephraimite city Shiloh can either be proved or is at all likely. The older commentators, therefore, have suggested the reading **הַשִּׁלֹּחַ**, as in Num. xxvi. 20, where the family of Shelah, the third son of Judah, is so called. This suggestion is doubtless correct, and the erroneous punctuation **הַשִּׁלֹּחַ** has probably arisen only from the *scriptio plena* of the word **שִׁלָּה** instead of **שִׁלָּה**. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that the form **הַשִּׁלֹּחַ** is found in Neh. xi. 5, although it also is pointed **הַשִּׁלֹּחַ**. In Neh. *loc. cit.*, instead of Asaiah, Maaseiah is introduced as **בֶּן־הַשִּׁלֹּחַ** in the seventh generation, while no ancestors whatever of our Asaiah are mentioned. The name **עֲשָׂיָה**, moreover, is not unfrequent, and occurs in iv. 36 among the Simeonites; in vi. 15, xv. 6, 11, among the Levites; in 2 Kings xxii. 12, 14 and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 20, as **עֲשָׂרָה** of the King Josiah. **מַעֲשִׂיָה** is the name of many persons, *e.g.* in xv. 18, 20, and likewise in 2 Chron. xxiii. 1, Jer. xxi. 1, xxix. 21, xxxv. 4; and elsewhere it is used of men of other tribes: so that even should Maaseiah have been written instead of Asaiah merely by an error of transcription, we are not warranted in identifying our Asaiah with the Maaseiah of Nehemiah.—Ver. 6. “Of the sons of Zerah, Jeuel;” also the name of various persons; cf. v. 7, 2 Chron. xxvi. 11: the register in Neh. xi. notices no descendants of Zerah. “And their brethren, 690 (men).” The plural suffix in **אֶחָיוֹם** cannot be referred, as Bertheau thinks, to Jeuel, for that name, as being that of the head of a father’s-house, cannot be a collective. The suffix must consequently refer to the three heads mentioned in vers. 4-6, Uthai, Asaiah, and Jeuel, whose brethren are the other heads of fathers’-houses of the three families descended from Judah; cf. ver. 9, where the number of the **אֶחָיוֹם** mentioned refers to all the heads who had formerly been spoken of.—Vers. 7-9. Of the sons of Benjamin, *i.e.* of the Benjamites, four heads are named, Sallu, Ibneiah, Elah, and Meshullam; and of the first and fourth of these, three generations of ancestors are mentioned, of the second only the father, of the third the father and grandfather. “And their brethren according to their generations, 956;” cf. on ver. 6. “All these men” are not the brethren whose number is given, but the heads who have been mentioned by name. Now, if we compare this with Neh. xi., we meet in vers. 7-9 with only one of the four heads of Benjamin, Sallu, and that too, as in the Chronicle, as a son of Meshullam, while the ancestors of both are different. Instead of the three others in ver. 8, we have **בְּנֵי סָלָה**, 928; and in

ver. 9, Joel as overseer (prefect), and Jehudah as ruler over the city.

**Vers. 10-13. *The priests.***—The three names Jedaiah, Jehoia-rib, and Jachin (ver. 10) denote three classes of priests (cf. xxiv. 7, 17), who accordingly dwelt in Jerusalem. There also dwelt there (ver. 11) Azariah the son of Hilkiah, etc., the prince of the house of God; cf. 2 Chron. xxxi. 13. This is the Azariah mentioned in chap. v. 40, the son of Hilkiah, etc., the grandfather of the Jehozadak who was led captive into Babylon. Then in ver. 12 we have two other heads of the priestly fathers'-houses, with an enumeration of their ancestors, through whom they are traced back to the classes of priests to which they belonged respectively, viz. Adaiah to the class Malchijah (1 Chron. xxiv. 9), and Maasiah to the class Immer (1 Chron. xxiv. 14). According to this, therefore, there dwelt at Jerusalem, of the priesthood, the three classes Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin, Azariah the prince of the temple, and of the classes Malchijah and Immer, the fathers'-houses Adaiah and Maasiah. In ver. 13 the whole number is estimated at 1760. A difficulty is raised by the first words of this verse, "And their brethren, heads of their fathers'-houses, 1760," which can hardly be taken in any other sense than as denoting that the number of the heads of the fathers'-houses amounted to 1760. This, however, is not conceivable, as "fathers'-houses" are not single households, but larger groups of related families. Moreover, אֲחֵיהֶם, which is co-ordinate with the heads of the fathers'-houses, can only denote, as in vers. 6, 9, the heads of the families which belonged to or constituted the fathers'-houses. To arrive at this meaning, however, we must transpose the words אֲחֵיהֶם and לְבֵית־אֲבוֹתָם, connecting לְבֵית־אֲבוֹתָם with ver. 12, and אֲחֵיהֶם with the number, thus: heads of fathers'-houses, etc., were those mentioned in ver. 12, and their brethren 1760 (men), valiant heroes in the work of the service of the house of God. Before מְלָאכָה one would expect the word עָשִׂי, as in 1 Chron. xxxiii. 24 and Neh. xi. 12, but its presence is not so absolutely necessary as to warrant us in supposing that it has been dropped out, and in inserting it. מְלָאכָה may be also taken as an accusative of relation, "valiant heroes in reference to the work;" or at most a ל may be supplied before מְלָאכָה, as it might easily have been omitted by a clerical error after the immediately preceding חָל. On comparing our passage with Neh. xi. 10-14, we find there, if בְּיָהוּיָרִיב in ver. 10 be altered into יְהוֹיָרִיב, the same three



classes of priests; but instead of Azariah, Seraiah is prince of the house of God, ver. 11: thereafter we have 822 brethren, performing the work of the house (of God). Then follows Adaiah of the class Malchijah (as in the Chronicles), but with the addition, "his brethren 242;" and then Amashai of the class Immer, but with other ancestors than those of the Maasai of the Chronicles, and with the addition, "and their brethren, valiant heroes, 128;" and finally, Zabdiel Ben Hagdolim as overseer (president over them). The sum of the three numbers is 1192, as contrasted with the 1760 of the Chronicle.

Vers. 14-17. *The Levites*.—Of these there dwelt in Jerusalem, Shemaiah the son of Hasshub, the son of, etc., a Merarite; and (ver. 15) Bakbakkar, Heresh, and Galal; and Mattaniah the son of Micah, a descendant of Asaph, and consequently a Gershonite (ver. 16); and Obadiah the son of Shemaiah, a descendant of Jeduthun, consequently also a Merarite; and Berechiah the son of Asa, the son of Elkanah, who dwelt in the villages of the Netophathite, *i.e.* of the lord or possessor of Netopha, a locality in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem; cf. Neh. vii. 26. This remark does not refer to Shemaiah, who cannot have dwelt at the same time in Jerusalem and in the village of the Netophathite, but to his grandfather or ancestor Elkanah, who is thereby to be distinguished from the other men who bore this name, which often occurs in the family of Kohath. All these men are, according to the analogy of the other names in our register, and according to the express statement of the superscription, ver. 34, to be regarded as heads of Levitic fathers'-houses, and were probably leaders of the music, since those mentioned in vers. 15, 16 were descendants of Asaph and Jeduthun, and may therefore with certainty be assumed to have belonged to the Levitic musicians. A confirmation of this supposition is found in the superscription, ver. 33, inasmuch as the mention of the singers in the first line goes to show that the enumeration of the Levites began with the singers. If we compare Neh. xi. 15-18 with our passage, we find that these two, Shemaiah and Mattaniah, are mentioned, and on the whole their forefathers have the same names, vers. 15 and 17; but between the two we find Shabbethai and Jozabad of the chief of the Levites set over the external service of the house of God. After Mattaniah, who is chief of the Asaphites there also, mention is made of Bakbukiah as the second among his brethren, and Abda the son of Shammua, a descendant of Jeduthun (ver.

17); according to which, even if we identify Bakbakkar with Bakbukiah, and Abda with Obadiah, the Heresh, Galal, and Berechiah of the Chronicles are wanting in Nehemiah, and instead of these three, only Jozabad is mentioned.—Ver 17. “The doorkeepers, Shallum, Akkub, Talmon, Ahiman, and their brethren: Shallum the chief.” The service was so divided among the four just named, that each along with his brethren performed the duty of watching by one of the four sides and chief entrances of the temple (cf. vers. 24 and 26), and these four were consequently heads of those divisions of the Levites to whom was committed the duty of the watch. In Neh. xi. 20, on the contrary, the doorkeepers mentioned are Akkub, Talmon, and their brethren, 172 (men); but the other two chiefs named in the Chronicle are there omitted, while in the Chronicle no number is given. Here the agreement between the two registers ceases. In the Chronicle there follows first of all, in vers. 18–26a, some remarks on the service of the doorkeepers; and then in 26b–32 the duties of the Levites in general are spoken of; and finally, in vers. 32 and 34 we have subscriptions. In Nehemiah, on the other hand, we find in ver. 20 the statement that the remaining Israelites, priests, and Levites dwelt in their cities; and after some statements as to the service of the Levites, the enumeration of these cities is introduced.

In glancing back over the two catalogues, it is seen that the differences are at least as great as the coincidences. But what conclusions are we to deduce from that fact? Bertheau thinks “from this it is certain that both catalogues cannot have been drawn up independently of each other,” and “that both have been derived from one and the same source, which must have been much more complete, and much richer in names, than our present catalogues; cf. Movers, S. 234.” We, however, judge otherwise. The discrepancies are much too great to allow us to refer them to free handling by epitomizers of some hypothetical more detailed catalogue, or to the negligence of copyists. The coincidence, in so far as it actually exists, does not justify us in accepting such far-fetched suppositions, but may be satisfactorily explained in another way. It consists indeed only in this, that in both registers, (1) sons of Judah and Benjamin, priests and Levites, are enumerated; (2) that in each of these four classes of the inhabitants of Jerusalem some names are identical. The first of these coincidences clearly does not in

the least prove that the two catalogues are derived from the same source, and treat of the same time; for the four classes enumerated constituted, both before and after the exile, the population of Jerusalem. But neither does the identity of some of the names prove in the slightest degree the identity of the two catalogues, because the names denote, partly classes of inhabitants, and partly heads of fathers'-houses, *i.e.* of groups of related households, which did not change with each generation, but sometimes continued to exist for centuries; and because, *à priori*, we should expect that those who returned from exile would, as far as it was possible, seek out again the dwelling-places of their pre-exilic ancestors; and that consequently after the exile, on the whole, the same families who had dwelt at Jerusalem before it would again take up their abode there. In this way the identity of the names Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin in the two catalogues may be accounted for, as these names do not denote persons, but classes of priests, which existed both before and after the exile. A similar explanation would also apply to the names of the doorkeepers Akkub and Talmon (ver. 17; Neh. ver. 19), as not merely the priests, but also the other Levites, were divided for the service according to their fathers'-houses into classes which had permanent names (cf. chap. xxv. and xxvi.). Of the other names in our register only the following are identical: of the Benjamites, Sallu the son of Meshullam (ver. 7; Neh. ver. 7); of the priests, Adaiah (ver. 12; Neh. ver. 12), with almost the same ancestors; and of the Levites, Shemaiah and Mattaniah (ver. 10 f.; Neh. vers. 15, 17). All the other names are different; and even if among the priests Maasiai (ver. 12) should be identical with Amashai (Neh. ver. 13), and among the Levites Bakkakkar and Obadiah (vers. 16 and 15) with Bakkukiah and Abda (Neh. ver. 17), we cannot identify the sons of Judah, Uthai and Azaiah (ver. 4 f.), with Athaiah and Maaseiah (Neh. ver. 4 f.), for their ancestors are quite different. The similarity or even the identity of names, were it in two or three generations, cannot of itself prove the identity of the persons, as we have already seen, in the genealogy of the line of Aaron (v. 29 ff.), that, *e.g.*, the series Amariah, Ahitub, and Zadok recurs at various times; cf. ver. 33 f. and ver. 37 f. Everywhere in the genealogical lines the same names very often recur, as it was the custom to give the children the names of their ancestors; cf. Tob. i. 9, Luke i. 59. Win. *bibl. R.W.* ii. S. 133;

Hävern. *Einl.* ii. 1, S. 179 f. But if, on the one hand, the identity of these names in the two catalogues is not at all a valid proof of the identity of the catalogues, and by no means justifies us in identifying similarly-sounding names by supposing errors of transcription, on the other hand we must hold that the register refers to the pre-exilic population of Jerusalem, both because of the wide discrepancies in all points, and in accordance with the introductory statements in ver. 2 f. This interpretation is also demanded by the succeeding remarks in reference to the service of the Levites, since they throughout refer to the pre-exilic time.

Vers. 18-34. *The duties of the Levites.*—Ver. 18. The first half of this verse, "And until now (is he) in the king's gate eastward," must be referred to Shallum (Berth.). To imagine a reference to all the doorkeepers, "until now are they," does not suit vers. 24-26, according to which the doorkeepers kept guard upon all the four sides. The eastern gate of the temple was called the king's gate, because by this gate the king went in and out to the temple; cf. Ezek. xli. 1, 2, xli. 3. The remark, "until now is Shallum watcher," etc., presupposes the existence of the temple at the time of the preparation of this register, and points to the pre-exilic time. Against this Bertheau has raised the objection that the name king's gate may have been retained even in the post-exilic times for the eastern gate. This must of course be in general admitted, but could only be accepted if it were proved that Shallum lived after the exile. This proof Bertheau obtains by taking the words, "until now is Shallum in the king's gate," to mean, "that, according to the ancient arrangement, Shallum, the chief of all the doorkeepers, had still to guard the eastern entrance; according to which Shallum would be the collective designation of the whole series of the chiefs of the doorkeepers who lived from David's time till after the exile;" but the words cannot be thus interpreted. Such an interpretation cannot be made plausible by identifying the name Shallum with Meshelemiah or Shelemiah, to whose lot it fell in the time of David to be doorkeeper to the eastward (xxvi. 1, 14); for in doing so, we would overlook the fact that in ver. 21 of our chapter also he bears the name Meshelemiah. The circumstance that both Shallum and Meshelemiah are called Ben-Kore, of the sons of Abiasaph, by no means justifies the identification of these two quite different names; for it is neither necessary nor

probable that קֹרֶה should here be taken in its narrower sense, and Kore regarded as the immediate father of both. The name קֹרֶה is repeated in the family of the east doorkeepers, as we learn from 2 Chron. xxxi. 14, where it is stated that this office was held by a Kore ben Jimna. "These (who are named in ver. 17) are the doorkeepers for the camp of the sons of Levi" (of the Levites),—an antiquated expression, bringing to remembrance the time of Moses, when the Levites, on the journey through the wilderness, were encamped about the tabernacle (Num. iii. 21 ff.).—Ver. 19 gives more exact information as to Shallum's person and his official position. He, the descendant of Kore, the son (descendant) of Abiasaph, a Korahite, and his brethren according to his father's-house (*i.e.* called brethren because they, like him, belonged to the father's-house of Korah), were over the work of the service, viz. keepers of the thresholds of the tent, *i.e.* of the house of God, of the temple, which, according to the ancient custom, was called tent, because God's house was formerly a tent—the tabernacle. "And his fathers (the ancestors of Shallum) were by the encampment of Jahve, guardians of the entrance." With these words the author of this register goes back into the ancient time; and we learn that Shallum's ancestors, of the father's-house of the Korahite Abiasaph, had held the office of guardian of the entrance to the house of God from the time of the conquest of Canaan and the setting up of the tabernacle in Shiloh. The remark in ver. 20, that Phinehas the son of Eleazar was prince over them in time past, points to the same period. In the book of Joshua and the older books there is no record of the matter; but since the Korahites were descended through Ishhar from Kohath, and the Kohathites held, according to Num. iv. 4 ff., the first place among the servants of the holy place, and were responsible for the holiest vessels, we cannot doubt that the statement here rests upon accurate historical tradition. The "encampment of Jahve" is the holy place of the tabernacle, the dwelling of Jahve in the midst of His people. This designation also is derived from the circumstances of the Israelites in their wandering in the Arabian desert, and is likewise employed in 2 Chron. xxxi. 2 in reference to Solomon's temple; but in our verse the tabernacle is intended. It had only one entrance, מִצְדָּה, the guarding of which was entrusted to the above-mentioned Korahites.—Ver. 20. Phinehas was prince over them, not as high priest, but during the high-

priesthood of his father Eleazar, *i.e.* in the time of Joshua, just as Eleazar, under the high-priesthood of Aaron in the time of Moses, had the oversight of the keepers of the holy place, as prince of the princes of Levi (Num. iii. 32). The words וְיָהוָה עִמּוֹ do not contain a historical remark, "Jahve was with him," for then the conjunction וְ would stand before it, as in xi. 9; they are a blessing—"Jahve be with him"—in reference, probably, to the covenant of peace entered into with him and his descendants by Jahve (Num. xxv. 11-13).—Ver. 21 is quite unconnected with the preceding context, the conjunction וְ being omitted, and its contents also present considerable difficulties. Zechariah, the son of Meshelemiah, can only be the Zechariah who is mentioned in xxvi. 2 as the first-born of Meshelemiah, and who lived in the time of David; for at the time when David divided the porters into classes, there fell to him the lot towards midnight, *i.e.* the duty of waiting at the door on the north side of the holy place (xxvi. 14). With this, indeed, the general statement of our verse, "he was porter of the door (or the entrance) of the tent of the covenant," is not inconsistent. But what purpose does this general statement serve? With what design is Zechariah, and he alone, mentioned? We have no means of giving a definite answer to this question; but he may perhaps be named as being the person who, before David's division of the Levites into classes was carried out, had charge of the porters' service in the tabernacle. But even if this conjecture be accepted as well grounded, the abrupt way in which it is mentioned still remains enigmatical.

With ver. 22 the narrative seems to return to the enumeration begun in vers. 17-19a, so that the reflections on the earlier times, vers. 19b-21, are to be regarded as a parenthesis. Ver. 22 runs: "They all who were chosen for doorkeepers for the thresholds, 212 (men): they, in their villages were they registered; they were ordained by David and Samuel the seer on their fidelity." The infinitive וַיִּתְּחַשׁ is used substantively, "in reference to them, in their villages was their genealogical registration accomplished." If ver. 22 be the continuation of vers. 17-21a, then the number given (212) will refer to the doorkeepers in active service at the time of the preparation of the register. With this hypothesis, however, the last clause of the verse, which states that David and Samuel had appointed them, does not seem to harmonize. But if we consider that the four men

mentioned in ver. 17 are heads of fathers'-houses, and that their fathers'-houses were not extinguished at the death of their temporary heads, and performed the same service from generation to generation, it might well be said of the generation performing the service at the time of the preparation of our register, that David had appointed them to their office. The case would of course be similar, if, as we have above supposed, the four names in ver. 17 are designations of the classes of doorkeepers, for these classes also performed the same service continually. The statements of our 22d verse cannot be referred to the time of David, for in chap. xxvi. 8-10 the number of the doorkeepers appointed by David amounted only to eighty, viz. sixty-two of the sons of Obed-Edom, and eighteen of the sons of Meshelemiah, which, with the addition of thirteen Merarites (xxvi. 10, 11), gives a total of ninety-three, while in our verse the number is 212. According to Ezra ii. 42, the number of doorkeepers who returned with Zerubbabel was 139 men; and in the register, Neh. xi. 19, the number is stated to be 172. From the remark that they were registered in their villages (הַצִּירִיּוֹת), as in vi. 41, Josh. xiii. 23, and elsewhere), we learn that the doorkeepers dwelt in villages near Jerusalem, whence they came to the city so often as their service required, as the singers also did in the post-exilic time, Neh. xii. 29 f. יָסַד, to found, set, ordain, and so appoint to an office. "David and Samuel the seer:" הַרְאָה, the ancient designation of the prophets, for which at a later time נָבִי was the more usual word; cf. 1 Sam. ix. 9. Nowhere else do we find any record of Samuel's having taken any part in David's arrangement of the service of the Levites in the holy place. Samuel, moreover, was no longer living when David began to arrange the worship at the time when the ark was brought to Jerusalem, for he died before Saul, and consequently before the beginning of David's reign; cf. 1 Sam. xxv. 1 with xxviii. 3. Bertheau is consequently of opinion that this statement of our historian rests merely upon the general recollection, according to which the worship was organized afresh, and established in its newer form, in the time of David and Samuel. This is of course possible, but there is no cogent reason against accepting the much less remote supposition that the chronicler took this remark from his authority. The mention of Samuel after David has not a chronological signification, but David is named first on account of his connection with the matter in

hand; for the thorough re-organization of the worship, and the classification of the persons engaged in carrying it on, originated with David. For these arrangements of David, however, Samuel had prepared the way in his struggle for the restoration of the theocracy, and of the worship which had fallen into desuetude under Eli and his profligate sons. To do this in any measure, he must have, without doubt, ordained trustworthy men to the individual offices, and thus have prepared the way for King David. **בְּאֵמֻנָה** is found in vers. 26, 31 without the suffix, with the meaning "in good faith" (cf. 2 Kings xii. 16, xxii. 7, 2 Chron. xxxi. 12), and accordingly is here upon their fidelity, i.e. because they had been recognised to be faithful.—Ver. 23 f. They (those ordained by David) and their sons (descendants) were at the doors of the house of Jahve—of the tent-house (**בֵּית הָאֵלִי**) is added to **בֵּית יְהוָה**, in order that the latter might not be confined to Solomon's temple); for the watch (**מִשְׁמֶרוֹת**) of persons, as in Neh. xii. 9, iv. 3, 16), according to the four winds (quarters) were they, i.e. the doorkeepers stood so, in accordance with the arrangement made by David; cf. xxvi. 14 ff.—Ver. 25. "And their brethren in their villages (cf. ver. 22) were bound to come the seventh day, from time to time, with these." The infinitive **בֹּא** with **ל** expresses duty, as in v. 1. The seventh day is the Sabbath of the week, on which each class in order had to take charge of the services. **עַם אֱלֹהֵי** are the chiefs mentioned in ver. 17 who dwelt in Jerusalem, and of whom it is said in ver. 26, "for they are on their fidelity, the four mighty of the doorkeepers." In explanation of the **גִּבּוֹרֵי**, Bertheau very fittingly compares *στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, Luke xxii. 52. The words **הֵם הַלְוִיִּם**, which may be translated, "they are the Levites," or "they (viz. the Levites)," are somewhat surprising. The Masoretic punctuation demands the latter translation, when the words would be an emphatic elucidation of the preceding **הַמִּשְׁמֶרֶת**. Were they a subscription, we should expect **אֵלֶּה** instead of **הֵם**; while, on the other hand, the circumstance noticed by Bertheau, that in the following verses the duties not merely of the doorkeepers, but of the Levites in general, are enumerated, would seem to favour that sense. Even in the second half of the 22d verse it is not the doorkeepers who are spoken of, but the Levites in general. May we not suppose that the text originally stood **וְהָיוּ הַלְוִיִּם** (cf. ver. 14) instead of **וְהָיוּ הַמִּשְׁמֶרֶת**, and that the reading of our present text, having originated in a transcriber's error, found



acceptance from the circumstance that ver. 27 apparently still treats of, or returns to, the service of the doorkeepers? So much is certain, that from ver. 26b onward the duties of the Levites in general, no longer those of the doorkeepers, are spoken of, and that consequently we must regard the Levites (הַלֵּוִיִּם), and not the before-mentioned four doorkeepers, as the subject of וְהָיוּ: "and the Levites were over the cells of the storehouses of the house of God." The cells in the outbuildings of the temple served as treasure-chambers and storehouses for the temple furniture. הָאֲצִרוֹת with the article in the *stat. constr.* (Ew. § 290, d), because of the looser connection, since the genitive בֵּית־הָאֱלֹהִים also belongs to הַלְשָׁכוֹת. — Ver. 27 refers again to the doorkeepers. They passed the night around the house of God, because the care of or watch over it was committed to them, and "they were over the key, and that every morning," i.e. they had to open the door every morning. מִפְתֵּי occurs again in Judg. iii. 25 and Isa. xxii. 22, in the signification key, which is suitable here also. — Ver. 28. And of them (the Levites), some were over the vessels of the service, by which we are probably to understand the costly vessels, e.g. the golden cups for the libations, etc., which were brought from the treasure-chamber only for a short time for use in the service. They were brought, according to the number, into the place where the service took place, and after being again numbered, were again carried forth; and according to ver. 29, other Levites were set over הַכֵּלִים and over הַכֶּלֶךְ. — Ver. 29. And of them, others were set over the vessels (in general), and over all the holy vessels which were used for the daily sacrificial service, and over the fine flour (כֹּמֶץ, *vide* on Lev. ii. 1), wine, oil, and incense which was required therein for the meat and drink offerings, and the בְּשָׂמִים, spicery, for the holy perfumes (frankincense, cf. Ex. xxv. 6). — Ver. 30. And of the priests' sons were preparers of the ointments for the spices. It is the preparation from various spices of the holy anointing oil, Ex. xxx. 23-25, which is meant, and which consequently was part of the priest's duty. — Ver. 31. Mattithiah, the first-born of the Korahite Shallum (*vide* ver. 19), was on good faith over the panbakings (pastry) for the meat-offerings, over the preparation of which he was to watch. To the name Mattithiah מַתִּיתִיָּהוּ is added, in contrast to the מַדְבֵּנִי in ver. 30. The word הַחֲבֻתִּים (pastry, panbaking) occurs here only; cf. מַתְבֵּית, pan of sheet iron, Ex. iv. 3. — Ver. 32.

Finally, to some of the Kohathites was committed the preparation of the shew-bread, which required to be laid on the table fresh every Sabbath; cf. Lev. xxiv. 5-8. The suffix **אֲחֵיהֶם** refers back to the Levites of the father's-house of Korah in ver. 32.—Vers. 33, 34 contain subscriptions to the section 14-32. Since the enumeration of the Levites dwelling in Jerusalem in vers. 14-16 began with the Levitic singer families, so here we find that the singers are mentioned in the first subscription, "these are the singers, heads of fathers'-houses of the Levites," with an additional remark as to their service: "In the cells free, for day and night it is incumbent upon them to be in service," which is somewhat obscure. **פְּטָרִים**, from **פָּטַר**, in later Hebrew, let loose, set free. Rashi and Kimchi have already translated it, *immunes ab aliis nempe ministeriis*, or *ab omni alio officio*. Adopting this linguistically assured translation, we must supply with **בְּלִשְׁכָּתָם**, dwelling or waiting in the cells of the courts of the temple, freed from every other business in order that they may apply themselves wholly to their service, for they are wholly busied therewith day and night. Day and night is not to be pressed, but signifies perpetually, continually. Bertheau translates **עָלֵיהֶם**, **בְּפִלְאֲכָה**, "they were over them in the service," i.e. had to take the oversight of the singers subordinate to them. But this can hardly be correct; and the passage quoted to justify this translation, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12, proves nothing, because there **מִפְּקָדָם** is used along with it. We therefore prefer to take **עָלֵיהֶם** in the signification "it is incumbent upon them," although we should then expect **הַפִּלְאֲכָה** instead of **בְּפִלְאֲכָה**; cf. ver. 27. Yet **בְּפִלְאֲכָה** can in this connection quite well be used elliptically or concisely for "to be in service," i.e. to carry on their musical duties. The second subscription (ver. 34) refers to all the Levites, and is similar in contents and form to that in chap. viii. 28.

Vers. 35-44. *The family of King Saul*.—This register has already occurred in chap. viii. 29-38, along with those of other families of the tribe of Benjamin, and is repeated here only to connect the following history of the kingship with the preceding genealogical lists. It forms here the introduction to the narrative of Saul's death in chap. x., which in turn forms the transition to the kingship of David. The deviations of this register from that in chap. viii. 29-38, show that it has been derived from another document in more complete preservation than that in chap. viii., which had been handed down in connection with other genealogies of the

Benjamite families, and had suffered considerably in its text. See the commentary on viii. 29–38.

## II.—THE HISTORY OF DAVID'S KINGSHIP.—CHAP. X.—XXIX.

The account of the ruin of Saul and his house in chap. x., cf. 1 Sam. xxxi., forms the introduction to the history of the kingship of David, which is narrated in two sections. In the first, chap. xi.—xxi., we have a consecutive narrative of the most important events of David's life, and his attempts to settle the kingship of Israel on a firmer basis, from the time of his being anointed king over all Israel to the numbering of the people in the latter years of his reign. The second, chap. xxii.—xxix., contains an account of the preparations made towards the end of his reign for the building of the temple, of the arrangement of the service of the Levites and the army, and the last commands of the grey-haired king as to the succession of his son Solomon to the kingdom, and matters connected with it. The first section runs parallel to the account of the reign of David in 2d Samuel; the second is peculiar to the Chronicle, and has no parallel in the earlier historical books, Samuel and Kings. Now, if we compare the first section with the parallel narrative in 2d Samuel, it is manifest that, apart from that omission of David's seven years' reign over the tribe of Judah in Hebron, and of all the events having reference to and connection with his family relationships, of which we have already spoken in p. 12, in the Chronicle the same incidents are recounted as in the second book of Samuel, and with few exceptions the order is the same. The main alterations in the order of the narrative are: (*a*) that the catalogues of David's heroes who helped him to establish his kingdom (xi. 10–47), and of the valiant men of all the tribes, who even in Saul's lifetime had joined themselves to David (chap. xii.), follow immediately upon the account of the choosing of Jerusalem to be the capital of the kingdom, after the conquest of the fortress Jebus (xi. 1–9), while in 2d Samuel the former of these catalogues is found in chap. xxiii. 8–39, in connection with the history of his reign, and the latter is entirely omitted; and (*b*) the account of his palace-building, his wives and children, and of some battles with the Philistines, which in 2 Sam. v. 11–25 follows immediately after the account of the conquest of the citadel of Zion, is inserted

in the fourteenth chapter of Chronicles, in the account of the bringing of the ark of the covenant from Kirjath-jearim (chap. xiii.), and its transfer to Jerusalem (chap. xv. f.). Both these transpositions and the before-mentioned omissions are connected with the peculiar plan of the Chronicle. In the second book of Samuel the reign of David is so described as to bring out, in the first place, the splendidly victorious development of his kingship, and then its humiliation through great transgression on David's part; the author of the Chronicle, on the other hand, designed to portray to his contemporaries the glories of the Davidic kingship, so that the divine election of David to be ruler over the people of Israel might be manifest. In accordance with this purpose he shows, firstly, how after the death of Saul Jahve bestowed the kingship upon David, all Israel coming to Hebron and anointing him king, with the confession, "Jahve thy God hath said to thee, Thou shalt be ruler over my people Israel;" how the heroes of the whole nation helped him in the establishing of his kingdom (chap. xi.); and how, even before the death of Saul, the most valiant men of all the tribes had gone over to him, and had helped him in the struggle (chap. xii.). In the second place, he narrates how David immediately determined to bring the ark into the capital of his kingdom (chap. xv.); how, notwithstanding the misfortunes caused by a transgression of the law (chap. xiii. 7, 9 ff.), so soon as he had learned that the ark would bring a blessing (chap. xiii. xiv.), and that God would bless him in his reign (chap. xiv.), he carried out his purpose, and not only brought the ark to Jerusalem, but organized the public worship around this sanctuary (chap. xv. and xvi.); and how he formed a resolution to build a temple to the Lord, receiving from God, because of this, a promise that his kingdom should endure for ever (chap. xvii.). Then, in the third place, we have an account of how he, so favoured by the Lord, extended the power of his kingdom by victorious wars over all the enemies of Israel (chap. xviii.-xx.); and how even the ungodly enterprise of the numbering of the people, to which Satan had tempted him, David, had by the grace of God, and through his penitent submission to the will of the Lord, such an issue, that the place where the Lord should be thereafter worshipped in Israel was determined by the appearance of the angel and by the word of the prophet Gad (chap. xxi.). And so the grey-haired king was able to spend the latter part of his reign in making preparations for the building of the temple, and in

establishing permanent ordinances for the public worship, and the protection of the kingdom : gave over to his son Solomon, his divinely chosen successor on the throne, a kingdom externally and internally well ordered and firmly established, and closed his life at a good old age, after a reign of forty years (chap. xxii.-xxix.).

CHAP. X.—THE RUIN OF SAUL AND OF HIS HOUSE.

(CF. 1 SAM. CHAP. XXXI.)

The account of Saul's struggle with the Philistines, in which he fell together with his sons, vers. 1-7, exactly coincides with the narrative in 1 Sam. xxxi. 1-7; and the statements as to the fate of the fallen king, vers. 8-12, differ from 1 Sam. xxxi. 8-13 only to this extent, that both narratives make mention only of the main points, and mutually supplement each other. In vers. 13 and 14 there follow reflections on the ruin of the unfortunate king, which show that the account of the death of Saul is only intended to form an introduction to the history of David.

Vers. 1-7. In 1 Sam. xxxi. this narrative forms the conclusion of Saul's last war with the Philistines. The battle was fought in the plain of Jezreel; and when the Israelites were compelled to retire, they fell back upon Mount Gilboa, but were hard pressed by the Philistines, so that many fell upon the mountain. The Philistines pressed furiously after Saul and his sons, and slew the latter (as to Saul's sons, see on viii. 33); and when the archers came upon Saul he trembled before them (חָלַל from גָּל), and ordered his armour-bearer to thrust him through. Between הַפְּזִירִים and בְּקֶשֶׁת the superfluous מִלְּשֵׁים is introduced in Samuel, and in the last clause מָאֵד is omitted; and instead of מִהַפְּזִירִים we have the unusual form מִדְּהִיּוֹרִים (cf. 2 Chron. xxxv. 23). In Saul's request to his armour-bearer that he would thrust him through with the sword, וְדָקְקָנִי (1 Sam. ver. 4) is omitted in the phrase which gives the reason for his request; and Bertheau thinks it did not originally stand in the text, and has been repeated merely by an oversight, since the only motive for the command, "Draw thy sword, and thrust me through therewith," was that the Philistines might not insult Saul when alive, and consequently the words, "that they may not thrust me through," cannot express the reason. But that is scarcely a conclusive reason for this belief; for although the Philistines might seek out Saul after he had been slain by his armour-bearer, and dishonour his dead body, yet the anxiety lest

they should seek out his corpse to wreak their vengeance upon it could not press so heavily upon him as the fear that they would take vengeance upon him if he fell alive into their hands. It is therefore a more probable supposition that the author of the Chronicle has omitted the word **וַיִּקְרָנִי** only as not being necessary to the sense of the passage, just as **עָמֹן** is omitted at the end of ver. 5. In ver. 6 we have **וְכָל־בֵּיתוֹ** instead of the **וְכָל־אֲנָשֵׁי** of Samuel, and in ver. 7 **יִשְׂרָאֵל** is omitted after the words **בִּי נָמוּ** (Samuel). From this Bertheau concludes that the author of the Chronicle has designedly avoided speaking of the men of Saul's army or of the Israelites who took part in the battle, because it was not his purpose to describe the whole course of the conflict, but only to narrate the death of Saul and of his sons, in order to point out how the supreme power came to David. Thenius, on the contrary, deduces the variation between the sixth verse of the Chronicles and the corresponding verse in Samuel from "a text which had become illegible." Both are incorrect; for **כָּל־אֲנָשֵׁי** are not all the men of war who went with him into the battle (Then.), or all the Israelites who took part in the battle (Berth.), but only all those who were about the king, i.e. the whole of the king's attendants who had followed him to the war. **כָּל־בֵּיתוֹ** is only another expression for **כָּל־אֲנָשֵׁי**, in which the **כָּל־בֵּיתוֹ** is included. The author of the Chronicle has merely abridged the account, confining himself to a statement of the main points, and has consequently both omitted **אֲנָשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל** in ver. 7, because he had already spoken of the flight of the warriors of Israel in ver. 1, and it was here sufficient to mention only the flight and death of Saul and of his sons, and has also shortened the more exact statement as to the inhabitants of that district, "those on the other side of the valley and on the other side of Jordan" (Samuel), into **אֲשֶׁר בְּעֶמֶק**. In this abridgment also Thenius scents a "defective text." As the inhabitants of the district around Gilboa abandoned their cities, they were taken possession of by the Philistines.

Vers. 8-13. On the following day the Philistines, in their search among the fallen, found and plundered the bodies of Saul and of his sons, and sent the head and the armour of Saul round about the land of the Philistines, to proclaim the news of their victory to their people and their gods. That for this purpose they cut off Saul's head from the trunk, is, as being a matter of course, not specially mentioned. In regard to the other dis-

crepancies between the two texts, both in vers. 8-10 and in the account of the burial of Saul and of his sons by valiant men of Jabesh, vers. 11, 12, cf. the commentary on 1 Sam. xxxi. 8-13. In the reflection on Saul's death, vers. 13 and 14, a double transgression against the Lord on Saul's part is mentioned: first, the לֹא (on the meaning of this word, *vide* on Lev. v. 15) of not observing the word of Jahve, which refers to the transgression of the divine command made known to him by the prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. xiii. 8 ff. (cf. with x. 8), and xv. 2, 3, 11, cf. xxviii. 18; and second, his inquiring of the אִוֵּם, the summoner of the dead (*vide* on Lev. xix. 31), לְדַרֵּשׁ, i.e. to receive an oracle (cf. in reference to both word and thing, 1 Sam. xxviii. 7).—Ver. 14. And because he inquired not of the Lord, therefore He slew him. According to 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, Saul did indeed inquire of Jahve, but received no answer, because Jahve had departed from him (xxviii. 15); but instead of seeking with all earnestness for the grace of Jahve, that he might receive an answer, Saul turned to the sorceress of Endor, and received his death-sentence through her from the mouth of Samuel, 1 Sam. xxviii. 19.

CHAP. XI.—THE ANOINTING OF DAVID TO BE KING IN HEBRON,  
AND THE CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM. A LIST OF DAVID'S  
HEROES.

In the second book of Samuel there are passages parallel to both sections of this chapter; vers. 1-9 corresponding to the narrative in 2 Sam. v. 1-10, and vers. 10-47 to the register in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8-39.

Vers. 1-3. *The anointing of David to be king over the whole of Israel in Hebron*; cf. 2 Sam. v. 1-3.—After Saul's death, in obedience to a divine intimation, David left Ziklag, whither he had withdrawn himself before the decisive battle between the Philistines and the Israelites, and betook himself with his wives and his warriors to Hebron, and was there anointed by the men of Judah to be king over their tribe (2 Sam. ii. 1-4). But Abner, the captain of Saul's host, led Ishbosheth, Saul's son, with the remainder of the defeated army of the Israelites, to Mahanaim in Gilead, and there made him king over Gilead, and gradually also, as he reconquered it from the Philistines, over the land of Israel, over Jezreel, Ephraim, Benjamin, and all (the remainder of) Israel, with the exception of the tribal domain of Judah. Ishbosheth's

kingship did not last longer than two years, while David reigned over Judah in Hebron for seven years and a half (2 Sam. ii. 10 and 11). When Abner advanced with Ishbosheth's army from Mahanaim against Gibeon, he was defeated by Joab, David's captain, so that he was obliged again to withdraw beyond Jordan (2 Sam. ii. 12-32); and although the struggle between the house of Saul and the house of David still continued, yet the house of Saul waxed ever weaker, while David's power increased. At length, when Ishbosheth reproached the powerful Abner because of a concubine of his father's, he threatened that he would transfer the crown of Israel to David, and carried his threat into execution without delay. He imparted his design to the elders of Israel and Benjamin; and when they had given their consent, he made his way to Hebron, and announced to David the submission of all Israel to his sway (2 Sam. iii. 1-21). Abner, indeed, did not fully carry out the undertaking; for on his return journey he was assassinated by Joab, without David's knowledge, and against his will. Immediately afterwards, Ishbosheth, who had become powerless and spiritless through terror at Abner's death, was murdered in his own house by two of the leaders of his army. There now remained of Saul's family only Jonathian's son Mephibosheth (2 Sam. iv.), then not more than twelve years old, and lame in both his feet, and all the tribes of Israel determined to anoint David to be their king. The carrying out of this resolution is narrated in vers. 1-3, in complete agreement as to the facts with 2 Sam. v. 1-3, where the matter has been already commented upon. In chap. xii. 23-40 there follows a more detailed account of the assembly of the tribes of Israel in Hebron. The last words in ver. 3, פָּרַחַר יְהוָה וְנִי, are a didactic addition of the author of the Chronicle, which has been derived from 1 Sam. xvi. 13 and 1 Sam. xv. 28. In 2 Sam. v. 4, 5, in accordance with the custom of the author of the books of Samuel and Kings to state the age and duration of the reign of each of the kings immediately after the announcement of their entry upon their office, there follows after the preceding a statement of the duration of David's reign; cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 1, 2 Sam. ii. 10 f., 1 Kings xiv. 21, xv. 2, etc. This remark is to be found in the Chronicle only at the close of David's reign; see xxix. 29, which shows that Thenius' opinion that this verse has been omitted from the Chronicle by a mistake is not tenable.



Vers. 4-9. *The capture of the citadel of Zion, and Jerusalem chosen to be the royal residence under the name of the city of David*; cf. 2 Sam. v. 6-10, and the commentary on this section at that place.—חַיֵּה, ver. 8, to make alive, is used here, as in Neh. iii. 34, of the rebuilding of ruins. The general remark, ver. 9, "and David increased continually in might," etc., opens the way for the transition to the history of David's reign which follows. As a proof of his increasing greatness, there follows in

Vers. 10-47. *A register of the heroes who stood by him in the establishment of his kingdom.* The greater part of this register is found in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8-39 also, though there are many divergences in the names, which for the most part have found their way into one or other of the texts by errors of transcription. The conclusion (vers. 41-47 of the Chronicle) is not found in 2 Sam. xxiii., either because the author of the Chronicle followed another and older register than that used by the author of the book of Samuel, or because the latter has not communicated all the names contained in his authority. The former of these is the more probable supposition. In the Chronicle the superscription of the register is enlarged by the insertion in ver. 10, before the simple superscription in ver. 11a, cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 8a, of a further superscription informing us of the design which the chronicler had in introducing the register at this place. "These are the chiefs of David's heroes who stood by him strongly (הִתְחַזְקוּ עִמּוֹ, as Dan. x. 21) in his kingdom, with the whole of Israel to make him king, according to the word of Jahve, over Israel." The collocation רָאשֵׁי הַגִּבּוֹרִים is accounted for by the fact that הַגִּבּוֹר is a designation of a valiant or heroic man in general, without reference to his position, whether co-ordinate with or subordinate to others. Among David's גִּבּוֹרִים who helped to establish his kingdom, are not merely those who are mentioned by name in the following register, but also, as we learn from chap. xii., the great number of valiant men of all the tribes, who, even during his persecution by Saul, crowded round him, and immediately after Saul's death came to him in Hebron to hail him king. The enumeration in our passage contains only the chiefs, רָאשֵׁים, of those valiant men, i.e. those who held the first rank among them, and who were in great part leaders in the army of David, or became so. לְהַמְלִיכָה is not to be confined to the mere appointment to the kingship, but includes also his establishment in it; for there follows an account of the heroic deeds which the

men enumerated by name performed in the wars which David waged against his enemies in order to maintain and increase his kingly power. **דָּבַר יְהוָה** concerning Israel is the word of the Lord, the import of which is recorded in ver. 3, that David should feed His people Israel, and be ruler over them. The *ipsissima verba* are not found in the earlier history of David, but the substance of them has been deduced from 1 Sam. xvi. 13 and xv. 28; cf. herewith the remarks on 2 Sam. iii. 18. The enumeration of these heroes is introduced in ver. 11 by a short supplementary superscription, "these the number of the heroes." That **סִפְּרָם** should be used instead of the **שְׁמוֹת** of Samuel is surprising, but is explained by the fact that these heroes at first constituted a corps whose designation was derived from their number. They originally amounted to thirty, whence they are still called the thirty, **הַשְּׁלִישִׁים**; cf. ver. 12, and the discussion on 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 ff. In both narratives three classes are distinguished.

Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah hold the first place, and specially bold and heroic deeds performed by them are recorded, vers. 11-14, and 2 Sam. xxiii. 8-12. For details as to themselves and their deeds, see on the last cited passage. There we have already remarked, that in ver. 13 of the text of the Chronicle, the three lines which in Samuel come between **בְּפִלִּשְׁתִּים נֶאֱסַפּוּ שָׁם** (Sam. ver. 9) and **וַיֵּאֱסַפּוּ פִלִּשְׁתִּים**, ver. 11, have been, through wandering of the copyist's eye, omitted; and with them the name of the third hero, **שָׁמַח**, has also been dropped, so that the heroic deed done by him, vers. 13b, 14, appears, according to our present text, to have been performed by Eleazar. In place of the words, "And the Philistines had gathered themselves together there to battle, and there was a parcel of ground full of barley," ver. 13, the text, according to the narrative in 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, must have stood originally thus: "The Philistines had gathered themselves together there to battle, and the men of Israel went up (*sc.* retreating from the Philistines up the mountain); he, however, stood firm, and smote the Philistines till his hand was wearied, and cleaved unto the sword (*i.e.* clung crampedly to his sword through fatigue): there wrought Jahve a great deliverance on that day, and the people returned (from their flight) behind him only to spoil. And after him was Shammah the son of Aga the Hararite, and the Philistines had gathered themselves together to battle," etc. In ver. 14 the plural forms **וַיִּצְלְחוּ, וַיִּתְּצוּ, וַיִּבְּרוּ**, are incorrect, and should be changed

into singulars, as in Sam. vers. 12 and 70, since only the deed of the hero Shammah is here spoken of. The plurals were probably introduced into the text after the missing lines had been dropped out by a reader or copyist, who, on account of the *הוּא הָיָה עִם הַיָּוֵד* (ver. 13), understood the three clauses of ver. 14 to refer to Eleazar and David. *וַיָּבֵר*, on the contrary, is here perfectly appropriate, and is not to be altered to suit the *וַיַּעַשׂ* of Samuel, ver. 14, for the *καὶ ἐποίησε* of the LXX. is not of itself a sufficient reason for doing so.

In vers. 15-19 (cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 13-17) there follows an exploit of three others of the thirty, whose names have not been handed down. *הַשְּׁלֵשִׁים רָאשׁ*, the thirty chiefs (not, as Thenius wrongly interprets the words, these three knights the chief parts, i.e. these three chief knights), are David's heroes hereafter mentioned, the thirty-two heroes of the third class named in vers. 26-40 (or vers. 24-39 of Samuel). That three others, different from the before-mentioned Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah are intended, is plain from the omission of the article with *הַשְּׁלֵשִׁים*; for if these three were spoken of, we would have *הַשְּׁלֵשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה*, as in ver. 18. For further remarks on this exploit, which was probably performed in the war treated of in chap. xiv. 8 ff., and in 2 Sam. v. 17 ff., see on 2 Sam. xxiii. 13-17. The words *הָרִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהַנְּשִׁים*, ver. 19, are to be translated, "The blood of these men shall I drink in their souls? for for their souls (i.e. for the price of their souls, at the risk of their life) have they brought it." The expression "blood in their souls" is to be understood according to Gen. ix. 4 and Lev. xvii. 14 (*דָּמֹו בְּנַפְשׁוֹ הוּא*, "his blood is in the soul," is that which constitutes his soul). As there blood and soul are used synonymously (the blood as seat of and container of the soul, and the soul as floating in the blood), so here David, according to our account of his words, compares the water, which those heroes had brought for the price of their souls, to the souls of the men, and the drinking of the water to the drinking of their souls, and finally the souls to the blood, in order to express his abhorrence of such a draught. The meaning therefore may be thus expressed: "Shall I drink in this water the souls, and so the blood, of these men; for they have brought the water even for the price of their souls?"

In vers. 20-25 the second class of heroes, to which Abshai (Abishai) and Benaiah belonged, cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 18-23, is spoken of. They were not equal to the preceding three in heroic

deeds, but yet stood higher than the list of heroes which follows in ver. 26 and onwards. **אַרְבֵּי**, as ii. 16 and 2 Sam. x. 10, while in 2 Sam. xxiii. 18 and elsewhere he is called **אַרְבֵּי**, was one of the three sons of Zeruiah (ii. 16). It is difficult to explain **רֹאשׁ הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה**, "he was the chief of the three," instead of which we find in Sam. ver. 18 **הַשְּׁלֹשִׁי**, i.e. **הַשְּׁלִישִׁי**, "chief of the body-guard" (knights). But owing to the succeeding **שָׁם (וְלֵי)**, where Samuel also has **בְּשָׁלֹשָׁה**, and to the recurrence of **הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה** on two occasions in ver. 21 (cf. Sam. ver. 19), it does not seem possible to alter the text with Thenius. Bertheau proposes to get rid of the difficulty by taking the word **שְׁלֹשָׁה** in two different significations,—on the one hand as denoting the numeral three, and on the other as being an abstract substantive, "the totality of the thirty." He justifies the latter signification by comparison of ver. 21 with ver. 25, and of 2 Sam. xxiii. 19 with ver. 23, from which he deduces that **שְׁלֹשָׁה** and **שְׁלֹשִׁים** denote a larger company, in which both Abishai and Benaiah held a prominent place. But this signification cannot be made good from these passages. In both clauses of ver. 25 (and ver. 23 in Sam.) **הַשְּׁלֹשִׁים** and **הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה** are contrasted, which would rather go to prove the contrary of Bertheau's proposition, viz. that **הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה**, the three, cannot at the same time denote the whole of the thirty, **הַשְּׁלֹשִׁים**. The truth of the matter may be gathered from a comparison of ver. 18 with ver. 15. In ver. 18 **הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה** is synonymous with **הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה מִן הַשְּׁלֹשִׁים**, ver. 15; i.e., the three in ver. 18 are the same men who in ver. 15, where they are first met with, are called three of the thirty; and consequently **הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה**, the three (triad), vers. 21 and 25, can only denote the triad of heroes previously named. This is placed beyond doubt by a comparison of ver. 24 with ver. 25, since the **שְׁלֹשָׁה הַגִּבּוֹרִים**, the triad of heroes, ver. 24, corresponds to the simple **הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה** of ver. 25. The only remaining question is, whether by this triad of heroes we are to understand those spoken of in vers. 11–14,—Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah,—or the three whose names are not given, but whose exploit is narrated in vers. 15–19. But the circumstance that the names of the three latter are not mentioned goes decidedly to show that **הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה** in vers. 20–25 does not denote that nameless triad, whose exploit is manifestly adduced incidentally only as a similar case, but the three most valiant, who held the first rank among David's heroes. Bertheau's opinion, that in vers. 20–25 one triad of heroes is dis-

tinguished from another, cannot be regarded as well-founded, for the three of whom Abishai was chief are not distinguished, and are not different from the three to whom, according to ver. 21, he did not attain. Nor is there greater reason to believe that the triad of vers. 20 and 21 is different from that in vers. 24 and 25, among whom Benaiah made himself a name, and to whom he did not attain. The fact of being chief or prince over the three is not irreconcilably contradictory to the statement that he did not attain to them, *i.e.* did not come up to them in heroic strength, as is shown by the two classes being connected in ver. 21b. As to the rank which the triad held in the regular forces of David, we know nothing further than that Jashobeam was, according to chap. xxvii. 2, leader of that part of the army which was on duty during the first month. Eleazar the son of Dodo, and the Hararite Shammah the son of Aga, are not mentioned anywhere but in our list. Abishai, on the contrary, who had already distinguished himself by his audacious courage in David's struggle with Saul (1 Sam. xxvi. 6 ff.), conducted together with Joab the war against Abner (2 Sam. ii. 24-iii. 30). Afterwards, in David's war with the Ammonites, he was under Joab in command of the second half of the host (2 Sam. x. 10 ff.); in the war against Absalom he commanded a third part of the host (xviii. 2 ff.); and in the struggle with the rebel Sheba he commanded the vanguard of the royal troops sent against the rebel (xx. 6 ff.); and in general held, along with Joab the commander-in-chief, the first place among David's captains. In this position he was chief of the three heroes before mentioned, and their leader (שָׂרָא), and among them had made himself a name. שָׂרָא, ver. 20, is an orthographical error for לָא, as in fifteen other passages, according to the Masora. See on Ex. xxi. 10 and Isa. lxiii. 9.—Ver. 21a should be translated: honoured before the three as two; *i.e.* doubly honoured—he became to them prince, leader. With regard to בְּשָׂרָא, which, as meaningless, Bertheau would alter so as to make it correspond with הָיָא (Sam.), cf. Ew. *Lehrb.* § 269, b. For Benaiah and his exploits, vers. 22-25, see the commentary on 2 Sam. xxiii. 20-23.

No special deeds of the heroes enumerated in vers. 26-47 are related, so that we may regard them as a third class, who are not equal to the first triad, and to the second pair, Abishai and Benaiah, and consequently occupied a subordinate place in the collective body of the royal body-guards. In 2 Sam. xxiii.

thirty-two names are mentioned, which, with the above-mentioned three and two of the first and second classes, amount in all to thirty-seven men, as is expressly remarked in 2 Sam. xxiii. 39 at the conclusion. In the text of the Chronicle no number is mentioned, and the register is increased by sixteen names (vers. 41–47), which have been added in the course of time to the earlier number. The words **וַגְּבֹרֵי הַחַיִּלִּים**, ver. 26, are to be regarded as a superscription: And valiant heroes were, etc.; equivalent to, But besides these, there remain still the following valiant heroes. The words **וַגְּבֹרֵי הַחַיִּלִּים** are not synonymous with **שְׂרֵי הַחַיִּלִּים**, leaders of the host, 1 Kings xv. 20, Jer. xl. 7, (Berth.), but signify heroes in warlike strength, i.e. heroic warriors, like **וַגְּבֹרֵי הַחַיִּלִּים** (vii. 5, 7, 11, 40). That **הַחַיִּלִּים** has here the article, while it is not found in the passages quoted from the seventh chapter, does not make any difference in the meaning of the words. The article is used here, as with **וַגְּבֹרִים**, vers. 10, 11, because the heroes of David are spoken of, and **אֲשֶׁר לְדָוִד** is to be mentally supplied from ver. 10 f. As to the names in vers. 26–41, which are also found in the register in the book of Samuel, see the commentary to 2 Sam. xxiii. 24–39. This list, which is common to both books, begins with Asahel, a brother of Joab, who was slain by Abner in the war which he waged against David (2 Sam. ii. 19–23), and concludes in the book of Samuel with Uriah the Hittite, so well known from 2 Sam. xi. 3 ff. (Chron. ver. 41a), with whose wife David committed adultery. But to the continuation of the register which is found in vers. 41b–47 of our text, there is no parallel in the other writings of the Old Testament by which we might form an idea as to the correctness of the names. The individual names are indeed to be met with, for the most part, in other parts of the Old Testament, but denote other men of an earlier or later time. The names **דִּירְעָאֵל**, ver. 45, and **אֶלְיָאֵל**, ver. 46 f., are found also in chap. xii. 20, 11, among those of the valiant men who before Saul's death went over to David, but we cannot with any certainty ascertain whether the persons meant were the same. The expression **וְעִלְיָ שְׁלֹשִׁים** (ver. 42) is also obscure,—“and to him in addition,” i.e. together with him, thirty,—since the thought that with Adina the chief of the Reubenites, or besides him, there were thirty (men), has no meaning in this register. The LXX. and the Vulgate read **עִלְיָ**, while the Syriac, on the contrary, makes use of the periphrasis, “And even he was a ruler over

thirty heroes;" and Bertheau accordingly recommends the emendation על השלשים, and thence concludes that the tribe of Reuben had thirty leaders in its army,—a conjecture as bold as it is improbable. Were על השלשים to be read, we could not but refer the words to the thirty heroes of ver. 11, and hold Adina to be their leader, which could not be easily reconciled with ver. 11. See on xii. 4.—Ver. 43. בְּנֵי־מַעֲכָה is perhaps the same as הַמַּעֲכָתִי, 2 Sam. xxiii. 34.—Ver. 44. הָעָשָׂתָרְתִּי, he of the city Ashtaroth (vi. 56), in the trans-Jordanic domain of Manasseh. הָעֲרִיעִי, he of Arer, of Reuben or Gad (Josh. xiii. 16, 25).—Ver. 46. Bertheau conjectures that the somewhat strange הַמַּחֲוִיִּים (LXX. *ó Mawí*, Vulg. Mahumites) denotes הַמַּחֲנֵיטִי, he of Mahanaim, in the East-Jordan land; see Josh. xiii. 26.—Ver. 47. הַמִּגְדָּלִי, which, so far as the form is concerned, is not a *nomen gentis*, Reland (*Palæst. ill.* p. 899) holds for a contraction of מִגְדַּל זְבוּיָה, Migdal Zebubah,—a place which, according to the rabbins, is said to have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Hebron. Bertheau's opinion is, that the article has come into the text by mistake; and when it has been struck out, the remaining consonants, מַצְבִּיָּה, recall the מַצְבָּה of 2 Sam. xxiii. 36 (?).

#### CHAP. XII.—REGISTERS OF THE VALIANT MEN WHO HELPED DAVID TO THE KINGDOM.

This chapter contains two somewhat long registers, viz.: (1) a register of the valiant men who before Saul's death went over to David, vers. 1-22; and (2) a register of the fighting men who anointed him king in Hebron. The first is divided into three smaller registers: (a) that of the valiant Benjamites who came to David during his stay in Ziklag (vers. 1-7); (b) that of the Gadites and the men of Judah and Benjamin who went over to him while he remained in the mountain fastnesses; and (c) that of the Manassites who, on his return to Ziklag before Saul's last battle with the Philistines, joined themselves to him (vers. 19-22).

Vers. 1-7. *The Benjamites who came to David to Ziklag.*—Ver. 1. Ziklag was originally allotted to the Simeonites by Joshua (Josh. xix. 5; 1 Chron. iv. 30), but at a later time came into possession of the Philistines, and was assigned and presented by king Achish to David, who had fled for refuge to him, as a dwelling-place for himself and his followers; see 1 Sam. xxvii.

1-7. As to its situation, which has not yet been with certainty ascertained, see the discussion on Josh. xv. 31. In it David dwelt for a year and four months, until he went to Hebron on the death of Saul. During this time it was that the warriors of the tribe of Benjamin mentioned in the succeeding register went over to him, as we learn from the words עֹד עֶצֶר, "he was still held back before Saul," a concise expression for "while he was still held back before Saul." This last expression, however, does not signify, "hindered from coming before Saul" (Berth.), but *inter Israelitas publice versari prohibitus* (J. H. Mich.), or rather, "before Saul, imprisoned as it were, without being able to appear in a manner corresponding to his divine election to be ruler over Israel." וְהָפְחָה בָנָב, and they were among the heroes, *i.e.* belonged to the heroes, the helpers of the war, *i.e.* to those who helped him in his former wars; cf. vers. 17 f., 21 f.—Ver. 2. נֹשְׂקֵי קֶשֶׁת, "those preparing bows," *i.e.* those armed with bows, synonymous with יָרֵכֵי קֶשֶׁת (viii. 40); cf. 2 Chron. xvii. 17, Ps. lxxviii. 9. "With the right and left hand practised upon stones," *i.e.* to hurl stones, cf. Judg. xx. 16; "and in arrows on the bow," *i.e.* to shoot therewith. כְּאֶחָד שְׂאֵל, of Saul's brethren, *i.e.* of the men of the tribe, not "of his nearer relatives," and consequently of Benjamin, has been added as an explanation; cf. ver. 29, where בְּנֵי בְנֵימִן and אֶחָד שְׂאֵל are synonyms.—In ver. 3 et seq. we have the names. הָרֹאשׁ, the head, *i.e.* the leader of this host of warriors; compare chap. v. 7, 12. הַגִּבְעָתִי, cf. Gibeah of Saul or Benjamin, cf. xi. 31; and for its situation, see on Josh. xviii. 28. הָעֵתָתִי, from the priests' city Anathoth, now Anata; see on Josh. xviii. 24. In ver. 4 the Gibeonite Ismaiah is called "hero among the thirty, and over the thirty,"—words which can hardly have any other sense than that Ismaiah belonged also to David's corps of thirty heroes (chap. xi.), and was (temporarily) their leader, although his name does not occur in chap. xi. It is probable that the reason of the omission was, that at the time when the list was prepared he was no longer alive. הַגִּדְרָתִי, of Gedera, a city of the tribe of Judah in the Shephelah, which, according to Van de Velde (*Reise*, ii. S. 166), was probably identical with the village Ghedera, which lies to the left of the road Tel-es-Safieh to Akir, about an hour to the south-west of Jabne. In any case, it corresponds well with the statements of the *Onom.* As to Gedrus, or Gaedur, see on Josh. xv. 36. Immediately afterwards in ver. 7 Gedor is mentioned, a city in the mountains of Judah, to the



westward of the road which leads from Hebron to Jerusalem (see on Josh. xv. 58); and from that fact Bertheau imagines we must conclude that the men of Judah are enumerated as well as the Benjamites. But this conclusion is not valid; for from the very beginning, when the domains and cities were assigned to the individual tribes under Joshua, they were not the exclusive possession of the individual tribes, and at a later period they were still less so. In course of time the respective tribal domains underwent (in consequence of wars and other events) many alterations, not only in extent, but also in regard to their inhabitants, so that in Saul's time single Benjamite families may quite well have had their home in the cities of Judah.—Ver. 5. **הַחֲרִיטִי** (*Keri חֲרִיטִי*) is a patronymic, which denotes either one descended from Haruph, or belonging to the **בְּנֵי חֲרִיף** mentioned in Neh. vii. 34 along with the Gibeonites. The **קֹרָחִי**, Korahites, in ver. 6 are, without doubt (cf. Delitsch, *Pz.* S. 300), descendants of the Levite Korah, one division of whom David made guardian of the thresholds of the tent erected for the ark of the covenant on Zion, because their fathers had been watchers of the entrance of the camp of Jahve, i.e. had in that earlier time held the office of watchers by the tabernacle; see on ix. 18 f. The names Elkanah and Azareel are thoroughly Levitic names, and their service in the porter's office in the holy place may have roused in them the desire to fight for David, the chosen of the Lord. But there is no reason why we should, with Bertheau, interpret the words as denoting descendants of the almost unknown Korah of the tribe of Judah (ii. 43), or, with the older commentators, refer it to some other unmentioned Benjamite who bore this name. The explanation of the connection existing between these Levitic Korahites and the Benjamites, which is presupposed by the mention of them among the Benjamites, may be found in the fact that the Levites received no tribal domain of their own, and possessed only cities for dwelling in in the domains of the other tribes, with whom they were consequently civilly incorporated, so that those who dwelt in the cities of Benjamin were properly reckoned among the Benjamites. At the partition of the land under Joshua, it is true, only the priests received their cities in Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin; while, on the contrary, the Kohathites, who were not priests, among whom the Korahites were, received their cities in the tribal domain of Ephraim, Dan, and half-Manasseh (Josh. xxi. 9-26). But

when the tabernacle was transferred from Shiloh to Nob, and afterwards to Gibeon, the Korahite doorkeepers must, without doubt, have migrated to one of the Levitic cities of Benjamin, probably for the most part to Gibeon, and so were reckoned among the Benjamites. As to הַיְדוּדִים, *vide* ver. 4. If this be so, there remains no cogent reason for supposing that in our register, besides the Benjamites, men out of other tribes are also introduced. With that there falls away at once Bertheau's further conclusion, that the author of the Chronicle has considerably abridged the register, and that from ver. 4*b* onwards men of Judah also are named, the list of whom must certainly (?) have been originally introduced by special superscription similar to those in vers. 8, 16, 19. His further reason for his conjecture—namely, that our register makes use of the qualificative epithets, “the Gibeathite,” “the Anathothite,” etc., only in a few special cases—is of no force whatever; for we are not justified in assuming that we may expect to find here, as in the register in chap. xi. 26–47, such qualificatives after every individual name. The character of our register cannot be arrived at by a comparison with the list of David's heroes in chap. xi.; it should rather be sought for by comparing it with the succeeding list, whose contents are of a similar kind with its own. David's chosen corps of thirty heroes was much more important for the history of his reign, than the lists of the men who joined themselves to him and fought on his behalf before he ascended the throne. For that reason the thirty heroes are not only mentioned by name, but their descent also is told us, while that more detailed information is not given with regard to the others just mentioned. Only the names of the Gadites and Manassites are mentioned; of the Benjamites and men of Judah, who came to him in the mountain fastness (vers. 16–18), the name of only one, Amasai, is given; while of the Benjamites who came to Ziklag, vers. 3–7, such qualificative statements are made in reference to only a few individuals, and in these cases the object probably was to distinguish them from other well-known persons of the same name.

Vers. 8–18. *The Gadites, Benjamites, and men of Judah who joined themselves to David during his sojourn in the mountain fastness.*—Ver. 8. David's sojourn in the mountain hold falls in the first years of his flight from Saul, 1 Sam. xxii. ff. נִצְרַת, pointed with Pathach instead of with Kamets (נִצְרָת, cf. ver. 16), on account

of its intimate connection with **מִדְבָּרָה**, is synonymous with **מְצודה** (1 Sam. xxiv. 23, etc.). The addition **מִדְבָּרָה**, "towards the wilderness," shows that **מִצָּד** denotes a mountain-top or mountain-fortress in the wilderness of Judah. If we compare the account in 1 Sam. xxii.-xxiv., we learn that David at that time did not hide himself in one single definite mountain-fortress, but sought and found resting-places, now here, now there, in the wilderness, on the summits of the hills (cf. **בְּמִצְדוֹת**, **בְּמִדְבָּר**, 1 Sam. xxiii. 14, xxiv. 1); so that **מִצָּד** here is to be understood, as **הַמְצודה**, 1 Sam. xxiv. 3, also is, generally of the fastnesses in the mountains of Judah. At that time there gathered round David a great company of discontented and oppressed men, to the number of about 400,—men dissatisfied with Saul's rule, whose leader he became, and who soon amounted to 600 men (1 Sam. xxii. 2 and xxiii. 13). To these belong the Gadites, and the men out of Benjamin and Judah, whose adhesion to David is noticed in our verses. **נִבְרָלוּ**, they separated themselves from the other Gadites who were on Saul's side, "strong heroes," as in Josh. viii. 3; cf. **גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל**, v. 24, vii. 2, 9, etc. **אֲנָשֵׁי צָבָא לְמַלְחָמָה**, men for service in the host for the war, i.e. combatants practised in war. **עֹרְכֵי צֶנֶה וְרֵמָח**, preparing shield and spear, i.e. wielding shield and spear, practised in their use: the preparing of these weapons includes the handling of them. Instead of **וְרֵמָח**, Veneta and many of the older copies have **וְנִסְיָן**; but it is not supported by MS. authority, and moreover is not congruous with the passage. Lions' faces their faces, i.e. lion-like in appearance, thoroughly warlike figures; cf. 2 Sam. i. 23. "As roes running swiftly on the mountains;" cf. 2 Sam. ii. 18. This description of the strength and swiftness of these warriors recalls, as Bertheau remarks, the similar expressions used in the historical books concerning heroes of David's time. It has manifestly been drawn from the original documents, not added by the chronicler. In vers. 9-13 the names are enumerated individually. **עֲשֵׂתֵי עָשָׂר**, at the end of a series of ordinal numbers, denotes the eleventh; cf. xxiv. 12.—Ver. 14. **רָאשֵׁי הַצָּבָא**, heads of the war-host, i.e. chief warriors, not leaders of the host. **אֶחָד לְאֶמְנָה וְ**, "one for a hundred, (viz.) the small and the greater for a thousand," i.e. the smaller (weaker) could cope with a hundred, the stronger with a thousand men; cf. Lev. xxvi. 8. This, which is the only correct interpretation, is that received by Bertheau and the older Jewish commentators. The Vulgate, on the contrary, translates, *novissimus centum militibus præerat et maximus*

*mille*, which is inadmissible, for in that case ל must have been used instead of ל. The אחר belongs to both the clauses which it precedes, to הַקָּטָן and to הַגָּדוֹל, and is placed immediately before לְמֵאָה to emphasize the contrast between one and a hundred. In ver. 15 we have a proof of their valour, in an account of a bold exploit performed by them. In the first month of the year, that is, in spring, when the Jordan overflows all its banks, they crossed the river and put to flight all the dwellers in the valleys towards the east and towards the west. This happened, probably, when they separated themselves from their brethren and went over to David, when they must have had to cut their way through the adherents of Saul (Berth.). The Piel מָלַא with ל denotes to make full, to make to run over, in the signification to overflow. The Kethibh מְרִיחֵי comes from מְרִיחַ, elsewhere only the plural מְרִיחִים, so also here in the Keri. In the dry summer season the Jordan may be crossed by wading at various points (fords); while in spring, on the contrary, when it is so swollen by the melting snows of Lebanon, that in some parts it overflows its banks, it is very dangerous to attempt to cross. See on Josh. iii. 15. הַעֲמָקִים, "the valleys," for the inhabitants of the valleys.—Vers. 16–18. There came to David in the mountain-fastness also men of Benjamin and Judah (cf. ver. 8). Their names are not in the lists, possibly because they were not handed down in the historical works made use of by the chronicler. At their head, as we learn from ver. 18, stood Amasai, chief of the thirty, i.e. of the corps formed of the thirty heroes (see xi. 11), although his name does not occur in the catalogue, chap. xi. According to this, Amasai must have occupied a very important position under David; but since the name עֲמָשִׁי is not elsewhere mentioned in the history of David, the older commentators have conjectured that עֲמָשִׁי may have been the same person as עֲמָשָׂא, son of Abigail (ii. 17), whom Absalom made captain in Joab's place, and whom David, after the victory over the rebels, wished to make commander-in-chief in the room of Joab, and whom for that reason Joab afterwards murdered (2 Sam. xvii. 25, xix. 14, xx. 4, 8 ff.); or identical with אֲשָׁא the son of Zeruiah, ii. 16 and xi. 20. Of these conjectures the first is much more probable than the second. To meet these men, David went forth from his fastness, and asked them with what purpose they came to him. "If for peace," to stand by him, "then shall there be to me towards you a heart for union," i.e. I will be with you of one heart, be true to you.

לִבִּי לְיָד is plainer than לִבִּי אֶחָד, ver. 38. "But if לְרַמּוֹתַי, to practise deceit against me (to be guilty of a מִרְמָה) for mine enemies (to deliver me to them), although there be no wrong in my hands, the God of our fathers look thereon and punish;" cf. 2 Chron. xxiv. 22. The God of our fathers, *i.e.* of the patriarchs (cf. Ezra vii. 27, 2 Chron. xx. 6, and Ex. iii. 13 f.), who rules in and over Israel, who shields the innocent and punishes the guilty.—Ver. 18. Then came the Spirit upon Amasai, so that he proclaimed himself enthusiastic for David and his cause. With רִיחַ לְבָשֶׁה cf. Judg. vi. 34. Usually יְהוָה or אֱלֹהִים is found with this expression (2 Chron. xxiv. 20), and here also the Spirit of God is meant; and אֱלֹהִים is omitted only because all that was of importance here was to show that the resolution announced by Amasai was an effect of higher spiritual influence. לָךְ, to thee, David (do we belong), thine are we. עִמָּךְ, "with thee," *sc.* will we remain and fight. "Peace be to thee, and peace be to thy helpers; for thy God helpeth thee." עִמָּךְ, He has helped thee in the fortunate combats in which you have heretofore been engaged (1 Sam. xviii. 12 ff.), and He will help still further. David thereupon received them and made them captains of his band. הַנְּרִיד, the warrior-band, which had gathered round David, and were still gathering round him, 1 Sam. xxii. 2, xxvii. 8, cf. also ver. 21; 1 Sam. xxx. 8, 15, 23, etc.

Vers. 19-22. *The Manassites who went over to David before the last battle of the Philistines against Saul.*—נָפַל עַל, to fall to one, is used specially of deserters in war who desert their lord and go over to the enemy: cf. 2 Kings xxv. 11; 1 Sam. xxix. 3. יָפַל אָל, in the last clause of the verse, is a synonymous expression. The Manassites went over "when David went with the Philistines against Israel to the war, and (yet) helped them not; for upon advisement (בְּעֵצָה, cf. Prov. xx. 18), the lords of the Philistines had sent him away, saying, 'For our heads, he will fall away to his master Saul.'" 1 Sam. xxix. 2-11 contains the historical commentary on this event. When the lords of the Philistines collected their forces to march against Saul, David, who had found refuge with King Achish, was compelled to join the host of that prince with his band. But when the other Philistine princes saw the Hebrews, they demanded that they should be sent out of the army, as they feared that David might turn upon them during the battle, and so win favour by his treachery with Saul his lord. See the commentary on 1 Sam. xxix. בְּרֹאשֵׁינוּ, for our heads, *i.e.* for the price of them, giving them as a price

to obtain a friendly reception from Saul (cf. 1 Sam. xxix. 4). In consequence of this remonstrance, Achish requested David to return with his warriors to Ziklag. On this return march ("as he went to Ziklag," cf. with **לָלֶכְתָּ** the **לָלֶכְתָּ** of 1 Sam. xxix. 11), and consequently before the battle in which Saul lost his life (Berth.), and not after Saul's great misfortune, as Ewald thinks, the Manassites whose names follow went over to David. The seven named in ver. 20 were "heads of the thousands of Manasseh," i.e. of the great families into which the tribe of Manasseh was divided, and as such were leaders of the Manassite forces in war: cf. Num. xxxi. 14 with Ex. xviii. 25, and the commentary on the latter passage.—Ver. 21. These<sup>1</sup> helped David **עַל הַנִּדְרִיד**, against the detachment of Amalekites, who during David's absence had surprised and burnt Ziklag, and led captive the women and children (1 Sam. xxx. 1-10). This interpretation, which Rashi also has (*contra turmam Amalekitarum*), and which the Vulgate hints at in its *adversus latrunculos*, rests upon the fact that in 1 Sam. xxx. 8, 15, the word **הַנִּדְרִיד**, which in

<sup>1</sup> We take **וְהַמָּטָה** to refer to the Manassites named in ver. 20, like the **וְהַמָּטָה** of ver. 1 and the **וְהַמָּטָה** of ver. 15. Bertheau, on the contrary, thinks on various grounds that **וְהַמָּטָה** refers to all the heroes who have been spoken of in vers. 1-20. In the first place, it was not the Manassites alone who took part in the conflict with Amalek, for David won the victory with his whole force of 600 men (1 Sam. xxx. 9), among whom, without doubt, those named in vers. 1-18 were included. Then, secondly, a clear distinction is made between those who gave in their adhesion to and helped David at an earlier period (vers. 1, 7, 22), and those who came to him in Hebron (ver. 23). And finally, the general remark in ver. 22 is connected with ver. 21 by the grounding **כִּי**, so that we must regard vers. 21 and 22 as a subscription closing the preceding catalogues. But none of these arguments are very effective. The grounding **כִּי** in ver. 22 does not refer to the whole of ver. 21, but only to the last clause, or, to be more accurate, only to **בְּצָבָא**, showing that David had an army. The second proves nothing, and in the first only so much is correct, that not merely the seven Manassites named in ver. 20 took part in the battle with Amalek, but also the warriors who had formerly gone over to David; but from that there is not the slightest reason to conclude that this is expressed by **וְהַמָּטָה**. It is manifest from the context and the plan of the register, that **וְהַמָּטָה עָזְרוּ וְנָגְו'** can only refer to those of whom it is said in ver. 20 that they went over to David as he was returning to Ziklag. If vers. 21 and 22 were a subscription to all the preceding registers, instead of **וְהַמָּטָה** another expression which would separate the verse somewhat more from that immediately preceding would have been employed, perhaps **כָּל-אֵלֶּה**.

general only denotes single detachments or predatory bands, is used of the Amalekite band; whence the word can only refer to the march of David against the Amalekites, of which we have an account in 1 Sam. xxx. 9 ff., and not to the combats which he had with Saul. "For they were all valiant heroes, and were אֲנָשִׁים, captains in the army," *sc.* which gathered round David.—Ver. 22. "For every day" (לְעֵת יוֹם בְּיוֹם, at the time of each day) "came (people) to David to help him, until to a great host, like a host of God," *i.e.* until his band grew to a camp like to a host of God. סִבְחָה אֱלֹהִים, a host which God has formed, and in which the power of God shows itself; cf. hills and cedars of God, Ps. xxxvi. 7, lxxx. 11. In these concluding remarks to the enumeration by name of the valiant men who during Saul's lifetime went over to David, there is no exaggeration which would betray an idealizing historian (Movers, S. 270). The greatness of a host of God is to be estimated according to the power and the spirit, not according to the number, of the warriors, so that we need not take the words to mean a host of thousands and tens of thousands. David had at first 400, afterwards 600, valiant warriors, against whom Saul with his thousands could accomplish nothing. The increase in their number from 400 to 600 shows that the host increased from day to day, especially when we keep in mind the fact that after Saul's defeat considerable bands of fugitives must certainly have gone over to David before he was anointed in Hebron to be king over Judah. The expression is only rhetorical, not idealizing or exaggerating.

Vers. 23-40. *List of the warriors who made David king in Hebron.*—The superscription (ver. 23) runs: "These are the numbers of the bands of the men equipped for war, who came," etc. הַחֵלָו is a collective noun, denoting the equipped manhood. רָאשֵׁי signifies here, not *principes exercitus*, as the Vulgate renders it, heads, *i.e.* leaders of the army (Berth.), but literally denotes sums, *i.e.* companies, bands of soldiers, as in Judg. vii. 16, 20, ix. 34, 37, 44, 1 Sam. xi. 11; or it may perhaps also be heads for individuals, as רָאשֵׁי in Judg. v. 30. Both these meanings are linguistically certain; so that we cannot say, with Berthéau, that רָאשֵׁי before הַחֵלָו denotes, according to the well-ascertained use of language, leaders of the army, and that וּלְגִלָּה would have been used had it been wished to express the number by heads, *e.g.* xxiii. 3-24. That use of the word is indeed also found, but it cannot be proved to be the only proper one. If we take

אֲשֵׁי here to denote leaders, we bring the superscription into irreconcilable contradiction with the contents of the following catalogue, which gives the names of the heads and the number of the warriors (ver. 27 f.) only in the case of the families of Aaron, and in that of Issachar the number of the princes; while in the case of the other tribes we have only the numbers of the bands or detachments. This contradiction cannot be got rid of, as Bertheau imagines, by the hypothesis that the superscription referred originally to a catalogue which was throughout similar in plan to that which we find in vers. 26–28, and that the author of the Chronicle has very considerably abridged the more detailed statements of the original documents which he used. This hypothesis is a mere makeshift, in which we have the less need “to take refuge,” as the catalogue has neither the appearance of having been abridged or revised by the author of our Chronicle. It is shown to be a faithful copy of a more ancient authority, both by the characteristic remarks which it contains on the individual tribes, and by the inequality in the numbers. Bertheau, indeed, derives support for his hypothesis “from the inequality of the statements of number, and their relation to each other,” and upon that ground throws doubt upon the accuracy and correctness of the numbers, but in both cases without sufficient warrant. If we place the respective statements together synoptically, we see that there came to David to Hebron—

Of the tribe of Judah, . . . . .	6,800 men.	
„ „ Simeon, . . . . .	7,100 „	
„ „ Levi, . . . . .	4,600 „	
With Jehoiada the prince of Aaron,	3,700 „	
With Zadok and his father's-house,	... „	22 שָׂרִים (captains).
Of the tribe of Benjamin, . . . . .	3,000 „	
„ „ Ephraim, . . . . .	20,800 „	
„ half-tribe of Manasseh, . . . . .	18,000 „	
„ tribe of Issachar, . . . . .	... „	200 chiefs and all their
„ „ Zebulun, . . . . .	50,000 „	[brethren.
„ „ Naphtali, . . . . .	37,000 „	with 1000 שָׂרִים.
„ „ Dan, . . . . .	28,000 „	
„ „ Asher, . . . . .	40,000 „	
Of two and a half trans-Jordanic tribes,	120,000 „	

Total, 339,600 men, with 1222 heads and captains.

The total is not objected to by Bertheau, and its correctness is placed beyond a doubt by the recollection that we have here



to do not with the representation of the various estates of the kingdom, but with a declaration of the will of the whole nation, who wished to make David their king. We must, if we are to estimate these statements, endeavour to go back in imagination to the circumstances of that time when Israel, although settled in the land, had not quite laid aside the character of a nation of warriors, in which every man capable of bearing arms marched to battle with, and for, his king. Now if the total number of fighting men in Israel was 600,000 in the time of Moses, and if, when the people were numbered in the last year of David's reign, there were in Israel 800,000, and in Judah 500,000 (2 Sam. xxiv. 9)—the Levites being excluded in both cases—the 340,000 men of all the tribes, except Issachar, in reference to which no number is given, or after subtracting Judah and Levi, the 324,500 men out of the remaining tribes, is not much more than a half of the men capable of bearing arms in Moses' time, and about a fourth part of the fighting population towards the end of David's reign. But the relation of the numbers in the respective tribes, on the contrary, is somewhat surprising, and calls forth from Bertheau the following remarks: "To Judah, David's tribe, which from the earliest time had been famous for its numbers and its powers, 6800 are assigned; to Zebulun, on the contrary, 50,000; to Naphtali, 1000 princes at the head of 37,000 warriors; to the two and a half East-Jordanic tribes, 120,000 men, etc. How does it happen that Zebulun and Naphtali, for example, two tribes that play no great part in Israel's history, are so strongly represented, while Judah sends only a relatively small number of warriors?" To this question we answer, that Judah's being represented by a number of warriors relatively so small, is accounted for simply by the fact that David had already been king over Judah for seven years, and consequently that tribe did not need to make him king by coming with the whole of its warriors, or the majority of them, when the other tribes were doing homage to David, but sent only a small number of its male population to this solemn act, who were witnesses in the name of the whole tribe to the homage proffered by the others. The same remark applies to the tribe of Simeon, whose domain was enclosed by that of Judah, and which had consequently recognised David as king at the same time as the larger tribe. In regard to the numbers of the other tribes, Levi had in the last year of David's reign 38,000 men from thirty years old and

upwards (xxiii. 3); and when here only 4600 Levites, besides the priestly families, are spoken of, the question arises, whether this number is to be understood to refer to the Levites in all the tribes, or only to those dwelling outside of Judah and Simeon, in the cities assigned to them by Moses and Joshua. The smallness of the number (3000) from the tribe of Benjamin is explained by the remark that the majority of this tribe still held to the house of Saul (ver. 29). The only thing which is at all remarkable about the other numbers is, that the Ephraimites are so few (20,800 men) in contrast to the 180,000 men brought into the field by the half-tribe of Manasseh. But if we consider that Ephraim, which at the first census under Moses at Sinai had 40,500 men, had decreased to 32,500 at the second census in the wilderness of Moab, it is not improbable that at the time now treated of that tribe may not have been very strong in fighting men. For in Saul's last war with the Philistines, when they had pressed forward so far as Mount Gilboa, and also in Abner's struggle on behalf of King Ishbosheth for the re-conquest of the territory occupied by them, it probably suffered more, and was more weakened, than any of the other tribes. Perhaps also we may add that Ephraim, owing to its jealousy of Judah, which dates from the time of the judges, was not very much disposed to make David king over all Israel. That Zebulun and Naphtali are here so numerous represented, although they do not otherwise play an important part, is no reason for suspecting that the numbers given are incorrect. Since Zebulun under Moses numbered 57,400 men, and at a later time 60,500, and Naphtali 53,400 and 45,400 men capable of bearing arms respectively on the same occasions (see t. i. 2, S. 192); the first named tribe may easily have sent 50,000, the other 37,000 men to David, as the tribes dwelling in the north had been least affected by the wars which Israel carried on in the second half of the period of the judges and under Saul. Both of these tribes, too, are praised in the song of Deborah as a people ready to risk their lives for their fatherland (Judg. v. 18), and may have very much increased in the succeeding time. And besides all this, the tribes Asher, Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh are indeed more feebly represented than Zebulun, but more strongly than Naphtali. There therefore remains no reason for doubting the historical accuracy of the numbers given; but it is of course to be understood that the numbers, which are stated

only in hundreds, are not the result of an enumeration of the individual persons, but only of an estimate of the various detachments, according to the military partition of the tribes.

In regard to *לְהַסֵּב מ'*, cf. x. 14; and as to *בְּפִי יְהוָה*, see the remark on *בְּדִבְרֵי יְהוָה*, xi. 3, 10.—Ver. 24 f. For *נִשְׂאֵי צִנָּה וְרִמָּה*, cf. ver. 8, v. 18. *נְבוֹרֵי חַיִּל לַעֲבָדָא*, valiant men for the war service.—Ver. 26. Jehoiada is thought by Rashi, Kimchi, and others, to be the father of Benaiah, xi. 22. He was *נָגִיד* for Aaron, i.e. prince of the house of Aaron, head of the family of the Aaronites, not *princeps sacerdotum*, which was a title appertaining to the high-priesthood, an office held at that time by Abiathar (1 Sam. xxiii. 9).—Ver. 28. Zadok, a youth, i.e. then still a youth, may be the same who was made high priest in place of Abiathar (1 Kings ii. 26, but see on v. 34). "And his father's-house, twenty-two princes." The father's-house of Zadok is the Aaronite family descended from Eleazar, which was at that time so numerous that it could muster twenty-two *שָׂרִים*, family chiefs, who went with Zadok to Hebron.—Ver. 29. From the tribe of Benjamin, to which Saul belonged (*אֲחֵי שָׁאֹל*, see on ver. 2), only 3000 men came, for until that time (*עַד הַיּוֹם*, cf. ix. 18) the greater number of them were keeping the guard of the house of Saul, i.e. were devoted to the interests of the fallen house. For *שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת*, see on Gen. xxvi. 5 and Lev. viii. 35. From this we learn that the attachment of the Benjamites to Saul continued even after the death of his son Ishbosheth, and that it was with difficulty that they could bring themselves to recognise David as king.—Ver. 30. Of Ephraim 20,800 famous men (*אֲנָשֵׁי שְׁמוֹת*, see on Gen. vi. 4); *לְבֵית־אָב*, "in their fathers'-houses."—Ver. 31. Of half Manasseh, this side Jordan (cf. ver. 37), 18,000, who were appointed by name, i.e. chosen as famous men to go thither and make David king. *נִקְבְּנוּ בְּשֵׁמוֹת*, as in Num. i. 17, vide on Lev. xxiv. 16. The tribe of Manasseh had consequently held a general consultation on the matter, and determined upon sending their representatives.—Ver. 32. From Issachar came "men of understanding in reference to the times, to know (i.e. who knew) what Israel should do." *יָדְעוּ בִּיָּתָהּ*, knowing in insight (cf. 2 Chron. ii. 12), i.e. experienced in a thing, having understanding of it. From this remark some of the older commentators (Chald.; various Rabbins, and Cleric.) concluded that the tribe of Issachar had distinguished itself beyond the other tribes by astronomical and physical knowledge,

by which it was qualified to ascertain and make choice of proper times for political action. But the words do not suggest astronomical or astrological knowledge, but merely state, as Salomo ben-Melech in the *Miclol Yophi* long ago interpreted them, *noverant tempora ad omnem rem et quodque negotium, sicut sapiens dixit: Suum cuique tempus est et opportunitas cuique rei*, Koh. iii. 1. The words refer not to the whole tribe, but only to the two hundred heads, who, as Lavater expresses it, are designated *prudentes viri*, as being men *qui quid, quando et quomodo agendum esset, varia lectione et usu rerum cognoscebant*. The only thing to be objected to in his statement is the *varia lectione*, since a sound and correct judgment in political matters does not necessarily presuppose scientific training and a wide acquaintance with books. The statement in question, therefore, affirms nothing more than that the tribe of Issachar (in deciding to raise David to the throne) followed the judgment of its princes, who rightly estimated the circumstances of the time. For all their brethren, i.e. all the men of this tribe, went with the two hundred chiefs. עֲלֵיפִיָּהִם, according to their mouth, i.e. followed their judgment; cf. Num. iv. 27, Deut. xxi. 5.—Ver. 33. עָרְכִי מִלְחָמָה, preparing war with all manner of warlike weapons, i.e. practice in the use of all kinds of weapons for war; cf. ver. 8. The infinitive לַעֲרֹךְ is substantially a continuation of the preceding participles, but grammatically is dependent on בָּאוּ understood (cf. vers. 23, 38). Cf. as to this free use of the infinitive with לְ, Ew. § 351, c. The signification of the verb עָרַךְ, which occurs only here (vers. 33, 38), is doubtful. According to the LXX. and the Vulg. (βοηθησας, *venerunt in auxilium*), and nine mss., which read לַעֲרֹךְ, we would be inclined to take עָרַךְ for the Aramaic form of the Hebrew עָרַךְ (cf. עָרַךְ), to help; but that meaning does not suit עָרַךְ מַעְרָכָה, ver. 38. Its connection there demands that עָרַךְ should signify “to close up together,” to set in order the battle array; and so here, closing up together with not double heart, i.e. with whole or steadfast heart (בְּלֵבב שְׁלֵם, ver. 38), *animo integro et firmo atque concordī*; cf. Ps. xii. 3 (Mich.).—In ver. 38 we have a comprehensive statement; כָּל-אִלָּהָה, which refers to all the bodies of men enumerated in vers. 24–37. שְׂאֵרֵיהֶם is שְׂאֵרֵיהֶם defectively written; and as it occurs only here, it may be perhaps a mere orthographical error. The whole of the remainder of Israel who did not go to Hebron were אֶחָד, לֵב אֶחָד, of one, i.e. of united heart (2 Chron. xxx. 12): they had a unanimous wish to make

David king.—Ver. 39. Those gathered together were there three days eating and drinking, holding festive meals (cf. 1 Sam. xxx. 16, 1 Kings i. 45, etc.), for their brethren had prepared them for them. The object of *הָיָה*, *sc.* the eating and drinking, may easily be supplied from the context. *אֲדָמָה* are the inhabitants of Hebron and the neighbourhood; the tribe of Judah in general, who had already recognised David as king.—Ver. 40. But it was not only these who performed this service, but also those of the remaining tribes dwelling near them; and indeed the men of Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali, those on the northern frontier of Canaan as well as those who bordered upon Judah, had sent provisions upon beasts of burden, “for joy was in Israel.” This joy moved those who remained at home to show their sympathy with the national festival solemnized at Hebron by sending the provisions. For *רִבְלִים*, masses of dried figs, and *עֲפָתִים*, masses of raisins or cakes, see on 1 Sam. xxv. 18.

CHAP. XIII.—XVI. THE REMOVAL OF THE ARK FROM KIRJATH-JEARIM. DAVID'S BUILDING, HIS WIVES AND CHILDREN, AND HIS VICTORIES OVER THE PHILISTINES. THE BRINGING IN OF THE ARK INTO THE CITY OF DAVID, AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE WORSHIP IN MOUNT ZION.

All these facts are described in the second book of Samuel, for the most part in the same words. There, however, the contents of our chapter xiv., David's building, wives and children, and victories over the Philistines, immediately follow, in chap. v. 11–25, the account of the conquest of the citadel of Zion (1 Chron. xi. 4–8); and then in 2 Sam. vi. the removal of the ark from Kirjath-jearim, and the bringing of it, after an interval of three months, to Jerusalem, are narrated consecutively, but much more shortly than in the Chronicle. The author of the books of Samuel confined himself to a mere narration of the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem, as one of the first acts of David tending to the raising of the Israelitish kingship, and has consequently, in his estimation of the matter, only taken account of its importance politically to David as king. The author of our Chronicle, on the contrary, has had mainly in view the religious significance of this design of David to restore the Levitic *cultus* prescribed in the Mosaic law; and in order to impress that upon the reader, he not only gives a detailed account of the part which the Levites took

in the solemn transfer of the ark of God (chap. xv.), but he sets forth minutely the arrangements which David made, after the ark had been brought into the capital of the kingdom, for the restoration of a permanent worship about that sanctuary (chap. xvi.). Both the narratives are taken from an original document which related the matter more at length; and from it the author of 2d Samuel has excerpted only what was important for his purpose, while the author of the Chronicle gives a more detailed account. The opinion held by de Wette and others, that the narrative in the Chronicle is merely an expansion by the author of the Chronicle, or by the author of the original document followed by our chronicler, of the account in 2 Sam. vi., for the purpose of glorifying the Levitic *cultus*, is shown to be incorrect and untenable by the multitude of historical statements peculiar to chap. xv. and xvi., which could not possibly have been invented.

Chap. xiii. *The removal of the ark from Kirjath-jearim.* Cf. 2 Sam. vi. 1-11, with the commentary on the substance of the narrative there given.—Vers. 1-5. The introduction to this event is in 2 Sam. vi. 1 and 2 very brief; but according to our narrative, David consulted with the chief men over thousands and hundreds (cf. xv. 25), viz. with all the princes. The preposition *לְפָנֵי* before *כָּל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל* groups together the individual chiefs of the people just named. He laid his purpose before "all the congregation of Israel," i.e. before the above-mentioned princes as representatives of the whole people. "If it seem good to you, and if it come from Jahve our God," i.e. if the matter be willed of and approved by God, we will send as speedily as possible. The words *נִפְרָצָה נִשְׁלָחָה* without the conjunction are so connected that *נִשְׁלָחָה* defines the idea expressed by *נִפְרָצָה*, "we will break through, will send," for "we will, breaking through," i.e. acting quickly and energetically, "send thither." The construction of *שָׁלַח* with *עַל* is accounted for by the fact that the sending thither includes the notion of commanding (*עָצָה עַל*). *כָּל־אֲרָצוֹת*, all the provinces of the various tribal domains, is used for *כָּל־הָאָרֶץ*, 1 Sam. xiii. 19, here, and 2 Chron. xi. 23 and xxxiv. 33; in all which places the idea of the division of the land into a number of territories is prominent. This usage is founded upon Gen. xxvi. 3 and 4, where the plural points to the number of small tribes which possessed Canaan. After *וַעֲפָהֶם עַל* or *נִשְׁלָחָה עַל* is to be repeated. The words *וְלֹא דִרְשֵׁנוּהָ* in ver. 3, we have not sought it, nor asked after it, are meant to include all.—Ver. 4 f. As the whole assembly

approved of David's design (לַעֲשׂוֹת כֵּן, it is to do so = so must we do), David collected the whole of Israel to carry it out. "The whole of Israel," from the southern frontier of Canaan to the northern; but of course all are not said to have been present, but there were numerous representatives from every part,—according to 2 Sam. vi. 1, a chosen number of 30,000 men. The שִׁחּוֹר מִצְרַיִם, which is named as the southern frontier, is not the Nile, although it also is called שִׁחּוֹר (Isa. xxiii. 3 and Jer. ii. 18), and the name "the black river" also suits it (see Del. on Isaiah, *loc. cit.*); but is the שִׁחּוֹר before, *i.e.* eastward from Egypt (אֲשֶׁר עַל-פְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם), *i.e.* the brook of Egypt, נַחַל מִצְרַיִם, the Rhinocorura, now el Arish, which in all accurate statements of the frontiers is spoken of as the southern, in contrast to the neighbourhood of Hamath, which was the northern boundary: see on Num. xxiv. 5. For the designation of the northern frontier, לְבֹנָה הַחֲמַת, see on Num. xxxiv. 8. Kirjath-jearim, the Canaanitish Baalah, was known among the Israelites by the name Baale Jehudah or Kirjath-baal, as distinguished from other cities named after Baal, and is now the still considerable village Kureyeh el Enab; see on Josh. ix. 17. In this fact we find the explanation of בְּעֵלְתָּהּ אֵל ק' ' ver. 6: to Baalah, to Kirjath-jearim of Judah. The ark had been brought thither when the Philistines sent it back to Beth-Shemesh, and had been set down in the house of Abinadab, where it remained for about seventy years; see 1 Sam. vi. and vii. 1, 2, and the remarks on 2 Sam. vi. 3 f. אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שֵׁם is not to be translated "which is named name," which gives no proper sense. Translating it so, Bertheau would alter שֵׁם into שָׁם, according to an arbitrary conjecture of Thenius on 2 Sam. vi. 2, "who there (by the ark) is invoked." But were שֵׁם the true reading, it could not refer to the ark, but only to the preceding כִּשְׁשֹׁן, since in the whole Old Testament the idea that by or at the resting-place of the ark Jahve was invoked (which אֲשֶׁר שָׁם would signify) nowhere occurs, since no one could venture to approach the ark. If שֵׁם referred to כִּשְׁשֹׁן, it would signify that Jahve was invoked at Kirjath-baal, that there a place of worship had been erected by the ark; but of that the history says nothing, and it would, moreover, be contrary to the statement that the ark was not visited in the days of Saul. We must consequently reject the proposal to alter שֵׁם into שָׁם as useless and unsuitable, and seek for another explanation: we must take אֲשֶׁר in the sense of ὡς, which it sometimes has; cf. Ew. § 333, a: "as he is called by name," where

שם does not refer only to יהוה, but also to the additional clause יושב הכרובים, and the meaning is that Jahve is invoked as He who is enthroned above the cherubim; cf. Ps. lxxx. 2, Isa. xxxvii. 16.—On the following vers. 7–14, cf. the commentary on 2 Sam. vi. 3–11.

Chap. xiv. *David's palace-building, wives and children*, vers. 1–7; cf. 2 Sam. v. 11–16. *Two victories over the Philistines*, vers. 8–17; cf. 2 Sam. v. 17–25.—The position in which the narrative of these events stands, between the removal of the ark from Kirjath-jearim and its being brought to Jerusalem, is not to be supposed to indicate that they happened in the interval of three months, during which the ark was left in the house of Obed-edom. The explanation of it rather is, that the author of our Chronicle, for the reasons given in page 170, desired to represent David's design to bring the ark into the capital city of his kingdom as his first undertaking after he had won Jerusalem, and was consequently compelled to bring in the events of our chapter at a later period, and for that purpose this interval of three months seemed to offer him the fittest opportunity. The whole contents of our chapter have already been commented upon in 2 Sam. v. 1, so that we need not here do more than refer to a few subordinate points.—Ver. 2. Instead of בִּי יְהוָה, that He (Jahve) had lifted up (יָשָׂא, perf. Pi.), as in Sam. ver. 2, in the Chronicle we read בִּי יְהוָה לְמַעַלָּה, that his kingdom had been lifted up on high. The unusual form יְהוָה may be, according to the context, the third pers. fem. perf. Niph., יְהוָה having first been changed into יְהוָה, and thus contracted into יְהוָה; cf. Ew. § 194, b. In 2 Sam. xix. 43 the same form is the infin. abs. Niph. לְמַעַלָּה is here, as frequently in the Chronicles, used to intensify the expression: cf. xxii. 5, xxiii. 17, xxix. 3, 25; 2 Chron. i. 1, xvii. 12. With regard to the sons of David, see on iii. 5–8.

In the account of the victories over the Philistines, the statement (Sam. ver. 17) that David went down to the mountain-hold, which has no important connection with the main fact, and would have been for the readers of the Chronicle somewhat obscure, is exchanged in ver. 8 for the more general expression יָצֵא לִפְנֵיהֶם, “he went forth against them.” In ver. 14, the divine answer to David's question, whether he should march against the Philistines, runs thus: לֹא תֵעָלֶה אַחֲרֵיהֶם הָרֵב מֵעֲלֵיהֶם, Thou shalt not go up after them; turn away from them, and come upon them over against the baca-bushes;—while in Sam. ver. 23,



on the contrary, we read : **לֹא תַעֲלֶה הָסֵב אֶל־אֲחֵרֵיהֶם**, Thou shalt not go up (*i.e.* advance against the enemy to attack them in front); turn thee behind them (*i.e.* to their rear), and come upon them over against the baca-bushes. Bertheau endeavours to get rid of the discrepancy, by supposing that into both texts corruptions have crept through transcribers' errors. He conjectures that the text of Samuel was originally **לֹא תַעֲלֶה אֲחֵרֵיהֶם**, while in the Chronicle a transposition of the words **עֲלֵיהֶם** and **אֲחֵרֵיהֶם** was occasioned by a copyist's error, which in turn resulted in the alteration of **עֲלֵיהֶם** into **מַעֲלֵיהֶם**. This supposition, however, stands or falls with the presumption that by **לֹא תַעֲלֶה** (Sam.) an attack is forbidden; but for that presumption no tenable grounds exist: it would rather involve a contradiction between the first part of the divine answer and the second. The last clause, "Come upon them from over against the baca-bushes," shows that the attack was not forbidden; all that was forbidden was the making of the attack by advancing straight forward: instead of that, they were to try to fall upon them in the rear, by making a circuit. The chronicler consequently gives us an explanation of the ambiguous words of 2d Samuel, which might easily be misunderstood. As David's question was doubtless expressed as it is in ver. 10, **הֲמַעֲלֶה עַל הָרָא**, the answer **לֹא תַעֲלֶה** might be understood to mean, "Go not up against them, attack them not, but go away behind them;" but with that the following **בָּרָאחַ לָהֶם וְנִי**, "Come upon them from the baca-bushes," did not seem to harmonize. The chronicler consequently explains the first clauses of the answer thus: "Go not up straight behind them," *i.e.* advance not against them so as to attack them openly, "but turn thyself away from them," *i.e.* strike off in such a direction as to turn their flank, and come upon them from the front of the baca-bushes. In this way the apparently contradictory texts are reconciled without the alteration of a word. In ver. 17, which is wanting in Samuel, the author concludes the account of these victories by the remark that they tended greatly to exalt the name of David among the nations. For similar reflections, cf. 2 Chron. xvii. 10, xx. 29, xiv. 13; and for **וַיֵּצֵא שָׁם**, 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

Chap. xv. to xvi. 3. *The bringing of the ark into Jerusalem.*—In the parallel account, 2 Sam. vi. 11–23, only the main facts as to the transfer of the holy ark to Jerusalem, and the setting of it up in a tent erected for its reception on Mount Zion, are shortly narrated; but the author of the Chronicle elaborately



portrays the religious side of this solemn act, tells of the preparations which David had made for it, and gives a special enumeration of the Levites, who at the call of the king laboured with him to carry it out according to the precepts of the law. For this purpose he first gives an account of the preparations (xv. 1-24), viz. of the erection of a tent for the ark in the city of David (ver. 1), of the consultation of the king with the priests and Levites (vers. 2-13), and of the accomplishment of that which they had determined upon (vers. 14-29).—Ver. 1. In 2 Sam. vi. 12a the whole matter is introduced by a statement that the motive which had determined the king to bring the ark to Jerusalem, was his having heard of the blessing which the ark had brought upon the house of Obed-edom. In our narrative (ver. 1), the remark that David, while building his house in Jerusalem, prepared a place for the ark of God, and erected a tent for it, forms the transition from the account of his palace-building (xiv. 1 ff.) to the bringing in of the ark. The words, “he made unto himself houses,” do not denote, as Bertheau thinks, the building of other houses besides the palaces built with the help of King Hiram (xiv. 1). For בָּנָה is not synonymous with בָּנָה, but expresses the preparation of the building for a dwelling, and the words refer to the completion of the palace as a dwelling-place for the king and his wives and children. In thus making the palace which had been built fit for a habitation, David prepared a place for the ark, which, together with its tent, was to be placed in his palace. As to the reasons which influenced David in determining to erect a new tabernacle for the ark, instead of causing the old and sacred tabernacle to be brought from Gibeon to Jerusalem for the purpose, see the remarks introductory to 2 Sam. vi.

Ver. 2 ff. The reason for the preparations made on this occasion for the solemn progress is assigned in the statement that David had resolved to cause the ark to be carried by the Levites alone, because God had chosen them thereto; cf. Num. i. 50, iv. 15, vii. 9, x. 17. וְאֵלֶּיךָ, “at that time,” i.e. at the end of the three months, xiii. 14. וְלֹא לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, “there is not to bear,” i.e. no other shall bear the ark than the Levites. “By this arrangement, it is expressly acknowledged that it was contrary to the law to place it upon a cart; chap. xiii. 17” (Berth.). For this purpose, the king assembled “the whole of Israel” in Jerusalem, i.e. the elders, the rulers over thousands, the heads of families; cf. 2 Sam. vi. 15, where it is stated that כָּל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל took part

in the solemn march.—Ver. 4. From among assembled Israel David then specially gathered together the heads of the priests and Levites, to determine upon the details of this solemn procession. “The sons of Aaron” are the high priests Zadok and Abiathar, ver. 11; and the “Levites” are the six princes named in vers. 5-10, with their brethren, viz. (vers. 5-7) the three heads of the families into which the tribe of Levi was divided, and which corresponded to the three sons of Levi, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, respectively (Ex. vi. 16): Uriel head of the Kohathites, Asaiah of the Merarites, and Joel head of the Gershonites, with their brethren. Kohath is first enumerated, because Aaron the chief of the priests was descended from Kohath, and because to the Kohathites there fell, on account of their nearer relationship to the priests, the duty of serving in that which is most holy, the bearing of the holiest vessels of the tabernacle. See Num. iv. 4, 15, vii. 9; as to Uriel, see on vi. 9; for Asaiah, see vi. 15; and as to Joel, see vi. 21. Then in vers. 8, 9 we have the heads of three other Kohathite families: Shemaiah, chief of the sons of Elizaphan, i.e. Elizaphan son of the Kohathite Uzziel (Ex. vi. 22); Eliel, chief of the sons of Hebron the Kohathite (Ex. vi. 18); and Amminadab, chief of the sons of Uzziel. The sons of Uzziel, consequently, were divided into two fathers'-houses: the one founded by Uzziel's son Elizaphan, and named after him (ver. 8); the other founded by his other sons, and called by his name. Of the fathers'-houses here enumerated, four belong to Kohath, and one each to Merari and Gershon; and the Kohathites were called to take part in the solemn act in greater numbers than the Merarites and Gershonites, since the transport of the ark was the Kohathites' special duty.—Ver. 11. Zadok of the line of Eleazar (chap. v. 27-41), and Abiathar of the line of Ithamar, were the heads of the two priestly lines, and at that time both held the office of high priest (xxiv. 3; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 24 ff., xx. 25). These priests and the six princes of the Levites just enumerated were charged by David to consecrate themselves with their brethren, and to bring up the ark of God to the place prepared for it. הִתְקַדֵּשׁ, to consecrate oneself by removal of all that is unclean, washing of the body and of the clothes (Gen. xxxv. 2), and careful keeping aloof from every defilement, avoiding coition and the touching of unclean things; cf. Ex. xix. 10, 15. אֶל-הַמִּקְדָּשׁ, to (the place) which I have prepared for it. הַמִּקְדָּשׁ is a relative clause with אֶשֶׁר, construed with a

preposition as though it were a substantive: cf. similar constructions, xxix. 3, 2 Chron. xvi. 9, xxx. 18, Neh. viii. 10; and Ew. § 333, *b*.—Ver. 13. “For because in the beginning (*i.e.* when the ark was removed from the house of Amminadab, chap. xiii.) it was not you (*sc.* who brought it up), did Jahve our God make a breach upon us,” *sc.* by the slaying of Uzza, xiii. 11. In the first clause the predicate is wanting, but it may easily be supplied from the context. The contracted form **לְמַבְרַחֲשׁוֹנָה**, made up of **לְמַח** and **בְּרַחֲשׁוֹנָה**, is unique, since **מַח** is so united only with small words, as in **מַחֵה**, Ex. iv. 2, **מַלְכֵם**, Isa. iii. 15; but we find **מַחֲלֵאָה** for **מַחֲלֵאָה**, Mal. i. 13; cf. Ew. § 91, *d*. **לְמַח** here signifies: on account of this which = because; cf. Ew. § 222, *a*, and 353, *a*. “This was done, because we did not seek Him according to the right,” which required that the ark, upon which Jehovah sits enthroned, should be carried by Levites, and touched by no unholy person, or one who is not a priest (Num. iv. 15).—Ver. 14 f. The Levites consecrated themselves, and bare—as ver. 15 anticipatively remarks—the ark of God upon their shoulders, according to the prescription in Num. vii. 9, **בְּמִטּוֹת עֲלֵיהֶם**, by means of poles upon them (the shoulders). **מִטָּה**, the flexible pole used for carrying burdens, Num. xiii. 23. Those used to carry the ark are called **בָּרִים** in the Pentateuch, Ex. xxv. 13 ff.

Vers. 16–24. David gave the princes of the Levites a further charge to appoint singers with musical instruments for the solemn procession, which they accordingly did. **כְּלֵי שִׁיר**, instruments to accompany the song. In ver. 16 three kinds of these are named: **נְבִלִים**, *nablia*, *ψαλτήρια*, which Luther has translated by psalter, corresponds to the Arabic santir, which is an oblong box with a broad bottom and a somewhat convex sounding-board, over which strings of wire are stretched; an instrument something like the *cithara*. **בְּנֵי־זֹת**, harps, more properly lutes, as this instrument more resembled our lute than the harp, and corresponded to the

Arabic catgut instrument *el'ūd* (العود); cf. Wetzstein in Delitzsch,

*Isaiah*, S. 702, der 2 Aufl., where, however, the statement that the santir is essentially the same as the old German cymbal, *vulgo* Hackebrett, is incorrect, and calculated to bring confusion into the matter, for the cymbal was an instrument provided with a small bell. **מַעֲלִילִים**, the later word for **זִלְזִלִים**, cymbals, castanets; see on 2 Sam. vi. 5. **מִשְׁמָעִים** does not belong to the three before-mentioned instruments (Berth.), but, as is clear from vers. 19,

28, xvi. 5, 42, undoubtedly only to מְלִיחִים (Böttcher, *Neue krit. Aehrenlese*, iii. S. 223); but the meaning is not "modulating," but "sounding clear or loud,"—according to the proper meaning of the word, to make to hear. The infinitive clause לְהַרְיֵם וְנֹא belongs to the preceding sentence: "in order to heighten the sound (both of the song and of the instrumental music) to joy," i.e. to the expression of joy. לְשִׂמְחָה is frequently used to express festive joy: cf. ver. 25, 2 Chron. xxiii. 18, xxix. 30; but also as early as in 2 Sam. vi. 12, 1 Sam. xviii. 6, Judg. xvi. 23, etc.—In vers. 17, 18 the names of the singers and players are introduced; then in vers. 19-21 they are named in connection with the instruments they played; and finally, in vers. 22-24, the other Levites and priests who took part in the celebration are mentioned. The three chief singers, the Kohathite Heman, the Gershonite Asaph, and the Merarite Ethan, form the first class. See on vi. 18, 24, and 29. To the second class (הַמְשִׁנִּים, cf. הַמְשִׁנִּים, 2 Kings xxiii. 4) belonged thirteen or fourteen persons, for in ver. 21 an Azaziah is named in the last series who is omitted in ver. 18; and it is more probable that his name has been dropped out of ver. 18 than that it came into our text, ver. 21, by an error. In ver. 18 בִּנְיָמִן comes in after זְבֻלֹן by an error of transcription, as we learn from the ו before the following name, and from a comparison of vers. 20 and 25. The name יְעִיָּאל is in ver. 20 written יְעִיָּאל, *Yodh* being rejected; and in xvi. 5 it is יְעִיָּאל, which is probably only a transcriber's error, since יְעִיָּאל occurs along with it both in ver. 18 and in xvi. 5. The names Benaiah and Maaseiah, which are repeated in ver. 20, have been there transposed. All the other names in vers. 18 and 20 coincide.—Vers. 19-21. These singers formed three choirs, according to the instruments they played. Heman, Asaph, and Ethan played brazen cymbals לְהַשְׁמִיעַ (ver. 19); Benaiah and the seven who follow played *nabla* (*psalteria*) עַל עֶלְמֹת (ver. 20); while the last six played lutes (harps) עַל הַמְּסִנְיֹת (ver. 21). These three Hebrew words plainly denote different keys in singing, but are, owing to our small acquaintance with the music of the Hebrews, obscure, and cannot be interpreted with certainty. מִנְּיָן, going over from the fundamental signification glitter, shine, into the idea of outshining and superior capacity, overwhelming ability, might also, as a musical term, denote the conducting of the playing and singing as well as the leading of them. The signification to direct is here, however, excluded by the context, for the conductors were without doubt the

three chief musicians or bandmasters (*Capellenmeister*), Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, with the cymbals, not the psaltery and lute players belonging to the second rank. The conducting must therefore be expressed by **לְהַשְׁמִיעַ**, and this word must mean "in order to give a clear tone," *i.e.* to regulate the tune and the tone of the singing, while **לִנְחֹל** signifies "to take the lead in playing;" cf. Del. on Ps. iv. 1. This word, moreover, is probably not to be restricted to the singers with the lutes, the third choir, but must be held to refer also to the second choir. The meaning then will be, that Heman, Asaph, and Ethan had cymbals to direct the song, while the other singers had partly psalteries, partly lutes, in order to play the accompaniment to the singing. The song of these two choirs is moreover distinguished and defined by **עַל הַשְּׁמִינִית** and **עַל עֲלֻמוֹת**. These words specify the kind of voices; **עַל עֲלֻמוֹת** after the manner of virgins, *i.e.* in the soprano; **עַל הַשְּׁמִינִית**, after the octave, *i.e.* in bass—*al ottava bassa*. See Del. on Ps. vi. 1, xlv. 1. In vers. 22–24 the still remaining priests who were engaged in the solemn procession are enumerated.—Ver. 22. "Chenaniah, the prince of the Levites, for the bearing, teacher in bearing; for he was instructed in it." Since Chenaniah does not occur among the six princes of the Levites in vers. 5–10, and is called in ver. 27 **הַשָּׂר הַמִּצֵּא**, we must here also join **מִצֵּא** (as most editions punctuate the first **בְּמִצָּא**, while according to Norzi **בְּמִצָּא** is the right reading even in the first case) closely with **שָׂר־הַלֵּוִיִּם**, with the meaning that Chenaniah was captain of the Levites who had charge of the bearing of the ark, a chief of the Levites who bore it. The word **מִצָּא** is, however, very variously interpreted. The LXX. have *ἀρχων τῶν ᾠδῶν*, and the Vulgate, *prophetiæ præerat ad præcinendam melodiam*; whence Luther translates: the master in song to teach them to sing. This translation cannot, however, be linguistically upheld; the word **מִצָּא** means only the bearing of the burden (Num. iv. 19, 27, etc.; 2 Chron. xxxv. 3), and a prophetic utterance of an oppressive or threatening character (Isa. xiii. 1, and xv. 1, etc.). But from this second signification neither the general meaning *prophetia*, nor, if we wish to go back upon the **נִשָּׂא קוֹל**, to raise the voice, the signification master of song, *supremus musicus* (Lavat.), or *qui principatum tenebat in cantu illo sublimiore* (Vatabl.), can be derived. The meaning *prophetia*, moreover, does not suit the context, and we must consequently, with Bertheau and others, hold fast the signification of bearing. We are determined in

favour of this, (1) by the context, which here treats of the bearing of the ark, for which **מָשָׁא** is the usual word; and (2) by the circumstance that in xxvi. 29 Chenaniah is mentioned as the chief of the Levites for the external business, which goes to show, if the persons are identical, that he here had the oversight of the external business of the transport. **יָסַר** is not the inf. absol., which cannot stand directly for the *verb. finit.*; nor is it the imperf. of **סָרַר** in the signification of **שָׁרַר** (Bertheau and others), but a nominal formation from **יָסַר** (cf. on this formation as the most proper designation of the actor, Ew. § 152, b), in the signification teacher, which is shown by Isa. xxviii. 26 certainly to belong to **יָסַר**. The clause **יָסַר בְּמִשְׁאָה** gives the explanation of the preceding **בְּמִשְׁאָה**, or it specifies what Chenaniah had to do in the procession. He had to take the lead in the bearing because he was **מִבְּרָן** in it, i.e. was instructed in that which was to be observed in it.—In ver. 23 two doorkeepers for the ark are named; and in ver. 24, at the end of the enumeration of the Levites who were busied about the transport, two additional names are mentioned as those of men who had the same duty. The business of these doorkeepers was, as Seb. Schmidt has already remarked on 2 Sam. vi., *non tam introitum aperire arcæ, quam custodire, ne ad eam irrumperetur*. Between these two pairs of doorkeepers in ver. 24, the priests, seven in number, who blew the trumpets, are named. The Kethibh **מְחַצְצִים** is to be read **מְחַצְצִים**, a denom. from **חָצַר**; the Keri **מְחַצְצִים** is Hiph. of **חָצַר**, as in 2 Chron. vii. 6, xiii. 14, and xxix. 28. In 2 Chron. v. 12 and 13, on the contrary, **מְחַצְצִים** is partic. Pi. The blowing of the silver trumpets by the priests in this solemn procession rests on the prescription in Num. x. 1-10, which see. The place assigned to these trumpet-blowing priests was either immediately before the ark, like the priestly trumpeters in the march round Jericho (Josh. vi. 4, 6), or immediately after it. For, that these priests entered in the immediate vicinity of the ark, may be inferred from the fact that before and behind them were doorkeepers of the ark. The procession, then, was probably arranged in this way: (1) the singers and players in front, in three divisions; (2) Chenaniah, the captain of the bearers; (3) two doorkeepers; (4) the priests with the trumpets immediately before or after the ark; (5) two doorkeepers; (6) the king with the elders and captains of thousands (ver. 25). The two doorkeepers Obedom and Jehiah (**יְהִיָּה**), Rashi, Berth., and others consider to be the

same persons as the singers Obedom and Jeiel (יְיֵאל), supposing that the latter name is wrongly written in one of the passages. This, however, is incorrect, for the identity of the name Obedom is no sufficient ground for supposing the persons to be the same, since in xvi. 38 the singer Obedom and the doorkeeper Obedom the son of Jeduthun seem to be distinguished. And besides that, Obedom and his colleagues could not possibly at the same time as porters precede, and as singers come after, the priests and the ark, and there is consequently no reason to doubt that the name יְיֵאל is correct.

Ver. 25—chap. xvi. 3 narrate the further proceedings connected with the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem; cf. 2 Sam. vi. 12–19. By the words יְיֵאל דָּוִד וְנֹתָן the account of the execution of the design is connected with the statements as to the preparations (vers. 2–24): “And so were David . . . who went to bring up the ark.”—Ver. 26. When God had helped the Levites who bare the ark of the covenant of Jahve, they offered seven bullocks and seven rams, *i.e.* after the journey had been happily accomplished. Instead of this, in 2 Sam. vi. 13, the offering which was made at the commencement of the journey to consecrate it is mentioned; see on the passage. The discrepancy between ver. 27 and 2 Sam. vi. 14 is more difficult of explanation. Instead of the words דָּוִד מְכַבֵּד בְּכָל־עָז לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, David danced with all his might before Jahve, we read in the Chronicle דָּוִד מְכַבֵּד בְּמַעַל בָּרֵךְ, David was clothed with a robe of byssus. But since מְכַבֵּד differs from מְכַבֵּל only in the last two letters, and כֵּר might be easily exchanged for בֵּל, we may suppose that מְכַבֵּל has arisen out of מְכַבֵּד. Bertheau accordingly says: “Any one who remembered that in this verse David’s clothing was spoken of might write מְכַבֵּד as מְכַבֵּל, while the words כָּל־עָז, which were probably illegible, were conjectured to be בָּרֵךְ בְּמַעַל.” This opinion would be worthy of consideration, if only the other discrepancies between the Chronicle and Samuel were thereby made more comprehensible. That, besides David, the bearers of the ark, the singers, and Chenaniah are mentioned, Bertheau thinks can be easily explained by what precedes; but how can that explain the absence of the words לִפְנֵי יְהוָה of Samuel from our text? Bertheau passes this over in silence; and yet it is just the absence of these words in our text which shows that מְכַבֵּל בְּמַעַל בָּרֵךְ cannot have arisen from an orthographical error and the illegibility of כָּל־עָז, since לִפְנֵי יְהוָה must have been purposely



omitted. Böttcher's opinion (*N. kr. Aehrenl.* iii. S. 224), that the Chaldaizing מְכַרְבֵּל can scarcely have been written by the chronicler, because it is not at all like his pure Hebrew style, and that consequently a later reader, who considered it objectionable that a Levite should dance, and perhaps impossible that the bearers should (forgetting that they were released in turn from performing their office), while holding as closely to the letter of the text as possible, corrected מְכַרְבֵּל בָּלָעוּ into מְכַרְבֵּל בָּנָה, and that the same person, or perhaps a later, added besides וְהַמְשִׁירִים וְכֹנְנֵיהֶם, is still less probable. In that way, indeed, we get no explanation of the main difficulty, viz. how the words from הַלְלִים to הַמְשִׁירִים came into the text of the Chronicle, instead of the לִפְנֵי יְהוָה of Samuel. The supposition that originally the words from וְהַמְשִׁירִים וְכֹנְנֵיהֶם to וְהַמְשִׁירִים stood in the text, when of course the statement would be, not only that David danced with all his might, but also that all the Levites who bore the ark danced, is in the highest degree unsatisfactory; for this reason, if for no other, that we cannot conceive how the singers could play the *nebel* and the *kinnor* and dance at the same time, since it is not alternations between singing and playing, and dancing and leaping that are spoken of. The discrepancy can only be got rid of by supposing that both narratives are abridged extracts from a more detailed statement, which contained, besides David's dancing, a completer account of the clothing of the king, and of the Levites who took part in the procession. Of these the author of the books of Samuel has communicated only the two characteristic facts, that David danced with all his might before the Lord, and wore an ephod of white; while the author of the Chronicle gives us an account of David's clothing and that of the Levites, while he omits David's dancing. This he does, not because he was scandalized thereby, for he not only gives a hint of it in ver. 29, but mentions it in xiii. 8, which is parallel to 2 Sam. vi. 5; but because the account of the king's clothing, and of that of the Levites, in so far as the religious meaning of the solemn progress was thereby brought out, appeared to him more important for his design of depicting at length the religious side of the procession. For the clothing of the king had a priestly character; and not only the ephod of white (see on 2 Sam. vi. 14), but also the *me'il* of בָּוֶן, white byssus, distinguished the king as head of a priestly people. The *me'il* as such was, it is true, an outer gar-

ment which every Israelite might wear, but it was worn usually only by persons of rank and distinction (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 19, xv. 27, xviii. 4, xxiv. 5; Ezra ix. 3; Job xxix. 14), and white byssus was the material for the priests' garments. Among the articles of clothing which the law prescribed for the official dress of the simple priest (Ex. xxviii. 40) the *מַעֲלִי* was not included, but only the *בְּתוּנִת*, a tight close-fitting coat; but the priests were not thereby prevented from wearing a *me'il* of byssus on special festive occasions, and we are informed in 2 Chron. v. 12 that even the Levites and singers were on such occasions clad in byssus. In this way the statement of our verse, that David and all the Levites and bearers of the ark, the singers, and the captain Chenaniah, had put on *me'ilim* of byssus, is justified and shown to be in accordance with the circumstances. The words therefore are to be so understood. The words from *וְכָל-הַלְוִיִּם* to *הַיֵּשׁ הַמִּצֵּא* are co-ordinate with *וְדָוִד*, and after them we must supply in thought *בֵּין מְכַבְּלֵי בְּמַעֲלֵי*, and may translate the verse thus: "David was clothed in a *me'il* of byssus, as also were all the Levites," etc. No objection can be taken to the *הַיֵּשׁ הַמִּצֵּא* when we have the article with a *nomen regens*, for cases of this kind frequently occur where the article, as here, has a strong retrospective force; cf. Ew. § 290, *d*. On the contrary, *הַמִּצֵּא* after *הַיֵּשׁ הַמִּצֵּא* is meaningless, and can only have come into the text, like *בֵּן* in ver. 18, by an error of the transcriber, although it was so read as early as the time of the LXX. For the last clause, cf. 2 Sam. vi. 14.—Ver. 28 is, as compared with 2 Sam. vi. 5, somewhat enlarged by the enumeration of the individual instruments.—Ver. 29 and chap. xvi. 1–3 agree in substance with 2 Sam. vi. 15–19a, only some few words being explained: e.g. *מִרְקָד וּמִשְׁחָק*, ver. 29, instead of *מִפָּא וּמִכְרֵכֶר* (Sam.), and *אֶרֶן בְּרִית* instead of *אֶרֶן יְהוָה* (Sam.); see the commentary on 2 Sam. *l.c.*

Chap. xvi. 4–42. *The religious festival, and the arrangement of the sacred service before the ark of the covenant in the city of David.*—This section is not found in 2d Samuel, where the conclusion of this whole description (ver. 43, Chron.) follows immediately upon the feasting of the people by the king, vers. 19b and 20.—Ver. 46. When the solemnity of the transfer of the ark, the sacrificial meal, and the dismissal of the people with a blessing, and a distribution of food, were ended, David set in order the service of the Levites in the holy tent on Zion. He appointed before the ark, from among the Levites, servants to

praise and celebrate God, *i.e.* singers and players to sing psalms as a part of the regular worship. לְהַזְכִּיר, literally, "in order to bring into remembrance," is not to praise in general, but is to be interpreted according to the לְהַזְכִּיר in the superscription of Ps. xxxviii. and lxx., by which these psalms are designated as the appointed prayers at the presentation of the Azcarah of the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 2). הַזְכִּיר accordingly is a *denom.* from אָזַר, to present the Azcarah (cf. Del. on Ps. xxxviii. 1), and is in our verse to be understood of the recital of these prayer-songs with musical accompaniment. הוֹדוּת, to confess, refers to the psalms in which invocation and acknowledgment of the name of the Lord predominates, and הֵלֵל to those in which praise (Hallelujah) is the prominent feature. In vers. 5 and 6 there follow the names of the Levites appointed for this purpose, who have all been already mentioned in xv. 19-21 as accompanying the ark in its transmission; but all who are there spoken of are not included in our list here. Of the chief singers only Asaph is mentioned, Heman and Ethan being omitted; of the singers and players of the second rank, only nine; six of the eight nebel-players (xv. 20. יְעִיָּאל is a transcriber's error for יְעִיָּאל, xv. 18), and only three of the six kinnor-players; while instead of seven trumpet-blowing priests only two are named, viz. Benaiah, one of those seven, and Jehaziel, whose name does not occur in xv. 24.—Ver. 7. On that day David first committed it to Asaph and his sons to give thanks to Jahve. נָתַן is to be connected with נָתַן, which is separated from it by several words, and denotes to hand over to, here to commit to, to enjoin upon, since that which David committed to Asaph was the carrying out of a business which he enjoined, not an object which may be given into the hand. בְּיָמֵי הַרְוָא is accented by אֶת, בְּרֵאשִׁית, "at the beginning," "at first," to bring out the fact that liturgical singing was then first introduced. אֲחֵיו, the brethren of Asaph, are the Levites appointed to the same duty, whose names are given in vers. 5, 6. But in order to give a more exact description of the לְהוֹדוּת לַיהוָה committed to Asaph in vers. 8-36, a song of thanks and praise is given, which the Levites were to sing as part of the service with instrumental accompaniment. It is not expressly said that this song was composed by David for this purpose; but if Asaph with his singers was to perform the service committed to him, he must have been provided with the songs of praise (psalms) which were necessary for this purpose; and if David were in any way the

founder of the liturgical psalmody, he, as a richly endowed psalm-singer, would doubtless compose the necessary liturgical psalms. These considerations render it very probable that the following psalm was a hymn composed by David for the liturgical song in the public worship. The psalm is as follows :—

- Ver. 8. Give thanks unto Jahve ; preach His name ;  
Make known His deeds among the peoples :
9. Sing to Him, play to Him ;  
Meditate upon all His wondrous works.
10. Glory ye in His holy name :  
Let the heart of them rejoice that seek the Lord.
11. Seek ye the Lord, and His strength ;  
Seek His face continually.
12. Remember His wonders which He has done ;  
His wondrous works, and the judgments of His mouth ;
13. O seed of Israel, His servants,  
Sons of Jacob, His chosen.
14. He, Jahve, is our God ;  
His judgments go forth over all the earth.
15. Remember eternally His covenant,  
The word which He commanded to a thousand generations :
16. Which He made with Abraham,  
And His oath to Isaac ;
17. And caused it to stand to Jacob for a law,  
To Israel as an everlasting covenant ;
18. Saying, " To thee I give the land Canaan,  
As the heritage meted out to you."
19. When ye were still a people to be numbered,  
Very few, and strangers therein,
20. And they wandered from nation to nation,  
From one kingdom to another people,
21. He suffered no man to oppress them,  
And reprov'd kings for their sake :
22. " Touch not mine anointed ones,  
And do my prophets no harm."
23. Sing unto Jahve, all the lands ;  
Show forth from day to day His salvation.
24. Declare His glory among the heathen,  
Among all people His wondrous works.
25. For great is Jahve, and greatly to be praised ;  
And to be feared is He above all the gods.
26. For all the gods of the people are idols ;  
And Jahve has made the heavens.
27. Majesty and splendour is before Him ;  
Strength and joy are in His place.

28. Give unto Jahve, ye kindreds of the people,  
Give unto Jahve glory and strength.
29. Give unto Jahve the honour of His name :  
Bring an offering, and come before His presence ;  
Worship the Lord in the holy ornaments.
30. Tremble before Him, all the lands ;  
Then will the earth stand fast unshaking.
31. Let the heavens be glad, and the earth rejoice ;  
And they will say among the heathen, Jahve is King.
32. Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof ;  
Let the field exult, and all that is thereon.
33. Then shall the trees of the wood rejoice  
Before the Lord ; for He comes to judge the earth.
34. Give thanks unto Jahve, for He is good ;  
For His mercy endureth for ever.
35. And say, " Save us, God of our salvation :"  
And gather us together, and deliver us from the heathen,  
To give thanks to Thy holy name,  
To glory in Thy praise.
36. Blessed be Jahve, the God of Israel,  
From everlasting to everlasting.

*And all the people said Amen, and praised Jahve.*

This hymn forms a connected and uniform whole. Beginning with a summons to praise the Lord, and to seek His face (vers. 8-11), the singer exhorts his people to remember the wondrous works of the Lord (vers. 12-14), and the covenant which He made with the patriarchs to give them the land of Canaan (vers. 15-18), and confirms his exhortation by pointing out how the Lord, in fulfilment of His promise, had mightily and gloriously defended the patriarchs (vers. 19-22). But all the world also are to praise Him as the only true and almighty God (vers. 23-27), and all peoples do homage to Him with sacrificial gifts (vers. 28-30) ; and that His kingdom may be acknowledged among the heathen, even inanimate nature will rejoice at His coming to judgment (vers. 31-33). In conclusion, we have again the summons to thankfulness, combined with a prayer that God would further vouchsafe salvation ; and a doxology rounds off the whole (vers. 34-36). When we consider the contents of the whole hymn, it is manifest that it contains nothing which would be at all inconsistent with the belief that it was composed by David for the above-mentioned religious service. There is nowhere any reference to the condition of the people in exile, nor yet to their circumstances after the exile. The subject of the praise to

which Israel is summoned is the covenant which God made with Abraham, and the wonderful way in which the patriarchs were led. The summons to the heathen to acknowledge Jahve as alone God and King of the world, and to come before His presence with sacrificial offerings, together with the thought that Jahve will come to judge the earth, belong to the Messianic hopes. These had formed themselves upon the foundation of the promises given to the patriarchs, and the view they had of Jahve as Judge of the heathen, when He led His people out of Egypt, so early, that even in the song of Moses at the Red Sea (Ex. xv.), and the song of the pious Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1-10), we meet with the first germs of them; and what we find in David and the prophets after him are only further developments of these.

Yet all the later commentators, with the exception of Hitzig, *die Psalmen*, ii. S. ix. f., judge otherwise as to the origin of this festal hymn. Because the first half of it (vers. 8-22) recurs in Ps. cv. 1-15, the second (vers. 23-33) in Ps. xcvi., and the conclusion (vers. 34-36) in Ps. cvi. 1, 47, 48, it is concluded that the author of the Chronicle compounded the hymn from these three psalms, in order to reproduce the festive songs which were heard after the ark had been brought in, in the same free way in which the speeches in Thucydides and Livy reproduce what was spoken at various times. Besides the later commentators, Aug. Koehler (in the *Luth. Ztschr.* 1867, S. 289 ff.) and C. Ehrh (*Abfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters*, Leipz. 1869, S. 41 ff.) are of the same opinion. The possibility that our hymn may have arisen in this way cannot be denied; for such a supposition would be in so far consistent with the character of the Chronicle, as we find in it speeches which have not been reported *verbatim* by the hearers, but are given in substance or in freer outline by the author of our Chronicle, or, as is more probable, by the author of the original documents made use of by the chronicler. But this view can only be shown to be correct if it corresponds to the relation in which our hymn may be ascertained to stand to the three psalms just mentioned. Besides the fact that its different sections are again met with scattered about in different psalms, the grounds for supposing that our hymn is not an original poem are mainly the want of connection in the transition from ver. 22 to ver. 23, and from ver. 33 to ver. 34; the fact that in ver. 35 we have a verse referring to the Babylonian exile borrowed from Ps. cvi.; and that

ver. 36 is even the doxology of the fourth book of Psalms, taken to be a component part of the psalm. These two latter grounds would be decisive, if the facts on which they rest were well authenticated. If ver. 36 really contained only the doxology of the fourth book of Psalms,—which, like the doxologies of the first, second, and third books (Ps. xli. 14, lxxii. 18, 19, and lxxxix. 53), was merely formally connected with the psalm, without being a component part of it,—there could be no doubt that the author of the Chronicle had taken the conclusion of his hymn from our collection of psalms, as these doxologies only date from the originators of our collection. But this is not the state of the case. The 48th verse of the 106th Psalm does, it is true, occupy in our Psalter the place of the doxology to the fourth book, but belonged, as Bertheau also acknowledges, originally to the psalm itself. For not only is it different in form from the doxologies of the first three books, not having the double  $\text{אֲמֵן אֲמֵן}$  with which these books close, but it concludes with the simple  $\text{אֲמֵן הַלְלוּ יְהוָה}$ . If the  $\text{אֲמֵן אֲמֵן}$  connected by  $\text{וְ}$  is, in the Old Testament language, exclusively confined to these doxologies, which thus approach the language of the liturgical Beracha of the second temple, as Del. Ps. p. 15 rightly remarks, while in Num. v. 22 and Neh. viii. 6 only  $\text{אֲמֵן אֲמֵן}$  without copulative  $\text{וְ}$  occurs, it is just this peculiarity of the liturgical Beracha which is wanting, both in the concluding verse of the 106th Psalm and in ver. 36 of our festal hymn. Moreover, the remainder of the verse in question,—the last clause of it, “And let all the people say Amen, Halleluiah,”—does not suit the hypothesis that the verse is the doxology appended to the conclusion of the fourth book by the collector of the Psalms, since, as Hengstenberg in his commentary on the psalm rightly remarks, “it is inconceivable that the people should join in that which, as mere closing doxology of a book, would have no religious character;” and “the praise in the conclusion of the psalm beautifully coincides with its commencement, and the Halleluiah of the end is shown to be an original part of the psalm by its correspondence with the beginning.”<sup>1</sup> The last verse of our hymn does not therefore

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau also rightly says: “If in Ps. lxxii. (as also in Ps. lxxxix. and xli.) the author of the doxology himself says Amen, while in Ps. cvi. 48 the saying of the Amen is committed to the people, this difference can only arise from the fact that Ps. cvi. originally concluded with the exhortation to say Amen.” Hitzig speaks with still more decision, *die Pss.* (1865), ii. S. x.: “If (in Ps.

presuppose the existence of the collection of psalms, nor in ver. 35 is there any indubitable reference to the exilic time. The words, "Say, 'Save us, Thou God of our salvation; gather us together, and deliver us from among the heathen,'" do not presuppose that the people had been previously led away into the Chaldean exile, but only the dispersion of prisoners of war, led away captive into an enemy's land after a defeat. This usually occurred after each defeat of Israel by their enemies, and it was just such cases Solomon had in view in his prayer, 1 Kings viii. 46-50.

The decision as to the origin of this festal hymn, therefore, depends upon its internal characteristics, and the result of a comparison of the respective texts. The song in itself forms, as Hitz. *l.c.* S. 19 rightly judges, "a thoroughly coherent and organic whole. The worshippers of Jahve are to sing His praise in memory of His covenant which He made with their fathers, and because of which He protected them (vers. 18-22). But all the world also are to praise Him, the only true God (vers. 23-27); the peoples are to come before Him with gifts; yea, even inanimate nature is to pay the King and Judge its homage (vers. 28-33). Israel—and with this the end returns to the beginning—is to thank Jahve, and invoke His help against the heathen (vers. 34 and 35)." This exposition of the symmetrical disposition of the psalm is not rendered questionable by the objections raised by Koehler, *l.c.*; nor can the recurrence of the individual parts of it in three different psalms of itself at all prove that in the Chronicle we have not the original form of the hymn. "There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that the author of Ps. xvi. may be the same as the author of Ps. cv. and cvi.; but even another might be induced by example to appropriate the first half of 1 Chron. xvi. 8 ff., as his predecessor had appropriated

cvi.) ver. 47 is the conclusion, a proper ending is wanting; while ver. 48, on the contrary, places the psalm on a level with Ps. ciii.-cv., cvii. Who can believe that the author himself, for the purpose of ending the fourth book with ver. 48, caused the psalm to extend to the 48th verse? In the Chronicle, the people whom the verse mentions are present from xv. 3-xvi. 2, while in the psalm no one can see how they should come in there. Whether the verse belong to the psalm or not, the turning to all the people, and the causing the people to say Amen, Amen, instead of the writer, has no parallel in the Psalms, and is explicable only on the supposition that it comes from the Chronicle. Afterwards a Diaskeuast might be satisfied to take the verse as the boundary-stone of a book."



the second, and it would naturally occur to him to supply from his own resources the continuation which had been already taken away and made use of" (Hitz. *l.c.*). A similar phenomenon is the recurrence of the second half of Ps. xl. 17 ff. as an independent psalm, Ps. lxx. "But it is also readily seen," continues Hitzig, "how easily the psalmist might separate the last three verses from each other (vers. 34 to 36 of the Chronicle), and set them as a frame round Ps. cvi. Ver. 34 is not less suitable in the Chronicle for the commencement of a paragraph than in Ps. cvii., while ver. 36 would admit of no continuation, but was the proper end. On the other hand, we can scarcely believe that the chronicler compiled his song first from Ps. cv., then from Ps. xcvi., and lastly from Ps. cvi., striking off from this latter only the beginning and the end."

Finally, if we compare the text of our hymn with the text of these psalms, the divergences are of such a sort that we cannot decide with certainty which of the two texts is the original. To pass over such critically indifferent variations as **בִּיהוּ**, Chron. ver. 12, for **בִּי**, Ps. cv. 5; the omission of the *nota acc.* **אֶת**, Chron. ver. 18, compared with Ps. cv. 10, and *vice versa* in Ps. xcvi. 3 and Chron. ver. 24; **עֲצֵי הַיָּעַר**, Chron. ver. 33, instead of **כָּל־עֲצֵי הַיָּעַר**, Ps. xcvi. 12,—the chronicler has in **יִצְחָק**, ver. 16, instead of **יִשְׁחָק**, Ps. cv. 9, and **יַעֲלֶץ**, ver. 32, instead of **יַעֲלֹ**, Ps. xcvi. 12, the earlier and more primitive form; in **בְּנִבְיָאֵי אֶל תִּרְעֵשׁ**, ver. 22, instead of **לְנִבְיָאֵי אֶל תִּרְעֵשׁ**, Ps. cv. 15, a quite unusual construction; and in **כִּיּוֹם אֶל יוֹם**, ver. 23, the older form (cf. Num. xxx. 15), instead of **כִּיּוֹם לְיוֹם**, Ps. xcvi. 2, as in Esth. iii. 7; while, on the other hand, instead of the unexampled phrase **לְעֶשְׂקֶם**, Ps. cv. 14, there stands in the Chronicle the usual phrase **לְהִנָּחֵם**, and **שׁוּי** in Ps. xcvi. 12 is the poetical form for the **הַשָּׁרָה** of Chron. ver. 32. More important are the wider divergences: not so much **וְנָתַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ**, Chron. ver. 13, for **וְנָתַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ**, Ps. cv. 6, in which latter case it is doubtful whether the **עֲבָדֵינוּ** refers to the patriarchs or to the people, and consequently, as the *parallelismus membrorum* demands the latter reference, **יִשְׂרָאֵל** is clearly the more correct and intelligible; but rather the others, viz. **וְנָתַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ**, Chron. ver. 15, for **וְנָתַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ**, Ps. cv. 8; since **וְנָתַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ** not only corresponds to the **וְנָתַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ** of ver. 11, but also to the use made of the song for the purposes stated in the Chronicle; while, on the contrary, **וְנָתַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ** of the psalm corresponds to the object of the psalm, viz. to exalt the covenant grace shown to the patriarchs. Connected with this also is the

reading בְּהִיוֹתְכֶם, "when ye (sons of Jacob) were" (ver. 19), instead of בְּהִיוֹתָם, Ps. cv. 12, "when they (the patriarchs) were," since the narrative of what the Lord had done demanded בְּהִיוֹתָם. Now the more likely the reference of the words to the patriarchs was to suggest itself, the more unlikely is the hypothesis of an alteration into בְּהִיוֹתְכֶם; and the text of the Chronicle being the more difficult, is consequently to be regarded as the earlier. Moreover, the divergences of vers. 23 to 33 of our hymn from Ps. xcvi. are such as would result from its having been prepared for the above-mentioned solemn festival. The omission of the two strophes, "Sing unto Jahve a new song, sing unto Jahve, bless His name" (Ps. xcvi. 1a and 2a), in ver. 23 of the Chronicle might be accounted for by regarding that part of our hymn as an abridgment by the chronicler of the original song, when connecting it with the preceding praise of God, were it certain on other grounds that Ps. xcvi. was the original; but if the chronicler's hymn be the original, we may just as well believe that this section was amplified when it was made into an independent psalm. A comparison of ver. 33 (Chron.) with the end of the 96th Psalm favours this last hypothesis, for in the Chronicle the repetition of כִּי בָּא is wanting, as well as the second hemistich of Ps. xcvi. 13. The whole of the 13th verse recurs, with a single כִּי בָּא, at the end of the 98th Psalm (ver. 9), and the thought is borrowed from the Davidic Psalm ix. 9. The strophes in the beginning of Ps. xcvi., which are omitted from Chron. ver. 16, often recur. The phrase, "Sing unto Jahve a new song," is met with in Ps. xxxiii. 3, xcvi. 1, and cxlix. 1, and שִׁיר חֲדָשׁ in Ps. xl. 4, a Davidic psalm. בָּרְכוּ אֶת־שְׁמוֹ is also met with in Ps. c. 4; and still more frequently בָּרְכוּ אֶת־יְהוָה, in Ps. ciii. 20, 22, cxxxiv. 1, and elsewhere, even as early as Deborah's song, Judg. v. 2, 9; while שִׁיר לַיהוָה occurs in the song of Moses, Ex. xv. 1. Since, then, the strophes of the 96th Psalm are only reminiscences of, and phrases which we find in, the oldest religious songs of the Israelites, it is clear that Ps. xcvi. is not an original poem. It is rather the re-grouping of well-known and current thoughts; and the fact that it is so, favours the belief that all which this psalm contains at the beginning and end, which the Chronicle does not contain, is merely an addition made by the poet who transformed this part of the chronicler's hymn into an independent psalm for liturgical purposes. This purpose clearly appears in such variations as וְתִפְאֶרֶת בְּמִקְדָּשׁוֹ, Ps. xcvi. 6, instead

of *חֲדָרָה בְּמִקְדָּשׁוֹ*, Chron. ver. 27, and *וַיִּבְנוּ לְחִצְרוֹתָיו*, Ps. xcvi. 8, instead of *וַיִּבְנוּ לְפָנָיו*, Chron. ver. 29. Neither the word *מִקְדָּשׁ* nor the mention of "courts" is suitable in a hymn sung at the consecration of the holy tent in Zion, for at that time the old national sanctuary with the altar in the court (the tabernacle) still stood in Gibeon. Here, therefore, the text of the Chronicle corresponds to the circumstances of David's time, while the mention of *מִקְדָּשׁ* and of courts in the psalm presupposes the existence of the temple with its courts as the sanctuary of the people of Israel. Now a post-exilic poet would scarcely have paid so much attention to this delicate distinction between times and circumstances as to alter, in the already existing psalms, out of which he compounded this festal hymn, the expressions which were not suitable to the Davidic time. Against this, the use of the unusual word *חֲדָרָה*, joy, which occurs elsewhere only in Neh. x. 8, 10, and in Chaldee in Ezra vi. 18, is no valid objection, for the use of the verb *חָדַר* as early as Ex. xviii. 9 and Job iii. 6 shows that the word does not belong to the later Hebrew. The discrepancy also between vers. 30 and 31 and Ps. xcvi. 9-11, namely, the omission in the Chronicle of the strophe *יֵרֵךְ עַמִּים בְּמִישְׁרֵיהֶם* (Ps. ver. 10), and the placing of the clause *וַיֹּאמְרוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֶלֶךְ יְהוָה* after *וַתִּגַּל הָאָרֶץ* (Chron. ver. 31, cf. Ps. xcvi. 10), does not really prove anything as to the priority of Ps. xcvi. Hitzig, indeed, thinks that since by the omission of the one member the parallelism of the verses is disturbed, and a triple verse appears where all the others are double merely, and because by this alteration the clause, "Say among the people, Jahve is King," has come into an apparently unsuitable position, between an exhortation to the heaven and earth to rejoice, and the roaring of the sea and its fulness, this clause must have been unsuitably placed by a copyist's error. But the transposition cannot be so explained; for not only is that one member of the verse misplaced, but also the *וַיֹּאמְרוּ* of the psalm is altered into *וַיֹּאמְרוּ*, and moreover, we get no explanation of the omission of the strophe *יֵרֵךְ וְנֹ*. If we consider *וַיֹּאמְרוּ* (with 1 consecutive), "then will they say," we see clearly that it corresponds to *וְנֹ יֵרֵכְנוּ וְנֹ* in ver. 33; and in ver. 30 the recognition of Jahve's kingship over the peoples is represented as the issue and effect of the joyful exultation of the heaven and earth, just as in vers. 32 and 33 the joyful shouting of the trees of the field before Jahve as He comes to judge the earth, is regarded as the result of the roaring of the sea and the gladness of the fields. The

אָמְרוּ of the psalm, on the other hand, the summons to the Israelites to proclaim that Jahve is King among the peoples, is, after the call, "Let the whole earth tremble before Him," a somewhat tame expression; and after it, again, we should not expect the much stronger אָף תִּבְּזוּ וְנִי. When we further consider that the clause which follows in the Chronicle, "He will judge the people in uprightness," is a reminiscence of Ps. ix. 9, we must hold the text of the Chronicle to be here also the original, and the divergences in Ps. xcvi. for alterations, which were occasioned by the changing of a part of our hymn into an independent psalm. Finally, there can be no doubt as to the priority of the chronicler's hymn in vers. 34–36. The author of the Chronicle did not require to borrow the liturgical formula הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה כִּי טוֹב וְנִי from Ps. cvi. 1, for it occurs in as complete a form in Ps. cvii. 1, cxviii. 1, 29, cxxxvi. 1, and, not to mention 2 Chron. v. 13, vii. 3, xx. 21, is a current phrase with Jeremiah (xxxiii. 11), and is without doubt an ancient liturgical form. Vers. 35 and 36, too, contain such divergences from Ps. cvi. 47 and 48, that it is in the highest degree improbable that they were borrowed from that psalm. Not only is the prayer הוֹשִׁיעֵנו וְנִי introduced by אָמְרוּ, but also, instead of יהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ of the psalm, we have אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; and to וְהַיִּלֵּט, וְקִבְּצֵנוּ is added,—a change which causes the words to lose the reference to the Chaldean exile contained in the text of the Psalms. The post-exilic author of the Chronicle would scarcely have obliterated this reference, and certainly would not have done so in such a delicate fashion, had he taken the verse from Ps. cvi. A much more probable supposition is, that the post-exilic author of the 106th Psalm appropriated the concluding verse of David's to him well-known hymn, and modified it to make it fit into his poem. Indubitable instances of such alterations are to be found in the conclusion, where the statement of the chronicler, that all the people said Amen and praised Jahve, is made to conform to the psalm, beginning as it does with Halleluiah, by altering וְיֹאמְרוּ into וְאָמְרוּ, "and let them say," and of הַיִּלֵּט לַיהוָה into הַלְלֵיָהּ.

On the whole, therefore, we must regard the opinion that David composed our psalm for the above-mentioned festival as by far the most probable. The psalm itself needs no further commentary; but compare Delitzsch on the parallel psalms and parts of psalms.

Vers. 37–43. *Division of the Levites for the management of*

*the public worship.*—At the same time as he set up the ark in the tent erected for it on Mount Zion, David had prepared a new locality for the public worship. The Mosaic tabernacle had continued, with its altar of burnt-offering, to be the general place of worship for the congregation of Israel even during the long period when the ark was separated from it, and it was even yet to be so; and it became necessary, in order to carry on the religious service in both of these sanctuaries, to divide the staff of religious officials: and this David now undertook.—Ver. 37. Before the ark he left Asaph with his brethren (לְפָנֵי הָאֲרוֹן *accus. obj.*, according to the later usage), to serve, to minister there continually. לְכִבְדּוֹתָם בְּיָמָיו, “according to the matter of the day on its day,” *i.e.* according to the service necessary for each day; cf. for this expression, Ex. v. 13, 19, xvi. 4, etc. “And Obed-edom and their brethren.” In these words there is a textual error: the plural suffix in אֲחֵיהֶם shows that after לְכִבְדּוֹתָם at least one name has been dropped out. But besides that, the relation in which the words, “and Obed-edom the son of Jeduthun, and Hosah, to be porters,” stand to the preceding clause, “and Obed-edom and their brethren,” is obscure. Against the somewhat general idea, that the words are to be taken in an explicative sense, “and Obed-edom indeed,” etc., the objection suggests itself, that Obed-edom is here defined to be the son of Jeduthun, and would seem to be thereby distinguished from the preceding Obed-edom. In addition to that, in xv. 21 an Obed-edom is mentioned among the singers, and in ver. 24 one of the doorkeepers bears that name, and they are clearly distinguished as being different persons (see p. 206). On the other hand, however, the identity of the two Obed-edoms in our verse is supported by the fact that in chap. xxvi. 4-8 the doorkeepers Obed-edom with his sons and brethren number sixty-two, which comes pretty nearly up to the number mentioned in our verse, viz. sixty-eight. Yet we cannot regard this circumstance as sufficient to identify the two, and must leave the question undecided, because the text of our verse is defective. Jeduthun the father of Obed-edom is different from the chief musician Jeduthun (= Ethan); for the chief musician is a descendant of Merari, while the doorkeeper Jeduthun belongs to the Korathites (*i.e.* Kohathites): see on xxvi. 4.—Ver. 39. וְזָדוֹק is still dependent on the וְעֹזֶיךָ in ver. 37. The priest Zadok with his brethren he left before the tent of Jahve, *i.e.* the tabernacle at the Bamah in Gibeon. For בָּמָה

see on 2 Chron. i. 13, and for Zadok on v. 38. It is surprising here that no priest is named as superintendent or overseer of the sacrificial worship in the tent of the ark of the covenant. But the omission is accounted for by the fact that our chapter treats properly only of the arrangement of the sacred music connected with the worship, and Zadok is mentioned as overseer of the sanctuary of the tabernacle at Gibeon only in order to introduce the statement as to the Levitic singers and players assigned to that sanctuary. Without doubt Abiathar as high priest had the oversight of the sacrificial worship in the sanctuary of the tabernacle: see on xviii. 16; with ver. 40 cf. Ex. xxix. 38, Num. xxviii. 3, 6. לְכָל־הַכֹּהֲנִים corresponds to לְהַעֲלוֹת: and in reference to all, *i.e.* to look after all, which was written. This refers not only to the bringing of the sacrifices prescribed, in addition to the daily burnt-offering, but in general to everything that it was the priests' duty to do in the sanctuary.—Ver. 41. וְעִמָּם, and with them (with Zadok and his brethren) were Heman and Jeduthun, *i.e.* Ethan (the two other chief musicians, xv. 19), with the other chosen famous, *sc.* singers (נִגְבְּוֵי בְשִׁמּוֹת, see on xii. 31). To these belonged those of the number named in xv. 18–21, 24, who are not mentioned among those assigned to Asaph in xvi. 5 and 6, and probably also a number of others whose names have not been handed down. In ver. 42, if the text be correct, וְעִמָּם וְיְהוֹנָתָן can only be in apposition to וְעִמָּם: “and with them, *viz.* with Heman and Jeduthun, were trumpets,” etc. But, not to mention the difficulty that passages analogous and parallel to this statement are not to be found, the mention of these two chief musicians in the connection is surprising; for the musical instruments mentioned are not merely the מְצִלְתִּים (*s.* xv. 19) played by them, but also the הַצִּצְרִית which the priests blew, and other instruments. Moreover, the names Heman and Jeduthun are not found here in the LXX., and have probably been inserted in our verse by some copyist from ver. 41, which likewise begins with וְעִמָּם. If we omit these names, then, the verse contains no other difficulty worthy of consideration, or any which would occasion or necessitate such violent alterations of the text as Berth. has proposed. The suffix in וְעִמָּם refers to the persons mentioned in ver. 41, Heman, Jeduthun, and the other chosen ones. “With them were,” *i.e.* they had by them, trumpets, cymbals, etc. The ל before מְצִלְתִּים is strange, since מְצִלְתִּים is in xv. 16 connected with מְצִלְתִּים as an adjective, and in xv. 19

we have לְהַשְׁמִיעַ. But if we compare ver. 5 of our chapter, where מְשִׁמֵּעַ is predicate to Asaph, "Asaph gave forth clear notes with cymbals," then here also לְהַשְׁמִיעַ in connection with מְשִׁמֵּעַ is thoroughly justified in the signification, "and cymbals for those who gave forth the notes or the melody," i.e. for Heman and Jeduthun. כְּלֵי שִׁיר הָאֵלֹהִים are the other instruments used in the service of song, viz. the *nablia* and *kinnoroth*. "The sons of Jeduthun for the gate," i.e. as doorkeepers. As Obed-edom, who was doorkeeper by the ark, according to ver. 38, was likewise a son of Jeduthun, here other sons of the same Jeduthun, brothers of Obed-edom, must be meant, the number of whom, if we may judge from xxvi. 8, was very considerable; so that the members of this family were able to attend to the doorkeeping both by the ark and in the tabernacle at Gibeon.—Ver. 43 brings the account of the transfer of the ark to a conclusion, and coincides in substance with 2 Sam. vi. 19 and 20a, where, however, there follows in addition a narrative of the scene which David had with his wife Michal. This, as *res domestica*, the author of the Chronicle has omitted, since the reference to it in xv. 29 seemed sufficient for the design of his work. לְבָרֵךְ is not to greet, but to bless his house, just as in ver. 2 he had already pronounced a blessing on his people in the name of God.

CHAP. XVII.—DAVID'S DESIGN TO BUILD A TEMPLE, AND THE  
CONFIRMATION OF HIS KINGDOM.

In the Chronicle, as in the second book of Samuel chap. vii., the account of the removal of the ark to the city of David is immediately followed by the narrative of David's design to build a temple to the Lord; and this arrangement is adopted on account of the connection between the subjects, though the events must have been separated by a period of several years. Our account of this design of David's, with its results for him and for his kingdom, is in all essential points identical with the parallel account, so that we may refer to the commentary on 2 Sam. vii. for any necessary explanation of the matter. The differences between the two narratives are in great part of a merely formal kind; the author of the Chronicle having sought to make the narrative more intelligible to his contemporaries, partly by using later phrases current in his own time, such as אֱלֹהִים for יהוה, מְשִׁמֵּעַ for מְשִׁמֵּעַ, partly by simplifying and explaining the bolder

and more obscure expressions. Very seldom do we find divergences in the subject-matter which alter the meaning or make it appear to be different. To supplement and complete the commentary already given on 2d Samuel, we will now shortly treat of these divergences. In ver. 1, the statement that David communicated his purpose to build a temple to the Lord to the prophet Nathan, "when Jahve had given him rest from all his enemies round about," is wanting. This clause, which fixes the time, has been omitted by the chronicler to avoid the apparent contradiction which would have arisen in case the narrative were taken chronologically, seeing that the greatest of David's wars, those against the Philistines, Syrians, and Ammonites, are narrated only in the succeeding chapter. As to this, cf. the discussion on 2 Sam. vii. 1-3.—In ver. 10, *לְמַעַן*, like *לְמַעַן הַיּוֹם* (Sam. ver. 11), is to be connected with the preceding *בְּרֵאשִׁית* in this sense: "As in the beginning (i.e. during the sojourn in Egypt), and onward from the days when I appointed judges," i.e. during the time of the judges. *לְמַן* is only a more emphatic expression for *לְ*, to mark off the time from the beginning as it were (cf. Ew. § 218, d), and is wrongly translated by Berth. "until the days." In the same verse, *וְהִכַּנְתִּי*, "I bow, humble all thine enemies," substantially the same as the *וְהִנֵּחְתִּי*, "I give thee peace from all thine enemies" (Sam.); and the suffix in *אֵינִי* is not to be altered, as Berth. proposes, into that of the third person *אֵינִי*, either in the Chronicle or in Samuel, for it is quite correct; the divine promise returning at the conclusion to David direct, as in the beginning, vers. 7 and 8, while that which is said of the people of Israel in vers. 9 and 10a is only an extension of the words, "I will destroy all *thine* enemies before thee" (ver. 8).—In ver. 11, *לְלֶכֶת*, "to go with thy fathers," used of going the way of death, is similar to "to go the way of all the world" (1 Kings ii. 2), and is more primitive than the more usual *שָׁכַב עִם אֲבוֹת* (Sam. ver. 12). *אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה מְבַרֵּךְ*, too, is neither to be altered to suit *אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה מְבַרֵּךְ* of Samuel; nor can we consider it, with Berth., an alteration made by the author of the Chronicle to get rid of the difficulty, that here the birth of Solomon is only promised, while Nathan's speech was made at a time when David had rest from all his enemies round about (2 Sam. viii. 1), i.e., as is usually supposed, in the latest years of his life, and consequently after Solomon's birth. For the difficulty had already been got rid of by the omission of those words in ver. 1; and the word, "I have



cut off all thine enemies from before thee" (ver. 8), does not necessarily involve the destruction of all the enemies who ever rose against David, but refers, as the connection shows, only to the enemies who up till that time had attacked him. Had the author of the Chronicle only wished to get rid of this supposed difficulty, he would simply have omitted the clause, since "thy seed" included the sons of David, and needed no explanation if nothing further was meant than that one of his sons would ascend the throne after him. And moreover, the thought, "thy seed, which shall be among thy sons," which Bertheau finds in the words, would be expressed in Hebrew by *אֲשֶׁר מִבְּנֶיךָ*, while *אֲשֶׁר יֵהְיֶה מִבְּנֶיךָ* signifies, "who will come out of (from) thy sons;" for *יֵהְיֶה* does not denote to be of one, i.e. to belong to him, but to arise, be born, or go forth, from one: cf. Gen. xvii. 16; Eccles. iii. 20. According to this, the linguistically correct translation, the words cannot be referred to Solomon at all, because Solomon was not a descendant of David's sons, but of David himself.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Chronicle has interpreted *אֶת־זֶרְעוֹ אֲחֵרִיךָ* theologically, or rather set forth the Messianic contents of this conception more clearly than it was expressed in *אֲשֶׁר יֵהְיֶה מִבְּנֶיךָ*. The seed after David, which will arise from his sons, is the Messiah, whom the prophets announced as the Son of David, whose throne God will establish for ever (ver. 12). This Messianic interpretation of David's *זֶרַע* explains the divergence of the chronicler's text in vers. 13 and 14 from 2 Sam. vii. 14–16. For instance, the omission of the words after *בָּן* in ver. 13, "If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men" (Sam. ver. 14), is the result of the Messianic interpretation of *זֶרַע*, since the reference to the chastisement would of course be important for the earthly sons of David and the kings of Judah, but could not well find place in the case of the Messiah. The only thing said of this son of David is, that God will not withdraw His grace from him. The case is exactly similar, with the difference between ver. 14 and Sam. ver. 16. Instead of the words, "And thy house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee, thy throne shall be established for ever" (Sam.), the promise runs thus in the Chronicle: "And I will settle (*הִקְמִיד*, cause to stand, maintain, 1 Kings xv. 4; 2 Chron. ix. 8) him (the seed arising from thy sons) in my house and in my kingdom for ever, and his throne

<sup>1</sup> As old Lavater has correctly remarked: *Si tantum de Salomone hic locus accipiendus esset, non dixisset: semen quod erit de filiis tuis, sed quod erit de te.*

shall be established for evermore." While these concluding words of the promise are, in the narrative in Samuel, spoken to David, promising to him the eternal establishment of his house, his kingdom, and his throne, in the Chronicle they are referred to the seed of David, *i.e.* the Messiah, and promise to Him His establishment for ever in the house and kingdom of God, and the duration of His throne for ever. That בְּיָתִי here does not signify the congregation of the Lord, the people of Israel, as Berth. thinks it must be translated, is clear as the sun; for בְּיָתִי, immediately preceding, denotes the temple of Jahve, and בְּיָתִי manifestly refers back to לִי בְּיָתִי (ver. 12), while such a designation of the congregation of Israel or of the people as "house of Jahve" is unheard of in the Old Testament. The house of Jahve stands in the same relation to the kingdom of Jahve as a king's palace to his kingdom. The house which David's seed will build to the Lord is the house of the Lord in his kingdom: in this house and kingdom the Lord will establish Him for ever; His kingdom shall never cease; His rule shall never be extinguished; and He himself, consequently, shall live for ever. It scarcely need be said that such things can be spoken only of the Messiah. The words are therefore merely a further development of the saying, "I will be to him a Father, and I will not take my mercy away from him, and will establish his kingdom for ever," and tell us clearly and definitely what is implicitly contained in the promise, that David's house, kingdom, and throne will endure for ever (Sam.), *viz.* that the house and kingdom of David will be established for ever only under the Messiah. That this interpretation is correct is proved by the fact that the divergences of the text of the chronicler from the parallel narrative cannot otherwise be explained; Thenius and Berth. not having made even an attempt to show how וְהָעִמָּדִיתִי בְּבֵיתִי could have arisen out of וְנִבְנָה בְּיָתִי. The other differences between the texts in the verses in question, לִי (Chron.) for לְשִׁמִּי, אֶת כִּסֵּא מַלְכוּתוֹ for אֶת-כִּסֵּאוֹ, לְשִׁמִּי (Chron. ver. 12, cf. Sam. ver. 13), and מֵאֲשֶׁר הָיָה לְפָנָיִךְ instead of מֵעַם שָׂאֵל אֲשֶׁר וְנָה (Chron. ver. 13, cf. Sam. ver. 15), are only variations in expression which do not affect the sense. With reference to the last of them, indeed, Berth. has declared against Thenius, that the chronicler's text is thoroughly natural, and bears marks of being more authentic than that of 2 Sam. vii.

In the prayer of thanksgiving contained in vers. 16 to 27 we meet with the following divergences from the parallel text, which

are of importance for their effect on the sense.—Ver. 17b. Instead of the words *וְהָאֵת תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם* (Sam. ver. 19), the Chronicle has *וַיִּרְאֵיתִי כְּתוּר הָאָדָם הַפִּעֵלָה*, and sawest me (or, that thou sawest me) after the manner of men; *תּוֹר* being a contraction of *תּוֹרָה* = *תּוֹרָה*. *וַיִּרְאֵה*, to see, may denote to visit (cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 5; 2 Kings viii. 29), or look upon in the sense of regard, *respicere*. But the word *הַפִּעֵלָה* remains obscure in any case, for elsewhere it occurs only as a substantive, in the significations, “the act of going up” (or drawing up) (Ezra vii. 9), “that which goes up” (Ezek. xi. 5), “the step;” while for the signification “height” (*locus superior*) only this passage is adduced by Gesenius in *Thes*. But even had the word this signification, the word *הַפִּעֵלָה* could not signify *in loco excelso* = *in cælis* in its present connection; and further, even were this possible, the translation *et me intuitus es more hominum in cælis* gives no tolerable sense. But neither can *הַפִּעֵלָה* be the vocative of address, and a predicate of God, “Thou height, Jahve God,” as Hgstb. *Christol.* i. p. 378 trans., takes it, with many older commentators. The passage Ps. xcii. 9, “Thou art כְּרוֹם, height, sublimity for ever, Jahve,” is not sufficient to prove that in our verse *הַפִּעֵלָה* is predicated of God. Without doubt, *הַפִּעֵלָה* should go with *וַיִּרְאֵיתִי וְגו'*, and appears to correspond to the *לְמַרְחֹק* of the preceding clause, in the signification: as regards the elevation, in reference to the going upwards, i.e. the exaltation of my race (seed) on high. The thought would then be this: After the manner of men, so condescendingly and graciously, as men have intercourse with each other, hast Thou looked upon or visited me in reference to the elevation of myself or my race,—the text of the Chronicle giving an explanation of the parallel narrative.<sup>1</sup> The divergence in ver. 18, *אֵלֶיךָ לִכְבוֹד אֲתִעַבְּדָה*,

<sup>1</sup> This interpretation of this extremely difficult word corresponds in sense to the not less obscure words in 2d Samuel, and gives us, without any alteration of the text, a more fitting thought than the alterations in the reading proposed by the moderns. Ewald and Berth. would alter *וַיִּרְאֵיתִי וְגו'* into *וַיִּרְאֵיתִי וְגו'* (Hiph.), and *הַפִּעֵלָה* into *לְמַרְחֹק*, in order to get the meaning, “Thou hast caused me to see like the series of men upwards,” i.e. the line of men who stretch from David outward into the far future in unbroken series, which Thenius rightly calls a thoroughly modern idea. Böttcher's attempt at explanation is much more artificial. He proposes, in *N. k. Aehrenlese*, iii. S. 225, to read *לְמַרְחֹק . . . וַיִּרְאֵיתִי*, and translates: “so that I saw myself, as the series of men who follow upwards shall see me, i.e. so that I could see myself as posterity will see me, at the head of a continuous family of rulers;” where the main idea has to be supplied.

instead of לְרִפְּרִי אֱלֹהִים (Sam. ver. 20), which cannot be an explanation or interpretation of Samuel's text, is less difficult of explanation. The words in Samuel, "What can David say more unto Thee?" have in this connection the very easily understood signification, What more can I say of the promise given me? and needed no explanation. When, instead of this, we read in the Chronicle, "What more can Thy servant add to Thee in regard to the honour to Thy servant?" an unprejudiced criticism must hold this text for the original, because it is the more difficult. It is the more difficult, not only on account of the omission of לְרִפְּרִי, which indeed is not absolutely necessary, though serving to explain יוֹסִיף, but mainly on account of the unusual construction of the *nomen* כְּבוֹד with אֶת-עַבְדְּךָ, honour towards Thy servant. The construction יהוה את יָדָעִה is not quite analogous, for כְּבוֹד is not a *nomen actionis* like יָדָעִה; כָּבַד אֶת- is rather connected with the practice which begins to obtain in the later language of employing אֶת as a general *casus obliquus*, instead of any more definite preposition (Ew. § 277, d, S. 683 f., der 7 Aufl.), and is to be translated: "honour concerning Thy servant." The assertion that אֶת-עַבְדְּךָ is to be erased as a later gloss which has crept into the text, cuts the knots, but does not untie them. That the LXX. have not these words, only proves that these translators did not know what to make of them, and so just omitted them, as they have omitted the first clause of ver. 19. In ver. 19 also there is no valid ground for altering the בַּעֲבוּרֵי עַבְדְּךָ of the Chronicle to make it correspond to בַּעֲבוּרֵי דָבָר in Samuel; for the words, "for Thy servant's sake," i.e. because Thou hast chosen Thy servant, give a quite suitable sense; cf. the discussion on 2 Sam. vii. 21. In the second half of the verse, however, the more extended phrases of 2d Samuel are greatly contracted.—Ver. 21. The combining of גָּדְלוֹת וְנוֹרָאוֹת with לָשׂוּם לָךְ שֵׁם as one sentence, "to make Thee a name with great and fearful deeds," is made clearer in 2d Samuel by the interpolation of וְלַעֲשׂוֹת לָכֶם, "and for you doing great and fearful things." This explanation, however, does not justify us in supposing that וְלַעֲשׂוֹת has been dropped out of the Chronicle. The words גָּדְלוֹת וְנוֹרָאוֹת are either to be subordinated in a loose connection to the clause, to define the way in which God has made Himself a name (cf. Ew. § 283), or connected with שֵׁם in a pregnant sense: "to make Thee a name, (doing) great and fearful things." But, on the other hand, the converse expression in Samuel, "fearful things for Thy land, before

Thy people which Thou redeemedst to Thee from Egypt (from) the nations and their gods," is explained in Chronicles by the interpolation of לַיִּיִּשׁ: "fearful things, to drive out before Thy people, which . . . nations." The divergences cannot be explained by the hypothesis that both texts are mutilated, as is sufficiently shown by the contradictions into which Thenius and Bertheau have fallen in their attempts so to explain them.

All the remaining divergences of one text from the other are only variations of the expression, such as involuntarily arise in the endeavour to give a clear and intelligible narrative, without making a literal copy of the authority made use of. Among these we include even מָצָא עֲבָדְךָ לְהַחֲמִיל, "Thy servant hath found to pray" (Chron. ver. 25), as compared with מָצָא עֲבָדְךָ אֶת־לִבּוֹ לְהַחֲמִיל, "Thy servant hath found his heart," i.e. found courage, to pray (Sam. ver. 28); where it is impossible to decide whether the author of the books of Samuel has added אֶת־לִבּוֹ as an explanation, or the author of the Chronicle has omitted it because the phrase "to find his heart" occurs only in this single passage of the Old Testament. מָצָא עֲבָדְךָ לֵה' signifies, Thy servant has reached the point of directing this prayer to Thee.

CHAP. XVIII.—XX.—DAVID'S WARS AND VICTORIES; HIS PUBLIC OFFICIALS; SOME HEROIC DEEDS DONE IN THE PHILISTINE WARS.

The events recorded in these three chapters are all narrated in the second book of Samuel also, and in the same order. First, there are grouped together in our 18th chapter, and in 2 Sam. viii., in such a manner as to afford a general view of the whole, all the wars which David carried on victoriously against all his enemies round about in the establishment of the Israelitish rule, with a short statement of the results, followed by a catalogue of David's chief public officials. In chap. xix. and in 2 Sam. x. we have a more detailed account of the arduous war against the Ammonites and Syrians, and in chap. xx. 1-3 and 2 Sam. xii. 26-31 the conclusion of the war with the capture of Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites; and finally, in chap. xx. 4-8, we have a few short accounts of the victories of the Israelitish heroes over giants from the land of the Philistines, which are inserted in 2 Sam. xxi. 18-22 as a supplement to the last section of David's history. Apart from this last section, which is to be regarded even in the

Chronicle as an appendix, we find the arrangement and succession of the events to be the same in both books, since the sections which in 2 Sam. ix. and xi. 1-12, 25, stand between the histories of the wars, contain sketches of David's family life, which the author of the Chronicle has, in accordance with his plan, omitted. Even as to individual details the two narratives are perfectly agreed, the divergences being inconsiderable; and even these, in so far as they are original, and are not results of careless copying,—as, for instance, the omission of the word נָצִיחַ, xviii. 6, as compared with ver. 13 and 2 Sam. viii. 6, and the difference in the numbers and names in chap. xviii. 4, 8, as compared with 2 Sam. iv. 4, 8, are,—are partly mere explanations of obscure expressions, partly small additions or abridgments. For the commentary, therefore, we may refer to the remarks on 2d Samuel, where the divergences of the Chronicle from the record in Samuel are also dealt with. With chap. xviii. 1-13 cf. 2 Sam. viii. 1-14; and with the register of public officials, xviii. 14-17, cf. 2 Sam. viii. 15-18.

Examples of paraphrastic explanation are found in chap. xviii. 1, where the figurative expression, David took the bridle of the mother out of the hands of the Philistines, *i.e.* deprived them of the hegemony, is explained by the phrase, David took Gath and her cities out of the hands of the Philistines, *i.e.* took from the Philistines the capital with her daughter cities; and in ver. 17, פְּהִינִים is rendered by, the first at the king's hand. Among the abridgments, the omission of David's harsh treatment of the Moabites who were taken prisoners is surprising, no reason for it being discoverable; for the assertion that the chronicler has purposely omitted it in order to free David from the charge of such barbarous conduct, is disposed of by the fact that he does not pass over in silence the similar treatment of the conquered inhabitants of Rabbah in chap. xx. 3. Instead of this, the chronicler has several historical notes peculiar to himself, which are wanting in the text of Samuel, and which prove that the author of the Chronicle has not derived his account from the second book of Samuel. Such, *e.g.*, is the statement in chap. xviii. 8, that Solomon caused the brazen sea and the pillars and vessels of the court of the temple to be made of the brass taken as booty in the war against Hadadezer; in ver. 11, the word מִאֲדָוִים, which is wanting in Samuel, as מִאֲרָרִים, which in ver. 11 of that book is used in place of it, probably stood originally in the

Chronicle also. Such also are the more accurate statements in ver. 12 as to the victory over the Edomites in the Valley of Salt (see on 2 Sam. viii. 13).

The same phenomena are met with in the detailed account of the Ammonite-Syriac war, chap. xix. 1, 2, xx. 3, as compared with 2 Sam. x. 1–xi. 1, and xii. 26–31. In xix. 1 the omission of the name חֲנָן after בְּנוֹ is merely an oversight, as the omission of the name נָחֻשׁ in 2 Sam. x. 1 $\alpha$  also is. In ver. 3 there is no need to alter חָקַר אֶת־הָעִיר וְלָרְגָלָהּ וְנָוִה into חָקַר וְלָרְגָלָהּ וְנָוִה, 2 Sam. x. 3, although the expression in Samuel is more precise. If the actual words of the original document are given in Samuel, the author of the Chronicle has made the thought more general: “to search and to overthrow, and to spy out the land.” Perhaps, however, the terms made use of in the original document were not so exact and precise as those of the book of Samuel. In vers. 6, 7, at least, the divergence from 2 Sam. x. 16 cannot be explained otherwise than by supposing that in neither of the narratives is the text of the original document exactly and perfectly reproduced. For a further discussion of the differences, see on 2 Sam. x. 6. The special statement as to the place where the mercenaries encamped, and the Ammonites gathered themselves together from out their cities (ver. 7), is wanting in 2d Samuel. The city Medeba, which, according to Josh. xiii. 16, was assigned to the tribe of Reuben, lay about two hours south-east from Heshbon, and still exists as ruins, which retain the ancient name Medaba (see on Num. xxi. 30). In ver. 9, פָּתַח הָעִיר, “outside the city” (*i.e.* the capital Rabbah), more correct or exact than פָּתַח הָעִשָּׂר (Sam. ver. 8). On וַיָּבֹא אֲלֵיהֶם, as compared with וַיָּבֹא חֲלָאֲמָה (Sam. ver. 17), cf. the discussion on 2 Sam. x. 16, 17.

The account of the siege of Rabbah, the capital, in the following year, chap. xx. 1–3, is much abridged as compared with that in 2 Sam. xi. 1, xii. 26–31. After the clause, “but David sat (remained) in Jerusalem,” in 2 Sam. xi., from ver. 2 onwards, we have the story of David’s adultery with Bathsheba, and the events connected with it (2 Sam. xi. 3–xii. 25), which the author of the Chronicle has omitted, in accordance with the plan of his book. Thereafter, in 2 Sam. xii. 26, the further progress of the siege of Rabbah is again taken up with the words, “And Joab warred against Rabbah of the sons of Ammon;” and in vers. 27–29 the capture of that city is cir-

cumstantially narrated, viz. how Joab, after he had taken the water-city, i.e. the city lying on both banks of the upper Jabbok (the Wady Ammán), with the exception of the Acropolis built on a hill on the north side of the city, sent messages to David, and called upon him to gather together the remainder of the people, i.e. all those capable of bearing arms who had remained in the land; and how David, having done this, took the citadel. Instead of this, we have in the Chronicle only the short statement, "And Joab smote Rabbah, and destroyed it" (xx. 1, at the end). After this, both narratives (Chron. vers. 2, 3, and Sam. vers. 30, 31) coincide in narrating how David set the heavy golden crown of the king of the Ammonites on his head, brought much booty out of the city, caused the prisoners of war taken in Rabbah and the other fenced cities of the Ammonites to be slain in the cruellest way, and then returned with all the people, i.e. with the whole of his army, to Jerusalem. Thus we see that, according to the record in the Chronicle also, David was present at the capture of the Acropolis of Rabbah, then put on the crown of the Ammonite king, and commanded the slaughter of the prisoners; but no mention is made of his having gone to take part in the war. By the omission of this circumstance the narrative of the Chronicle becomes defective; but no reason can be given for this abridgment of the record, for the contents of 2 Sam. xii. 26-39 must have been contained in the original documents made use of by the chronicler. On the differences between ver. 31 (Sam.) and ver. 3 of the Chronicle, see on 2 Sam. xii. 31. הָעָרַךְ, "he sawed asunder," is the correct reading, and הָעָרַם in Samuel is an orthographical error; while, on the contrary, בְּמַגֵּרֹת in the Chronicle is a mistake for בְּמַגֵּרֹת in Samuel. The omission of וְהָעָרַךְ אוֹתָם בְּמַגֵּרֹת is probably explained by the desire to abridge; for if the author of the Chronicle does not scruple to tell of the sawing asunder of the prisoners with saws, and the cutting of them to pieces under threshing instruments and scythes, it would never occur to him to endeavour to soften David's harsh treatment of them by passing over in silence the burning of them in brick-kilns.

The passages parallel to the short appendix-like accounts of the valiant deeds of the Israelitish leaders in chap. xx. 4-8 are to be found, as has already been remarked, in 2 Sam. xxi. 18-24. There, however, besides the three exploits of which we are informed by the chronicler in vers. 15-17, a fourth is recorded,



and that in the first place too, viz. the narrative of David's fight with the giant Jishbi-Benob, who was slain by Abishai the son of Zeruiah. The reason why our historian has not recounted this along with the others is clear from the position which he assigns to these short narratives in his book. In the second book of Samuel they are recounted in the last section of the history of David's reign, as palpable proofs of the divine grace of which David had had experience during his whole life, and for which he there praises the Lord in a psalm of thanksgiving (2 Sam. xii.). In this connection, David's deliverance by the heroic act of Abishai from the danger into which he had fallen by the fierce attack which the Philistine giant Jishbi-Benob made upon him when he was faint, is very suitably narrated, as being a visible proof of the divine grace which watched over the pious king. For the concluding remark in 2 Sam. xxi. 17, that in consequence of this event his captains adjured David not to go any more into battle along with them, that the light of Israel might not be extinguished, shows in how great danger he was of being slain by this giant. For this reason the author of the book of Samuel has placed this event at the head of the exploits of the Israelite captains which he was about to relate, although it happened somewhat later in time than the three exploits which succeed. The author of the Chronicle, on the contrary, has made the account of these exploits an appendix to the account of the victorious wars by which David obtained dominion over all the neighbouring peoples, and made his name to be feared among the heathen, as a further example of the greatness of the power given to the prince chosen by the Lord to be over His people. For this purpose the story of the slaughter of the Philistine giant, who had all but slain the weary David, was less suitable, and is therefore passed over by the chronicler, although it was contained in his authority,<sup>1</sup> as is clear from the almost verbal coincidence of the stories which follow with 2 Sam. xxi. 18 ff. The very first is introduced by the formula, "It happened after this," which in 2d Samuel naturally connects the preceding narrative with this; while the chronicler has retained אַחֲרָיו as a general formula of transition,—omitting, however, עַד (Sam.) in the following clause, and writing וַתֵּצֵא, "there arose," instead of וַתֵּרֶם. וַתֵּרֶם in the later Hebrew is the same as קָם. The hypothesis that

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot says, in his *Chronol. V. T.* p. 68: *Illud prælium, in quo David in periculum venit et unde decore et illæsus exire non potuit, omissum est.*

וַחַמְדָּר has arisen out of וַחֲמִי עֹד (in Samuel) is not at all probable, although עֹד is not elsewhere used of the origin of a war. Even קִוָּם is only once (Gen. xli. 30) used of the coming, or coming in, of a time. On בָּנָה and כָּפִי instead of בָּנָה and כָּפָה, see on 2 Sam. xxi. 18. וַיִּכְנָע at the end of the fourth verse is worthy of remark, "And they (the Philistines) were humbled," which is omitted from Samuel, and "yet can scarcely have been arbitrarily added by our historian" (Berth.). This remark, however, correct as it is, does not explain the omission of the word from 2d Samuel. The reason for that can scarcely be other than that it did not seem necessary for the purpose which the author of the book of Samuel had in the first place in view. As to the two other exploits (vers. 6–8), see the commentary on 2 Sam. xxi. 19–22. אֵל for אֱלֹהִים in the closing remark (ver. 8) is archaic, but the omission of the article (אֵל instead of הָאֵל, as we find it in Gen. xix. 8, 25, and in other passages in the Pentateuch) cannot be elsewhere paralleled. In the last clause, "And they fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants," that David should be named is surprising, because none of those here mentioned as begotten of Rapha, i.e. descendants of the ancient Raphaite race, had fallen by the hand of David, but all by the hand of his servants. Bertheau therefore thinks that this clause has been copied *verbatim* into our passage, and also into 2 Sam. xxi. 22, from the original document, where this enumeration formed the conclusion of a long section, in which the acts of David and of his heroes, in their battles with the giants in the land of the Philistines, were described. But since the author of the second book of Samuel expressly says, "These four were born to Rapha, and they fell" (ver. 22), he can have referred in the words, "And they fell by the hand of David," only to the four above mentioned, whether he took the verse in question unaltered from his authority, or himself added אֵלֶיהֶם אֶת־עֲרֵבְתָּ אֱלֹהִים. In the latter case he cannot have added the בְּיַד־דָּוִד without some purpose; in the former, the reference of the בְּיַד־דָּוִד in the "longer section," from which the excerpt is taken, to others than the four giants mentioned, to Goliath perhaps in addition, whom David slew, is rendered impossible by אֶת־עֲרֵבְתָּ אֱלֹהִים. The statement, "they fell by the hand of David," does not presuppose that David had slain all of them, or even one of them, with his own *hand*; for בְּיַד frequently signifies only through, i.e. by means of, and denotes here that those giants fell in wars which David had

waged with the Philistines—that David had been the main cause of their fall, had brought about their death by his servants through the wars he waged.

CHAP. XXI.-XXII. 1.—THE NUMBERING OF THE PEOPLE, THE PESTILENCE, AND THE DETERMINATION OF THE SITE FOR THE TEMPLE (CF. 2 SAM. XXIV.).

The motive which influenced the king, in causing a census of the men capable of bearing arms throughout the kingdom to be taken in the last year of his reign, has already been discussed in the remarks on 2 Sam. xxiv., where we have also pointed out what it was which was so sinful and displeasing to God in the undertaking. We have, too, in the same place commented upon the various stages of its progress, taking note of the differences which exist between the numbers given in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, 13, 24, and those in our record, vers. 5, 12, 25; so that here we need only compare the two accounts somewhat more minutely. They correspond not merely in the main points of their narrative of the event, but in many places make use of the same terms, which shows that they have both been derived from the same source; but, at the same time, very considerable divergences are found in the conception and representation of the matter. In the very first verse, David's purpose is said in 2d Samuel to be the effect of the divine anger; in the Chronicle it is the result of the influence of Satan on David. Then, in 2 Sam. xxiv. 4-9, the numbering of the people is narrated at length, while in the Chronicle, vers. 4-6, only the results are recorded, with the remark that Joab did not complete the numbering, Levi and Benjamin not being included, because the king's command was an abomination to him. On the other hand, the Chronicle, in vers. 19-27, narrates the purchase of Araunah's threshing-floor for a place of sacrifice, and gives not merely a more circumstantial account of David's offering than we find in Samuel (vers. 19-25), but also states, in conclusion (vers. 28-30), the circumstances which induced David to offer sacrifice even afterwards, on the altar which he had built at the divine command, on the threshing-floor bought of Araunah. The purpose which the author of the Chronicle had in view in making this concluding remark is manifest from ver. 1 of chap. xxii., which should properly be connected with chap. xxi.: "And David said, Here is the house

of Jahve God, and here the altar for the burnt-offering of Israel." Only in this verse, as Bertheau has correctly remarked, do we find the proper conclusion of the account of the numbering of the people, the pestilence, and the appearance of the angel, and yet it is omitted in the book of Samuel; "although it is manifest from the whole connection, and the way in which the history of David and Solomon is presented in the books of Samuel and Kings, that the account is given there also only to point out the holiness of the place where Solomon built the temple even in the time of David, and to answer the question why that particular place was chosen for the site of the sanctuary." This remark is perfectly just, if it be not understood to mean that the author of our book of Samuel has given a hint of this purpose in his narrative; for the conclusion of 2 Sam. xxiv. 25, "And Jahve was entreated for the land, and the plague was stayed," is irreconcilable with any such idea. This concluding sentence, and the omission of any reference to the temple, or to the appointment of the altar built on the threshing-floor of Araunah to be a place of sacrifice for Israel, and of the introductory words of the narrative, "And again the wrath of Jahve was kindled against Israel, and moved David against them" (2 Sam. xxiv. 1), plainly show that the author of the book of Samuel regarded, and has here narrated, the event as a chastisement of the people of Israel for their rebellion against the divinely chosen king, in the revolts of Absalom and Sheba (cf. the remarks on 2 Sam. xxiv. 1). The author of the Chronicle, again, has without doubt informed us of the numbering of the people, and the pestilence, with its results, with the design of showing how God Himself had chosen and consecrated this spot to be the future place of worship for Israel, by the appearance of the angel, the command given to David through the prophet Gad to build an altar where the angel had appeared, and to sacrifice thereon, and by the gracious acceptance of this offering, fire having come down from heaven to devour it. For this purpose he did not require to give any lengthened account of the numbering of the people, since it was of importance to him only as being the occasion of David's humiliation.

Vers. 1-7. "And Satan stood up against Israel, and incited David to number Israel." The mention of Satan as the seducer of David is not to be explained merely by the fact that the Israelites in later times traced up everything contrary to God's will to this evil spirit, but in the present case arises from the

author's design to characterize David's purpose from the very beginning as an ungodly thing.—Ver. 2. The naming of the שָׂרֵי הָעָם along with Joab is in accordance with the circumstances, for we learn from 2 Sam. xxiv. 4 that Joab did not carry out the numbering of the people alone, but was assisted by the captains of the host. The object of וְהַכִּיאוּ אֵלַי, which is not expressed, the result of the numbering, may be supplied from the context. No objection need be taken to the simple כָּהֵם of ver. 3, instead of the double כָּהֵם וְכָהֵם in Samuel. The repetition of the same word, "there are so and so many of them," is a peculiarity of the author of the book of Samuel (cf. 2 Sam. xii. 8), while the expression in the Chronicle corresponds to that in Deut. i. 11. With the words הֲלֹא אֲרֵנִי וְנָתַתְּ, "Are they not, my lord king, all my lord's servants," i.e. subject to him? Joab allays the suspicion that he grudged the king the joy of reigning over a very numerous people. In Sam. ver. 3 the thought takes another turn; and the last clause, "Why should it (the thing or the numbering) become a trespass for Israel?" is wanting. אֲשָׁמָה denotes here a trespass which must be atoned for, not one which one commits. The meaning is therefore, Why should Israel expiate thy sin, in seeking thy glory in the power and greatness of thy kingdom? On the numbers, ver. 5, see on 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. In commenting on ver. 6, which is not to be found in Samuel, Berth. defends the statement that Joab did not make any muster of the tribes Levi and Benjamin, against the objections of de Wette and Gramberg, as it is done in my *apologet. Versuche*, S. 349 ff., by showing that the tribe of Levi was by law (cf. Num. i. 47-54) exempted from the censuses of the people taken for political purposes; and the tribe of Benjamin was not numbered, because David, having become conscious of his sin, stopped the numbering before it was completed (cf. also the remarks on 2 Sam. xxiv. 9). The reason given, "for the king's word was an abomination unto Joab," is certainly the subjective opinion of the historian, but is shown to be well founded by the circumstances, for Joab disapproved of the king's design from the beginning; cf. ver. 3 (Samuel and Chronicles).—In ver. 7, the author of the Chronicle, instead of ascribing the confession of sin on David's part which follows to the purely subjective motive stated in the words, "and David's heart smote him," i.e. his conscience (Sam. ver. 10a), has ascribed the turn matters took to objective causes: the thing displeased God; and antici-

pating the course of events, he remarks straightway, "and He (God) smote Israel." This, however, is no reason for thinking, with Berth., that the words have arisen out of a misinterpretation or alteration of 2 Sam. xxiv. 10a; for such anticipatory remarks, embracing the contents of the succeeding verses, not unfrequently occur in the historical books (cf. *e.g.* 1 Kings vi. 14, vii. 2).—In reference to vers. 8–10, see on 2 Sam. xxiv. 10–16.—In ver. 12, נִסְפָּה has not come into the text by mistake or by misreading נִסָּה (Sam. ver. 13), but is original, the author of the Chronicle describing the two latter evils more at length than Samuel does. The word is not a participle, but a noun formed from the participle, with the signification "perishing" (the being snatched away). The second parallel clause, "the sword of thine enemies to attaining" (so that it reach thee), serves to intensify. So also in reference to the third evil, the חֶרֶב יוֹמָה which precedes דָּכַר בְּאֶרֶץ, and the parallel clause added to both: "and the angel of the Lord destroying in the whole domain of Israel."—Ver. 15. וַיִּשְׁלַח הָאֱלֹהִים מַלְאָךְ לִיר, "And God sent an angel towards Jerusalem," gives no suitable sense. Not because of the improbability that God sent the angel with the commission to destroy Jerusalem, and at the same moment gives the contrary command, "Stay now," etc. (Berth.); for the reason of this change is given in the intermediate clause, "and at the time of the destroying the Lord repented it," and command and prohibition are not given "at the same moment;" but the difficulty lies in the indefinite מַלְאָךְ (without the article). For since the angel of Jahve is mentioned in ver. 12 as the bringer of the pestilence, in our verse, if it treats of the sending of this angel to execute the judgment spoken of, הַמַּלְאָךְ must necessarily be used, or אֵת הַמַּלְאָךְ, as in ver. 16; the indefinite מַלְאָךְ can by no means be used for it. In 2 Sam. xxiv. 16 we read, instead of the words in question, וַיִּשְׁלַח יְדוֹ הַמַּלְאָךְ יר, "and the angel stretched out his hand towards Jerusalem;" and Bertheau thinks that the reading הָאֱלֹהִים (in the Chron.) has arisen out of that, by the letters ידו being exchanged for יוֹמָה, and אֱלֹהִים being substituted for this divine name, as is often the case in the Chronicle; while Movers, S. 91, on the contrary, considers the reading of the Chronicle to be original, and would read יוֹמָה יִשְׁלַח in Samuel. But in that way Movers leaves the omission of the article before מַלְאָךְ in the Chronicle unexplained; and Bertheau's conjecture is opposed by the improbability of such a misunderstanding of a phrase so frequent and

so unmistakeable as יָשַׁלְח יְרֵוֹ, as would lead to the exchange supposed, ever occurring. But besides that, in Samuel the simple מִלְאֲךָ is strange, for the angel has not been spoken of there at all before, and the LXX. have consequently explained the somewhat obscure מִלְאֲךָ by ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ Θεοῦ. This explanation suggests the way in which the reading of our text arose. The author of the Chronicle, although he had already made mention of the מִלְאֲךָ יְהוָה in ver. 12, wrote in ver. 15 מִלְאֲךָ הָאֱלֹהִים, "the angel of God stretched (his hand) out towards Jerusalem," using הָאֱלֹהִים instead of יְהוָה,—as, for example, in Judg. vi. 20, 22, xiii. 6, 9, and 13, 15, 17. מִלְאֲךָ הָאֱלֹהִים alternates with מִלְאֲךָ יְהוָה, and omitting יְרֵוֹ with יָשַׁלְח, as is often done, e.g. 2 Sam. vi. 6, Ps. xviii. 17, etc. By a copyist מִלְאֲךָ and הָאֱלֹהִים have been transposed, and מִלְאֲךָ was then taken by the Masoretes for an accusative, and pointed accordingly. The expression is made clearer by וַיִּרְשָׁעֵהוּ, "And as he destroyed, Jahve saw, and it repented Him of the evil." The idea is: Just as the angel had begun to destroy Jerusalem, it repented God. כֵּן, adverb, "enough," as in 1 Kings xix. 4, etc., with a *dativ. commodi*, Deut. i. 6, etc. Bertheau has incorrectly denied this meaning of the word, connecting כֵּן with בָּעָם in 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, and desiring to alter our text to make it conform to that. In 2d Samuel also כֵּן is an adverb, as Thenius also acknowledges.

Vers. 16-26. The account of David's repentant beseeching of the Lord to turn away the primitive judgment, and the word of the Lord proclaimed to him by the prophet, commanding him to build an altar to the Lord in the place where the destroying angel visibly appeared, together with the carrying out of this divine command by the purchase of Araunah's threshing-floor, the erection of an altar, and the offering of burnt-offering, is given more at length in the Chronicle than in 2 Sam. xxiv. 17-25, where only David's negotiation with Araunah is more circumstantially narrated than in the Chronicle. In substance both accounts perfectly correspond, except that in the Chronicle several subordinate circumstances are preserved, which, as being minor points, are passed over in Samuel. In ver. 16, the description of the angel's appearance, that he had a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem, and the statement that David and the elders, clad in sackcloth (garments indicating repentance), fell down before the Lord; in ver. 20, the mention of Ornan's (Araunah's) sons, who hid themselves on beholding the angel, and of the fact that

Ornan was engaged in threshing wheat when David came to him; and the statement in ver. 26, that fire came down from heaven upon the altar,—are examples of such minor points. We have already commented on this section in our remarks on 2 Sam. xxiv. 17–25, and the account in the Chronicle is throughout correct and easily understood. Notwithstanding this, however, Bertheau, following Thenius and Böttcher, conjectures that the text is in several verses corrupt, and wishes to correct them by 2d Samuel. But these critics are misled by the erroneous presumption with which they entered upon the interpretation of the Chronicle, that the author of it used as his authority, and revised, our Masoretic text of the second book of Samuel. Under the influence of this prejudice, emendations are proposed which are stamped with their own unlikelihood, and rest in part even on misunderstandings of the narrative in the book of Samuel. Of this one or two illustrations will be sufficient. Any one who compares ver. 17 (Sam.) with vers. 16 and 17 of the Chronicle, without any pre-formed opinions, will see that what is there (Sam.) concisely expressed is more clearly narrated in the Chronicle. The beginning of ver. 17, “And David spake unto Jahve,” is entirely without connection, as the thought which forms the transition from ver. 16 to ver. 17, viz. that David was moved by the sight of the destroying angel to pray to God that the destruction might be turned away, is only brought in afterwards in the subordinate clause, “on seeing the angel.” This abrupt form of expression is got rid of in the Chronicle by the clause: “And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel . . . and fell . . . upon his face; and David spake to God.” That which in Samuel is crushed away into an infinitive clause subordinate to the principal sentence, precedes in the Chronicle, and is circumstantially narrated. Under these circumstances, of course, the author of the Chronicle could not afterwards in ver. 17 make use of the clause, “on seeing the angel who smote the people,” without tautology. Berth., on the contrary, maintains that ver. 16 is an interpolation of the chronicler, and proposes then to cull out from the words and letters בראו בראו אמרתי למנוחי בעם (Sam.), the words בראו אמרתי למנוחי בעם (Chron. ver. 17), great use being made in the process of the ever ready auxiliaries, mistakes, and a text which has become obscure. This is one example out of many. Ver. 16 of the Chronicle is not an addition which the Chronicle has interpolated between vers. 16 and 17 of Samuel, but a more detailed representa-



tion of the historical course of things. No mention is made in 2d Samuel of the drawn sword in the angel's hand, because there the whole story is very concisely narrated. This detail need not have been borrowed from Num. xxii. 23, for the drawn sword is a sensible sign that the angel's mission is punitive; and the angel, who is said to have visibly appeared in 2d Samuel also, could be recognised as the bearer of the judicial pestilence only by this emblem, such recognition being plainly the object of his appearance. The mention of the elders along with David as falling on their faces in prayer, clad in sackcloth, will not surprise any reader or critic who considers that in the case of so fearful a pestilence the king would not be alone in praying God to turn away the judgment. Besides, from the mention of the עֲבָדָיו of the king who went with David to Ornan (Sam. ver. 20), we learn that the king did not by himself take steps to turn away the plague, but did so along with his servants. In the narrative in 2d Samuel, which confines itself to the main point, the elders are not mentioned, because only of David was it recorded that his confession of sin brought about the removal of the plague. Just as little can we be surprised that David calls his command to number the people the *delictum* by which he had brought the judgment of the plague upon himself.—To alter בִּדְבָר, ver. 19, into בְּדָבָר, as Berth. wishes, would show little intelligence. בִּדְבָר, at Gad's word David went up, is proved by Num. xxxi. 16 to be good Hebrew, and is perfectly suitable.—Ver. 20. וַיֵּשֶׁב אֹרְנָן, “and Ornan turned him about,” is translated by Berth. incorrectly, “then Ornan turned back,” who then builds on this erroneous interpretation, which is contrary to the context, a whole nest of conjectures. וַיֵּשֶׁב is said to have arisen out of וַיִּשְׁקֶה, the succeeding וַיִּמְלֹךְ out of וַיִּשְׁלַח, וַיִּשְׁלַח out of וַיִּשְׁמַע (Sam. ver. 20), “by mistake and further alteration.” In saying this, however, he himself has not perceived that ver. 20 (Sam.) does not correspond to the 20th verse of the Chronicle at all, but to the 21st verse, where the words, “and Araunah looked out (וַיִּשְׁקֶה) and saw the king,” are parallel to the words, “and Ornan looked (וַיֵּשֶׁב) and saw David.” The 20th verse of the Chronicle contains a statement which is not found in Samuel, that Ornan (Araunah), while threshing with his four sons, turned and saw the angel, and being terrified at the sight, hid himself with his sons. After that, David with his train came from Zion to the threshing-floor in Mount Moriah, and Araunah looking out saw the king, and came out of the

threshing-floor to meet him, with deep obeisance. This narrative contains nothing improbable, nothing to justify us in having recourse to critical conjecture.—Ver. 24. The infinitive *הָעֵלֹת* is very frequently used in Hebrew as the continuation of the *verb. fin.*, and is found in all the books of the Old Testament (cf. the collection of passages illustrative of this peculiar form of brief expression, which Ew. gives, § 351, c), and that not only with regard to the *infin. absol.*, but the *infin. constr.* also. David's answer to Ornan's offer to give him the place for the altar, and the cattle, plough, and wheat for the burnt-offering, was therefore: "No, I will buy it for full price; I will not take what belongs to thee for Jahve, and bring burnt-offerings without cost," i.e. without having paid the price for them.—Ver. 25. As to the different statements of the price, cf. on 2 Sam. xxiv. 24.

Vers. 26–30. In 2 Sam. xxiv. 25 the conclusion of this event is shortly narrated thus: David offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and Jahve was entreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel. In the Chronicle we have a fuller statement of the *יָעַתְרֵי יְהוָה* in ver. 26b. David called upon Jahve, and He answered with fire from heaven upon the altar of burnt-offering (ver. 27); and Jahve spake to the angel, and he returned the sword into its sheath. The returning of the sword into its sheath is a figurative expression for the stopping of the pestilence; and the fire which came down from heaven upon the altar of burnt-offering was the visible sign by which the Lord assured the king that his prayer had been heard, and his offering graciously accepted. The reality of this sign of the gracious acceptance of an offering is placed beyond doubt by the analogous cases, Lev. ix. 24, 1 Kings xviii. 24, 38, and 2 Chron. vii. 1. It was only by this sign of the divine complacence that David learnt that the altar built upon the threshing-floor of Araunah had been chosen by the Lord as the place where Israel should always thereafter offer their burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as is further recorded in vers. 28–30 and in xxii. 1. From the cessation of the pestilence in consequence of his prayer and sacrifice, David could only draw the conclusion that God had forgiven him his transgression, but could not have known that God had chosen the place where he had built the altar for the offering demanded by God as a permanent place of sacrifice. This certainly he obtained only by the divine answer, and this answer was the fire which came down upon the altar of burnt-offering and devoured

the sacrifice. This ver. 28 states: "At the time when he saw that Jahve had answered him at the threshing-floor of Ornan, he offered sacrifice there," i.e. from that time forward; so that we may with Berth. translate וְהָיָה מִכֵּן, "then he was wont to offer sacrifice there." In vers. 29 and 30 we have still further reasons given for David's continuing to offer sacrifices at the threshing-floor of Ornan. The legally sanctioned place of sacrifice for Israel was still at that time the tabernacle, the Mosaic sanctuary with its altar of burnt-offering, which then stood on the high place at Gibeon (cf. xvi. 39). Now David had indeed brought the ark of the covenant, which had been separated from the tabernacle from the time of Samuel, to Zion, and had there not only erected a tent for it, but had also built an altar and established a settled worship there (chap. xvii.), yet without having received any express command of God regarding it; so that this place of worship was merely provisional, intended to continue only until the Lord Himself should make known His will in the matter in some definite way. When therefore David, after the conquest of his enemies, had obtained rest round about, he had formed the resolution to make an end of this provisional separation of the ark from the tabernacle, and the existence of two sacrificial altars, by building a temple; but the Lord had declared to him by the prophet Nathan, that not he, but his son and successor on the throne, should build Him a temple. The altar by the ark in Zion, therefore, continued to co-exist along with the altar of burnt-offering at the tabernacle in Gibeon, without being sanctioned by God as the place of sacrifice for the congregation of Israel. Then when David, by ordering the numbering of the people, had brought guilt upon the nation, which the Lord so heavily avenged upon them by the pestilence, he should properly, as king, have offered a sin-offering and a burnt-offering in the national sanctuary at Gibeon, and there have sought the divine favour for himself and for the whole people. But the Lord said unto him by the prophet Gad, that he should bring his offering neither in Gibeon, nor before the ark on Zion, but in the threshing-floor of Ornan (Araunah), on the altar which he was there to erect. This command, however, did not settle the place where he was afterwards to sacrifice. But David—so it runs, ver. 29 f.—sacrificed thenceforward in the threshing-floor of Ornan, not at Gibeon in the still existent national sanctuary, because he (according to ver. 30) "could not

go before it (לִפְנֵי) to seek God, for he was terrified before the sword of the angel of Jahve." This statement does not, however, mean, *ex terrore visionis angelicæ infirmitatem corporis contraxerat* (J. H. Mich.), nor yet, "because he, being struck and overwhelmed by the appearance of the angel, did not venture to offer sacrifices elsewhere" (Berth.), nor, "because the journey to Gibeon was too long for him" (O. v. Gerl.). None of these interpretations suit either the words or the context. נִבְּעַת כַּפְּנֵי הָרִב, terrified before the sword, does indeed signify that the sword of the angel, or the angel with the sword, hindered him from going to Gibeon, but not during the pestilence, when the angel stood between heaven and earth by the threshing-floor of Araunah with the drawn sword, but—according to the context—afterwards, when the angelophany had ceased, as it doubtless did simultaneously with the pestilence. The words בִּי נִבְּעַת וְנִי can therefore have no other meaning, than that David's terror before the sword of the angel caused him to determine to sacrifice thereafter, not at Gibeon, but at the threshing-floor of Araunah; or that, since during the pestilence the angel's sword had prevented him from going to Gibeon, he did not venture ever afterwards to go. But the fear before the sword of the angel is in substance the terror of the pestilence; and the pestilence had hindered him from sacrificing at Gibeon, because Gibeon, notwithstanding the presence of the sanctuary there, with the Mosaic altar, had not been spared by the pestilence. David considered this circumstance as normative ever for the future, and he always afterwards offered his sacrifices in the place pointed out to him, and said, as we further read in chap. xxii. 1, "Here (הֵן הָאֵלֹהִים), properly this, mas. or neut.) is the house of Jahve God, and here is the altar for the burnt-offering of Israel." He calls the site of the altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah בֵּית יְהוָה, because there Jahve had manifested to him His gracious presence; cf. Gen. xxviii. 17.

CHAP. XXII. 2-19.—DAVID'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

With this chapter commences the second section of the history of David's kingship, viz. the account of the preparations, dispositions, and arrangements which he made in the last years of his reign for the establishment of his kingdom in the future

under his successors (see above, p. 169 ff.). All these preparations and dispositions had reference to the firm establishment of the public worship of the Lord, in which Israel, as the people and congregation of Jahve, might show its faithfulness to the covenant, so as to become partakers of the divine protection, and the blessing which was promised. To build the temple—this desire the Lord had not indeed granted the fulfilment of to David, but He had given him the promise that his son should carry out that work. The grey-haired king accordingly made preparations, after the site of the house of God which should be built had been pointed out to him, such as would facilitate the execution of the work by his successor. Of these preparations our chapter treats, and in it we have an account how David provided the necessary labour and materials for the building of the temple (vers. 2-5), committed the execution of the work in a solemn way to his son Solomon (vers. 6-16), and called upon the chiefs of the people to give him their support in the work (vers. 17-19).

Vers. 2-5. *Workmen and materials for the building of the temple.*—Ver. 2. In order to procure the necessary workmen, David commanded that the strangers in the land of Israel should be gathered together, and, as we learn from 2 Chron. ii. 16, also numbered. הַגֵּרִים, the strangers, are the descendants of the Canaanites whom the Israelites had not destroyed when they took possession of the land, but had reduced to bondage (2 Chron. viii. 7-9; 1 Kings ix. 20-22). This number was so considerable, that Solomon was able to employ 150,000 of them as labourers and stone-cutters (1 Kings v. 29; 2 Chron. ii. 16 f.). These strangers David appointed to be stone-cutters, to hew squared stones, אֲבָנֵי יָסֵד (see on 1 Kings v. 31).—Ver. 3. Iron and brass he prepared in abundance: the iron for the nails of the doors, *i.e.* for the folding-doors of the gates, *i.e.* partly for the pivots (*Zapfen*) on which the folding-doors turned, partly to strengthen the boards of which doors were made; as also for the מַחְבְּרֹת, literally, things to connect, *i.e.* properly iron cramps.—Ver. 4. The Tyrians sent him cedar trees or beams in abundance, probably in exchange for grain, wine, and fruit of various sorts, which the Phœnicians obtained from the Israelites; cf. Movers, *Phönizier*, iii. 1, S. 88 ff. Sidonians and Tyrians are named to denote the Phœnicians generally, as in Ezra iii. 7. When Solomon began to build the temple, he made a regular treaty with Hiram king of Tyre about the delivery of the necessary cedar wood, 1 Kings v. 15 ff.—Ver. 5 gives in

substance the reason of what precedes, although it is connected with it only by *consec.* Because his son Solomon was still in tender youth, and the building to be executed was an exceedingly great work, David determined to make considerable preparation before his death. נַעַר נָרָה, *puer et tener*, repeated in xxix. 1, indicates a very early age. Solomon could not then be quite twenty years old, as he was born only after the Syro-Ammonite war (see on 2 Sam. xii. 24), and calls himself at the commencement of his reign still נַעַר קָטָן (1 Kings iii. 7). The word נַעַר may of itself denote not merely a boy, but also a grown youth; but here it is limited to the boyish age by the addition of נָרָה. Berth. wrongly compares Ex. xxxiii. 11, where נַעַר denotes not a boy, but a lad, *i.e.* a servant. In the succeeding clause לִבְנוֹת לַיהוָה is to be taken relatively: and the house which is to be built to the Lord is to be made great exceedingly (לְמַעַלְיָה, see on xiv. 2), for a name and glory for all lands, *i.e.* that it might be to the Lord for whom it should be built for an honour and glory in all lands. לֵאמֹר אֲכַדִּינָהּ נָא לִי, I will (= therefore will I) prepare for him (Solomon), *scil.* whatever I can prepare to forward this great work.

Vers. 6–16. *Solomon commissioned to build the temple.*—Ver. 6. Before his death (ver. 5) David called his son Solomon, in order to commit to him the building of the temple, and to press it strongly upon him, vers. 7–10. With this design, he informs him that it had been his intention to build a temple to the Lord, but the Lord had not permitted him to carry out this resolve, but had committed it to his son. The Keri בְּנִי (ver. 7) is, notwithstanding the general worthlessness of the corrections in the Keri, probably to be preferred here to the Keth. בְּנִי, for בְּנִי might have easily arisen by the copyist's eye having wandered to לְעֹלָמָה בְּנִי, ver. 6. David's addressing him as בְּנִי is very fitting, nay, even necessary, and not contrary to the following אֲנִי לִבִּי, it was with my heart, *i.e.* I had intended, occurs indeed very often in the Chronicle, *e.g.* xxviii. 2, 2 Chron. i. 11, vi. 7 f., ix. 1, xxiv. 4, xxix. 10, but is also found in other books where the sense demands it, *e.g.* Josh. xiv. 7, 1 Kings viii. 17 f., x. 2. In יָרָה עָלַי, There came to me the word of Jahve (ver. 8), it is implied that the divine word was given to him as a command. The reason which David gives why the Lord did not allow him to build the temple is not stated in chap. xvii. (2 Sam. vii.), to which David here refers; instead of the reason, only the promise

is there communicated, that the Lord would first build him a house, and enduringly establish his throne. This promise does not exclude the reason stated here and in chap. xxviii. 3, but rather implies it. As the temple was only to be built when God had enduringly established the throne of David, David could not execute this work, for he still had to conduct wars—wars, too, of the Lord—for the establishment of his kingdom, as Solomon also states it in his embassy to Hiram. Wars and bloodshed, however, are unavoidable and necessary in this earth for the establishment of the kingdom of God in opposition to its enemies, but are not consonant with its nature, as it was to receive a visible embodiment and expression in the temple. For the kingdom of God is in its essence a kingdom of peace; and battle, or war, or struggle, are only means for the restoration of peace, the reconciliation of mankind with God after the conquest of sin and all that is hostile to God in this world. See on 2 Sam. vii. 11. David, therefore, the man of war, is not to build the temple, but (ver. 9 f.) his son; and to him the Lord will give peace from all his enemies, so that he shall be *איש מנוחה*, a man of rest, and shall rightly bear the name Shelomo (Solomon), i.e. Friederich (rich in peace, Eng. Frederick), for God would give to Israel in his days, i.e. in his reign, peace and rest (*שָׁקֵט*). The participle *נולד* after *היה* has the signification of the future, shall be born; cf. 1 Kings xiii. 2. *איש מנוחה*, not a man who procures peace (Jer. li. 59), but one who enjoys peace, as the following *והניחו לי* shows. As to the name *שלמה*, see on 2 Sam. xii. 24. Into ver. 10 David compresses the promise contained in chap. xvii. 12 and 13.—Ver. 11. After David had so committed to his son Solomon the building of the temple, a task reserved and destined for him by the divine counsel, he wishes him, in ver. 11, the help of the Lord to carry out the work. *והצלחת*, *ut prospere agas et felici successu utaris* (J. M. Mich.), cf. Josh. i. 8. *על דבר* of a command from on high; cf. *עלי*, ver. 8. Above all, however, he wishes (ver. 12) him right understanding and insight from God (*שכל ודעה*), so connected in 2 Chron. ii. 11 also), and that God may establish him over Israel, i.e. furnish him with might and wisdom to rule over the people Israel; cf. 2 Sam. vii. 11. *לשמור*, “to observe” = and mayest thou observe the law of Jahve; not thou must keep (Berth.), for *לשמור* is to be regarded as a continuation of the verb *fini.*; cf. Ew. § 351, c, S. 840.—Ver. 13. The condition of obtaining the result is the faithful observing of the commands of

the Lord. The speech is filled with reminiscences of the law, cf. Deut. vii. 11, xi. 32; and for the exhortation to be strong and of good courage, cf. Deut. xxxi. 6, Josh i. 7, 9, etc.

In conclusion (vers. 14-16), David mentions what materials he has prepared for the building of the temple. בְּכָל־פְּנֵי, not, in my poverty (LXX., Vulg., Luth.), but, by my painful labour (*magna molestia et labore*, Lavat.); cf. Gen. xxxi. 42, and the corresponding בְּכָל־פְּנֵי, chap. xxix. 2. Gold 100,000 talents, and silver 1,000,000 talents. As the talent was 3000 shekels, and the silver shekel coined by the Maccabees, according to the Mosaic weight, was worth about 2s. 6d., the talent of silver would be about £375, and 1,000,000 talents £375,000,000. If we suppose the relative value of the gold and silver to be as 10 to 1, 100,000 talents of gold will be about the same amount, or even more, viz. about £450,000,000, i.e. if we take the gold shekel at thirty shillings, according to Thenius' calculation. Such sums as eight hundred or eight hundred and twenty-five millions of pounds are incredible. The statements, indeed, are not founded upon exact calculation or weighing, but, as the round numbers show, only upon a general valuation of those masses of the precious metals, which we must not think of as bars of silver and gold, or as coined money; for they were in great part vessels of gold and silver, partly booty captured in war, partly tribute derived from the subject peoples. Making all these allowances, however, the sums mentioned are incredibly great, since we must suppose that even a valuation in round numbers will have more or less correspondence to the actual weight, and a subtraction of some thousands of talents from the sums mentioned would make no very considerable diminution. On the other hand, it is a much more important circumstance that the above estimate of the value in our money of these talents of silver rests upon a presumption, the correctness of which is open to well-founded doubts. For in that calculation the weight of the Mosaic or holy shekel is taken as the standard, and it is presumed that the talents weighed 3000 Mosaic shekels. But we find in 2 Sam. xiv. 26 mention made in David's time of another shekel, "according to the king's weight," whence we may with certainty conclude that in common life another shekel than the Mosaic or holy shekel was in use. This shekel according to the king's weight was in all probability only half as heavy as the shekel of the sanctuary, i.e. was equal in weight to a Mosaic beka or half-shekel. This is proved by a



comparison of 1 Kings x. 17 with 2 Chron. ix. 16, for here three golden minæ are reckoned equal to 300 shekels,—a mina containing 100 shekels, while it contained only 50 holy or Mosaic shekels. With this view, too, the statements of the Rabbins agree, e.g. R. Mosis Maimonidis *constitutiones de Siclis, quas—illustravit Joa. Esgers.*, Lugd. Bat. 1718, p. 19, according to which the שקל or שקל המדינה, i.e. the common or civil shekel, is the half of the שקל הקדש. That this is the true relation, is confirmed by the fact that, according to Ex. xxxviii. 26, in the time of Moses there existed silver coins weighing ten gera (half a holy shekel) called beka, while the name beka is found only in the Pentateuch, and disappears at a later time, probably because it was mainly such silver coins of ten gera which were in circulation, and to them the name shekel, which denotes no definite weight, was transferred. Now, if the amounts stated in our verse are reckoned in such common shekels (as in 2 Chron. ix. 16), the mass of gold and silver collected by David for the building of the temple would only be worth half the amount above calculated, i.e. about £375,000,000 or £400,000,000. But even this sum seems enormously large, for it is five times the annual expenditure of the greatest European states in our day.<sup>1</sup> Yet the calculation of the income or expenditure of modern states is no proper standard for judging of the correctness or probability of the statements here made, for we cannot estimate the accumulation of gold and silver in the states and chief cities of Asia in antiquity by the budgets of the modern European nations. In the capitals of the Asiatic kingdoms of antiquity, enormous quantities of the precious metals were accumulated. Not to mention the accounts of Ktesias, Diodor. Sic., and others, which sound so fabulous to us now, as to the immense booty in gold and silver vessels which was accumulated in Nineveh and Babylon (see the table in Movers, *die Phönizier*, ii. 3, S. 40 ff.), according to Varro, in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 15, Cyrus obtained by the conquest of Asia a booty of 34,000 pounds of gold, besides that which was wrought into vessels and ornaments, and 500,000 talents of silver; and in this statement, as Movers rightly remarks, it does not seem

<sup>1</sup> According to Otto Hübner, *Statistical Table of all Lands of the Earth*, 18th edition, Frankf. a. M. 1869, the yearly expenditure of Great Britain and Ireland (exclusive of the extra-European possessions) amounts to a little over £70,000,000; of the French Empire, to £85,000,000; of Russia, to about £78,000,000; of Austria and Hungary, to £48,500,000.



probable that there is any exaggeration. In Susa, Alexander plundered the royal treasury of 40,000, according to other accounts 50,000 talents, or, as it is more accurately stated, 40,000 talents of uncoined gold and silver, and 9000 talents in coined darics. These he caused to be brought to Ecbatana, where he accumulated in all 180,000 talents. In Persepolis he captured a booty of 120,000 talents, and in Pasargada 6000 talents (see *Mov. loc. cit.* S. 43). Now David, it is true, had not conquered Asia, but only the tribes and kingdoms bordering on Canaan, including the kingdom of Syria, and made them tributary, and had consecrated all the gold and silver taken as booty from the conquered peoples, from the Syrians, Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, Amalekites, and Hadadezer the king of Zobah (2 Sam. viii. 11 f.), to Jahve. Now, in consequence of the ancient connection between Syria and the rich commercial countries of the neighbourhood, great treasures of silver and gold had very early flowed in thither. According to 2 Sam. viii. 7, the servants (*i.e.* generals) of King Hadadezer had golden shields, which David captured; and the ambassadors of King Toi of Hamath brought him vessels of silver, gold, and copper, to purchase his friendship.<sup>1</sup> The other peoples whom David overcame are not to be regarded as poor in the precious metals. For the Israelites under Moses had captured so large a booty in gold rings, bracelets, and other ornaments from the nomadic Midianites, that the commanders of the army alone were able to give 16,750 shekels (*i.e.* over  $5\frac{1}{2}$  talents of gold, according to the Mosaic weight) to the sanctuary as a consecrating offering (Num. xxxi. 48 ff.). We cannot therefore regard the sums mentioned in our verse either as incredible or very much exaggerated,<sup>2</sup> nor hold

<sup>1</sup> Apropos of the riches of Syria even in later times, Movers reminds us, S. 45, of the rich temple treasures—of the statue of Jupiter in Antioch, which was of pure gold and fifteen yards high, and of the golden statues in the temple at Hierapolis—and adds: “Even Antiochus the Great had immense treasures in his possession. The private soldiers in his army had their half-boots studded with gold nails, and their cooking utensils were of silver.” See the proofs, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> As Berth. for example does, expressing himself as follows: “In our verse, 100,000 talents of gold, 1,000,000 talents of silver,—a sum with which the debts of the European nations might almost be paid! It is absolutely inadmissible to take these at their literal value, and to consider them as a repetition, though perhaps a somewhat exaggerated one, of actual historical statements. They can have been originally nothing else than the freest periphrasis for much, an extraordinary quantity, such as may even yet be heard from the mouths of those who have not reflected on the value and importance of num-

the round sums which correspond to the rhetorical character of the passage with certainty to be mistakes.<sup>1</sup> Brass and iron were not weighed for abundance; cf. ver. 3. Beams of timber also, and stones—that is, stones hewed and squared—David had prepared; and to this store Solomon was to add. That he did so is narrated in 2 Chron. chap. ii.—Ver. 15. David then turns to the workmen, the carpenters and stone-cutters, whom he had appointed (ver. 2) for the building. חֲצִיזִים, properly hewers, in ver. 2 limited to stone-hewers, is here, with the addition חֲרָשֵׁי אֶבֶן, used of the workers in stone and wood, stonemasons and carpenters. כָּל־הָיָדָם ב', all manner of understanding persons in each work, in contradistinction to עֲשֵׂי מְלָאכָה, includes the idea of thorough mastery and skill in the kind of labour. These workmen, whom David had levied for the building of the temple, are mentioned by Solomon, 2 Chron. ii. 6 f.—In ver. 16 all the metals, as being the main thing, are again grouped together, in order that the exhortation to proceed with the erection of the

bers, and consequently launch out into thousands and hundreds of thousands, in an extremely unprejudiced way." On this we remark: (1) The assertion that with the sums named in our verse the debts of the European nations could be paid, is an enormous exaggeration. According to O. Hübner's tables, the national debt of Great Britain and Ireland alone amounts to £809,000,000, that of France to £564,000,000, that of Russia to £400,000,000, that of Austria to £354,000,000, and that of the kingdom of Italy to £288,000,000; David's treasures, consequently, if the weight be taken in sacred shekels, would only have sufficed to pay the national debt of Great Britain and Ireland. (2) The hypothesis that the chronicler, without reflecting on the value and importance of numbers, has launched out into thousands and hundreds of thousands, presupposes such a measure of intellectual poverty as is irreconcilable with evidences of intellect and careful planning such as are everywhere else observable in his writing.

<sup>1</sup> As proof of the incorrectness of the above numbers, it cannot be adduced "that, according to 1 Kings x. 14, Solomon's yearly revenue amounted to 666 talents of gold, i.e. to about £3,000,000 in gold; that the queen of Sheba presented Solomon with 120 talents of gold, 1 Kings x. 10, 2 Chron. ix. 9; and King Hiram also gave him a similar amount, 1 Kings ix. 14; all of which sums the context shows are to be considered extraordinarily great" (Berth.). For the 666 talents of gold are not the entire annual income of Solomon, but, according to the distinct statement of the Biblical historian, are only the annual income in gold, exclusive of the receipts from the customs, and the tributes of the subject kings and tribes, which were probably more valuable. The 120 talents of the queen of Sheba are certainly a very large present, but Solomon would give in return not inconsiderable presents also. But the quantities of silver and gold which David had collected for the building of the temple had not been saved out of his yearly income, but had been in great

building may be introduced. The  $\text{ל}$  before each word serves to bring the thing once more into prominence; cf. Ew. § 310, a. "As for the gold, it cannot be numbered." "Arise and be doing! and Jahve be with thee" (vers. 17-19).

Vers. 17-19. *Exhortation to the princes of Israel to assist in the building of the temple.*—David supports his exhortation by calling to remembrance the proofs of his favour which the Lord had showed His people. The speech in ver. 18 is introduced without  $\text{וְכֵן}$ , because it is clear from the preceding  $\text{וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד}$  that the words are spoken by David: "The Lord has given you peace round about; for He has given the inhabitants of the land into my hands, and the land is subdued before Jahve and before His people." The subdued land is Canaan: the inhabitants of the land are, however, not the Israelites over whom the Lord had set David as king, for the words  $\text{בְּיָדֶיךָ הָיְתָה}$  cannot apply to them, cf. xiv. 10 f., Josh. ii. 24; it is the Canaanites still left in the land in the time of David, and other enemies, who, like the Philistines, possessed

part captured as booty in war, and laid up out of the tribute of the subject peoples. A question which would more readily occur than this is, Whether such enormous sums were actually necessary for the temple? But the materials necessary to enable us to arrive at even a proximate estimate of this building are entirely wanting. The building of a stone temple from 60 to 70 yards long, 20 yards broad, and 30 yards high, would certainly not have cost so much, notwithstanding that, as we read in 2 Chron. iii. 8 f., 650 talents of gold were required to gild the inner walls of the Holy Place, and at the same rate 2000 talents must have been required to gild the inside of the Sanctuary, which was three times as large; and notwithstanding the great number of massive gold vessels, e.g. the ten golden candlesticks, for which alone, even if they were no larger and heavier than the candlesticks in the tabernacle, ten talents of gold must have been required. But there belonged to the temple many subordinate buildings, which are not further described; as also the colossal foundation structures and the walls enclosing the temple area, the building of which must have swallowed up millions, since Solomon sent 70,000 porters and 80,000 stone-hewers to Lebanon to procure the necessary materials. Consul Rosen has recently indeed attempted to show, in *das Haram von Jerusalem und der Tempelplatz des Moria*, Gotha (1866), that there is reason to suppose that the temple area was enlarged to the size it is known to have had, and surrounded by a wall only by Herod; but he has been refuted by Himpel in the *Tübinger theol. Quartalschr.* 1867, S. 515 f., who advances very weighty reasons against his hypothesis. Finally, we must have regard to the statement in 1 Kings vii. 51 and 2 Chron. v. 1, that Solomon, after the building was finished, deposited the consecrated silver and gold collected by his father David among the temple treasures. Whence we learn that the treasures collected by David were not intended merely for the building of the House of God.

parts of the land, and had been subdued by David. On נִכְבְּשָׁה הָאָרֶץ, cf. Josh. xviii. 1, Num. xxxii. 22, 29. This safety which the Lord had granted them binds them in duty to seek Him with all their heart, and to build the sanctuary, that the ark and the sacred vessels may be brought into it. The ל in לְבֵית is not a sign of the accusative (Berth.), for הַבַּיִת is not construed with *accus. loci*, but generally with אֵל, for which, however, so early as Josh. iv. 5, ל is used, or it is construed with the *acc.* and ה *locale* —הַבַּיִתָּה, Gen. xix. 10, xliii. 47.

CHAP. XXIII.—XXVI.—ENUMERATION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE LEVITES ACCORDING TO THEIR DIVISIONS AND EMPLOYMENTS.

These four chapters give a connected view of the condition of the Levites towards the end, *i.e.* in the fortieth year, of David's reign (cf. xxiii. 1 and xxvi. 31), and of the sections into which they were divided according to their various services. This review begins with a statement of the total number belonging to the tribe of Levi according to the census then undertaken, and their divisions according to the duties devolving upon (xxiii. 2–5); which is followed by an enumeration of the heads of the fathers'-houses into which the four families of Levites had branched out (xxiii. 6–23), together with a short review of their duties (xxiii. 24–32). Thereafter we have: 1. In chap. xxiv., a catalogue of the Aaronites, *i.e.* of the priests, who were divided into twenty-four classes, corresponding to the sons of Eleazar and Ithamar, and were appointed to perform the service in succession, according as it was determined by lot, special mention being made of the heads of these twenty-four classes; and a catalogue of the heads of the fathers'-houses of the other descendants of Levi, in an order of succession, which was likewise settled by lot (xxiv. 20–31). Then, 2. In chap. xxv. we have a catalogue of the twenty-four orders of Levitic musicians, in an order fixed by lot. And, 3. In chap. xxvi. the classes of doorkeepers (vers. 1–19), the administrators of the treasures of the sanctuary (vers. 20–28), and the officials who performed the external services (vers. 29–32).

Chap. xxiii. *Number, duties, and fathers'-houses of the Levites.*—This clear account of the state and the order of service of the tribe of Levi is introduced by the words, ver. 1, "David was old, and life weary; then he made his son Solomon king over Israel." עָלָה, generally an adjective, is here *third pers. perf.* of the verb, as in Gen.

xviii. 12, as שָׁבַע also is, to which יָמִים is subordinated in the accusative. Generally elsewhere יָמִים שָׁבַע is used, cf. Gen. xxxv. 29, Job xlii. 17, and also שָׁבַע alone, with the same signification, Gen. xxv. 8. These words are indeed, as Berth. correctly remarks, not a mere passing remark which is taken up again at a later stage, say chap. xxix. 28, but an independent statement complete in itself, with which here the enumeration of the arrangements which David made in the last period of his life begins. But notwithstanding that, it serves here only as an introduction to the arrangements which follow, and is not to be taken to mean that David undertook the numbering of the Levites and the arrangement of their service only after he had given over the government to his son Solomon, but signified that the arrangement of this matter immediately preceded Solomon's elevation to the throne, or was contemporaneous with it. Our verse therefore does not contain, in its few words, a "summary of the contents of the narrative 1 Kings chap. i.," as Berth. thinks, for in 1 Kings i. we have an account of the actual anointing of Solomon and his accession to the throne in consequence of Adonijah's attempt to usurp it. By that indeed Solomon certainly was made king; but the chronicler, in accordance with the plan of his book, has withdrawn his attention from this event, connected as it was with David's domestic relations, and has used הִמְלִיךָ in its more general signification, to denote not merely the actual elevation to the throne, but also his nomination as king. Here the nomination of Solomon to be king, which preceded the anointing narrated in 1 Kings i., that taking place at a time when David had already become bed-ridden through old age, is spoken of. This was the first step towards the transfer of the kingdom to Solomon; and David's ordering of the Levitical service, and of the other branches of public administration, so as to give over a well-ordered kingdom to his successor, were also steps in the same process. Of the various branches of the public administration, our historian notices in detail only the Levites and their service, compressing everything else into the account of the army arrangements and the chief public officials, chap. xxvii.

Vers. 2-5. *Numbering of the Levites, and partition of their duties.*—Ver. 2. For this purpose David collected "all the princes of Israel, and the priests and Levites." The princes of Israel, because the numbering of the Levites and the determination of their duties was a matter of national importance. "The meaning is, that David, in a solemn assembly of the princes, i.e. of the

representatives of the lay tribes, and of the priests and Levites, fixed the arrangements of which an account is to be given" (Berth.).—Ver. 3. The Levites were numbered from thirty years old and upwards. This statement agrees with that in Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 39 ff., where Moses caused those from thirty to fifty years of age to be numbered, and appointed them for service about the tabernacle during the journey through the wilderness. But Moses himself, at a later time, determined that their period of service should be from twenty-five to fifty; Num. viii. 23-26. It is consequently not probable that David confined the numbering to those of thirty and upwards. But besides that, we have a distinct statement in ver. 24 that they were numbered from twenty years of age, the change being grounded by David upon the nature of their service; and that this was the proper age is confirmed by 2 Chron. xxxi. 17 and Ezra iii. 8, according to which the Levites under Hezekiah, and afterwards, had to take part in the service from their twentieth year. We must therefore regard **שְׁלִישִׁים** in ver. 3 as having crept into the text through the error of copyists, who were thinking of the Mosaic census in Num. iv., and must read **עָשְׂרִים** instead of it. The various attempts of commentators to get rid of the discrepancy between ver. 3 and ver. 24 are mere makeshifts; and the hypothesis that David took two censuses is as little supported by the text, as that other, that our chapter contains divergent accounts drawn from two different sources; see on ver. 24. The number amounted to 38,000, according to their heads in men. **לְנָבִירִים** serves for a nearer definition of **לְגִלְלָתָם**, and explains that only men were numbered, women not being included.—Vers. 4 and 5 contain words of David, as we learn from **אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי לַיהוָה** (ver. 5, end), so that we must supply **וְיָמָס וְיָרֵד** before ver. 4. **מֵאַחֶהָ**, of these (38,000) 24,000 shall be **לְנָחֶהָ**, to superintend the business, i.e. to conduct and carry on the business (the work) of the house of Jahve. This business is in vers. 28-32 more nearly defined, and embraces all the business that was to be carried on about the sanctuary, except the specifically priestly functions, the keeping of the doors, and the performance of the sacred music. For these two latter offices special sections were appointed, 4000 for the porters' service, and the same number for the sacred music (ver. 5). Besides these, 5000 men were appointed Shoterim and judges. "The instruments which I have made to sing praise" are the stringed instruments which David had introduced into the service to

accompany the singing of the psalms; cf. 2 Chron. xxix. 26, Neh. xii. 36.

Vers. 6-23. *The fathers'-houses of the Levites.*—Ver. 6. "And David divided them into courses according to the sons of Levi, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari;" see on v. 27. The form קָהָתִים, which recurs in xxiv. 3 with the same pointing, is in more accurate mss. in that place pointed קָהָתִים. There are also found in mss. and editions קָהָתִים, and the rare form of the Kal קָהָתִים (for קָהָתִים); cf. J. H. Mich. *Notæ crit.* This last pronunciation is attested for, xxiv. 3, by D. Kimchi, who expressly remarks that the regular form קָהָתִים corresponds to it; cf. Norzi on this passage. Gesen. (in *Theo.* p. 483) and Ew. (§ 83, c) regard קָהָתִים as a variety of the Piel (קָהָתִים), to which, however, Berth. rightly remarks that it would be worth a thought only if the punctuation קָהָתִים were confirmed by good mss., which is not the case, though we find the Piel in the Chronicle in xv. 3, and then with the signification to distribute. Berth. therefore holds—and certainly this is the more correct opinion—that the form קָהָתִים, attested by Kimchi for xxiv. 3, was the original reading in our verse also, and considers it a rare form of the impf. Kal derived from קָהָתִים (cf. xxiv. 4, 5), by Kamets coming into the pretonic syllable, after the analogy of קָהָתִים for קָהָתִים, 2 Kings x. 14, and by the passing of an *α* (Pathach) into *ε* (Seghol) before the Kamets, according to well-known euphonic rules. קָהָתִים is a second accusative: "in divisions." The tribe of Levi had been divided from ancient times into the three great families of Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites, corresponding to the three sons of Levi; cf. v. 27-vi. 15, xxviii. 32.—From ver. 7 onwards we have an enumeration of the fathers'-houses into which these three families were divided: vers. 7-11, the fathers'-houses of the Gershonites; vers. 12-20, those of the Kohathites; and vers. 21-23, those of the Merarites. Berth., on the other hand, thinks that in these verses only the fathers'-houses of those Levites who performed the service of the house of Jahve, i.e. the 24,000 in ver. 4, and not the divisions of all the Levites, are enumerated. But this opinion is incorrect, and certainly is not proved to be true by the circumstance that the singers, porters, and the scribes and judges, are only spoken of afterwards; nor by the remark that, in great part, the names here enumerated appear again in the sections chap. xxiv. 20-31 and xxvi. 20-28, while in the enumeration of the twenty-four classes of musicians



(xxv. 1-31), of the doorkeepers (xxvi. 1-19), and of the scribes and judges (xxvi. 29-32), quite other names are met with. The recurrence of many of the names here enumerated in the sections chap. xxiv. 20-31 and xxvi. 20-28 is easily explained by the fact that these sections treat of the divisions of the Levites, according to the service they performed, and of course many heads of fathers'-houses must again be named. The occurrence of quite other names in the lists of musicians and doorkeepers, again, is simply the result of the fact that only single branches of fathers'-houses, not whole fathers'-houses, were appointed musicians and doorkeepers. Finally, Bertheau's statement, that in the catalogue of the scribes and judges quite other names occur than those in our verses, is based upon an oversight; cf. xxvi. 31 with xxiii. 19.

Vers. 7-11. *The fathers'-houses of the Gershonites.*—According to the natural development of the people of Israel, the twelve sons of Jacob founded the twelve tribes of Israel; his grandsons, or the sons of the twelve patriarchs, founded the families (משפחות); and their sons, i.e. the great-grandsons of Jacob, founded the fathers'-houses (בית אבות). But this natural division or ramification of the people into tribes, families, and fathers'-houses (groups of related households), was not consistently carried out. Even the formation of the tribes suffered a modification, when the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, who were born before Jacob's arrival in Egypt, were adopted by him as his sons, and so made founders of tribes (Gen. xlviii. 5). The formation of the families and fathers'-houses was also interfered with, partly by the descendants of many grandsons or great-grandsons of Jacob not being numerous enough to form independent families and fathers'-houses, and partly by individual fathers'-houses (or groups of related households) having so much decreased that they could no longer form independent groups, and so were attached to other fathers'-houses, or by families which had originally formed a בית אב becoming so numerous as to be divided into several fathers'-houses. In the tribe of Levi there came into operation this special cause, that Aaron and his sons were chosen to be priests, and so his family was raised above the other Levites. From these causes, in the use of the words משפחה and בית אב many fluctuations occur; cf. my *bibl. Archäol.* ii. § 140. Among the Levites, the fathers'-houses were founded not by the grandsons, but by the great-grandsons of the patriarch.—Ver. 7.

"Of the Gershonites, Laadan and Shimei," i.e. these were heads of groups of related families, since, according to ver. 9, their sons and descendants formed six fathers'-houses. The sons of Gershon, from whom all branches of the family of Gershon come, are called in vi. 2, as in Ex. vi. 17 and Num. xiii. 18, Libni and Shimei; while in our verse, on the contrary, we find only the second name Shimei, whose sons are enumerated in vers. 10, 11; and instead of Libni we have the name Laadan, which recurs in xxvi. 21. Laadan seemingly cannot be regarded as a surname of Libni; for not only are the sons of Shimei named along with the sons of Laadan in vers. 8 and 9 as heads of the fathers'-houses of Laadan, without any hint being given of the genealogical connection of this Shimei with Laadan, but mainly because of לְנִשְׁכֵּי in ver. 7. In the case of Kohath and Merari, the enumeration of the fathers'-houses descended from them is introduced by the mention of their sons, בְּנֵי קָהָת and בְּנֵי מֵרָרִי (vers. 12, 21), while in the case of Gershon it is not so;—in his case, instead of בְּנֵי גֵרְשֹׁן, we find the Gentilic designation גֵּרְשֹׁנִי, to point out that Laadan and Shimei are not named as being sons of Gershon, but as founders of the two chief lines of Gershonites, of which only the second was named after Gershon's son Shimei, while the second derived their name from Laadan, whose family was divided in David's time into two branches, the sons of Laadan and the sons of Shimei, the latter a descendant of Libni, not elsewhere mentioned. That the Shimei of ver. 9 is not the same person as Shimei the son of Gershon mentioned in ver. 7, is manifest from the fact that the sons of the latter are enumerated only in ver. 10. Each of these two lines numbered at that time three fathers'-houses, the heads of which are named in vers. 8 and 9. הָרִאשִׁים in ver. 8 belongs to הַיָּחִידִים: "the sons of Laadan were: the head (also the first; cf. vers. 11, 16) Jehiel, Zetham, and Joel, three."—Ver. 9. The sons of Shimei: Shelomoth or Shelomith (both forms are found in xxvi. 35 of another Shelomith), Haziel, and Haran, three. These (three and three) are the heads of the fathers'-houses of Laadan.—In vers. 10 and 11 there follow the fathers'-houses of the Shimei mentioned in ver. 7 along with Laadan: they are likewise three, derived from the four sons of Shimei, Jahath, Zina, Jeush, and Beriah; for the last two, as they had not many sons, were included in one father's-house, one בֵּית, i.e. one official class (xxiv. 3; 2 Chron. xvii. 14). The Gershonites at that time,

therefore, numbered nine fathers'-houses — six named after Laadan, and three after Shimei.

Vers. 12-20. *The fathers'-houses of the Kohathites.*—The four sons of Kohath who are named in ver. 12, as in v. 28, vi. 3, and Ex. vi. 18, founded the four families of Kohath, Num. iii. 27. From Amram came Aaron and Moses; see on Ex. vi. 20. Of these, Aaron with his sons was set apart “to sanctify him to be a most holy one; he and his sons for ever to offer incense before Jahve, to serve Him, and to bless in His name for ever.” לְהַקְדִּישׁוֹ לְהַקְדִּישׁוֹ קִיִּשׁ signifies neither, *ut ministraret in sancto sanctorum* (Vulg., Syr.), nor, *ut res sanctissimas, sacrificia, vasa sacra etc. consecrarent* (Cler.). Against this interpretation we adduce not only the objection advanced by Hgstb. *Christol.* iii. p. 119, trans., that the office assigned by it to the Levites is far too subordinate to be mentioned here in the first place, but also the circumstance that the suffix in הַקְדִּישׁוֹ, after the analogy of שָׁרְתוֹ, must denote the object of the sanctifying; and this view is confirmed by the subject, who offers incense and blesses, not being expressed with לְהַקְדִּישׁוֹ and לְבָרְכוֹ. The Vulgate translation cannot be accepted, for קִיִּשׁ קְדָשִׁים cannot be the ablative, and the most holy place in the temple is always called קִיִּשׁ הַקְדָּשִׁים with the article. קִיִּשׁ קְדָשִׁים, without the article, is only used of the most holy things, *e.g.* of the vessels connected with the worship, the sacrificial gifts, and other things which no lay person might touch or appropriate. See on Ex. xxx. 10, Lev. ii. 3, and Dan. ix. 24. Here it is committed to Aaron, who, by being chosen for the priest's service and anointed to the office, was made a most holy person, to discharge along with his sons all the priestly functions in the sanctuary. Specimens of such functions are then adduced: הַקְדִּישׁ לִפְנֵי, the offering of the sacrifice of incense upon the altar of the inner sanctuary, as in 2 Chron. ii. 3, 5, Ex. xxx. 7 f.; לְשָׁרְתוֹ, “to serve Him,” Jahve,—a general expression, including all the other services in the sanctuary, which were reserved for the priests; and לְבָרְכוֹ בְּשֵׁמוֹ, to bless in His name, *i.e.* to pronounce the blessing in the name of the Lord over the people, according to the command in Num. vi. 23, cf. xvi. 2, Deut. xxi. 5; not “to bless His name” (Ges., Berth.). To call upon or praise the name of God is בָּרַךְ בְּשֵׁם, Ps. xcvi. 2, c. 4; and the assertion that בָּרַךְ בְּשֵׁם is a somewhat later phrase formed on the model of קָרָא בְּשֵׁם, for “to call upon God” (Ges. in *Lex. sub voce* בָּרַךְ), is quite groundless. Our phrase occurs as early as in Deut. x. 8 and xxi. 5; in the latter passage

in connection with לְשֵׁרֵת of the priests; in the former, of the tribe of Levi, but so used that it can refer only to the priests, not to the Levites also.—Ver. 14. “But as to Moses the man of God” (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 1), “his sons were called after the tribe of Levi,” i.e. were reckoned in the ranks of the Levites, not of the priests. On נִקְרָא על, cf. Gen. xlviii. 6, Ezra ii. 61, Neh. vii. 63.—Vers. 15–17. Each of his two sons Gershon and Eliezer (see Ex. ii. 22 and xviii. 3 f.) founded a father’s-house; Gershon through his son Shebuel (שֶׁבּוּאֵל, in xxiv. 20), Eliezer through Rehabiah. The plurals בְּנֵי א’ and בְּנֵי נ’ are used, although in both cases only one son, he who was head (רִאשׁ) of the father’s-house, is mentioned, either because they had other sons, or those named had in their turn sons, who together formed a father’s-house. From the remark in ver. 17, that Eliezer had no other sons than Rehabiah, while Rehabiah had very many, we may conclude that Gershon had other sons besides Shebuel, who are not mentioned because their descendants were numbered with Shebuel’s father’s-house.—Ver. 18. Only one son of Jizhar, the brother of Amram, is mentioned, Shelomith as head, after whom the Jizharite father’s-house is named.—Ver. 19. Amram’s next brother Hebron had four sons, and the youngest brother Uzziel two, who founded fathers’-houses; so that, besides the priests, nine Levitical fathers’-houses are descended from Kohath, and their chiefs who served in the sanctuary are enumerated in chap. xxiv. 20–25.

Vers. 21–23. *The fathers’-houses of the Merarites.*—Ver. 21 f. As in vi. 4, Ex. vi. 19, and Num. iii. 33, two sons of Merari are mentioned—Mahli and Mushi—who founded the two families of Merari which existed in the time of Moses. Mahli had two sons, Eleazar and Kish; the first of whom, however, left behind him at his death only daughters, who were married to the sons of Kish (אֶחָיוֹתָם, i.e. their cousins), according to the law as to daughters who were heiresses (Num. xxxvi. 6–9). The descendants of Mahli, therefore, were comprehended in the one father’s-house of Kish, whose head at that time (xxiv. 29) was Jerahmeel.—Ver. 23. Of the sons of Mushi, three founded fathers’-houses; so that the Merarites formed only four fathers’-houses in all. If we compare the enumeration of the Merarites in chap. xxiv. 26–30, we find there in ver. 30 Eleazar and Kish called sons of Mahli, with the remark that Eleazar had no sons. In ver. 26, however, of the same passage we read, “sons of Merari

(were) Mahli and Mushi, sons of Jaaziah his son ;” and ver. 27, “sons of Merari by Jaaziah his son ; and Shoham, and Zaccur, and Ibri.” From this Bertheau concludes that Merari had really three sons, and that the name of the third has been dropped out of chap. xxiii. ; but in this he is incorrect, for vers. 26 and 27 of the 24th chapter are at once, from their whole character, recognisable as arbitrary interpolations. Not only is it strange that **בְּנֵי יַעֲרִיֵּהוּ** should follow the before-mentioned sons of Merari in this unconnected way (*Vav* being omitted before **בְּנֵי**), but the form of the expression also is peculiar. If **יַעֲרִיֵּהוּ** be a third son of Merari, or the founder of a third family of Merarites, co-ordinate with the families of Mahli and Mushi, as we must conclude from the additional word **בְּנֵי**, we should expect, after the preceding, simply the name with the conjunction, *i.e.* **וַיַּעֲרִיֵּהוּ**. The **בְּנֵי יַעֲרִיֵּהוּ** is all the more surprising that the names of the sons of Jaaziah follow in ver. 27, and there the name of the first son **שֹׁהַם** is introduced by the *Vav* copulative. This misled the older commentators, so that they took **בְּנֵי** for a proper name. The repetition of **בְּנֵי מְרָרִי**, too, at the beginning of the second verse is strange, and without parallel in the preceding enumeration of the fathers'-houses founded by Amram's sons (xxiv. 20-25). We must, then, as the result of all this, since the Pentateuch knows only two descendants of Merari who founded families of fathers'-houses,<sup>1</sup> regard the additions in xxiv. 26, 27 as later glosses, although we are not in a position to explain the origin or the meaning of the interpolation. This inability arises from the fact that, of the names Jaaziah, Shoham, Zaccur, and Ibri, only Zaccur again occurs among the Asaphites (xxv. 2), and elsewhere of other persons, while the

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau, on the contrary, proceeding on the hypothesis that we may presume the list of Merari's descendants which is given in our verses to have been originally in perfect agreement with that in xxii. 26-31, would emend our text according to chap. xxiv. 26, 27, for it cannot be doubted that in our passage also Jaaziah and his three sons were named. But since elsewhere only the two sons Mahli and Mushi occur, one can easily see why the third son Jaaziah came to be omitted from our passage, while we cannot conceive any motive which would account for the later and arbitrary interpolation of the names in xxiv. 26 f. This argumentation is weak to a degree, since it quite overlooks the main difficulty connected with this hypothesis. Had we no further accounts of the descendants of Merari than those in the two passages of the Chronicle (chap. xxiii. 11 f. and xxiv. 26-29), it would be natural to suppose that in xxiii. 21 ff. the additional names which we find in

others are nowhere else to be met with. The three families of Levi numbered therefore  $9+9+4=22$  fathers'-houses, exclusive of the priests.

Vers. 24–32. *Concluding remarks.*—Ver. 24. “These (the just enumerated) are the sons of Levi according to their fathers'-houses, according to those who were counted (Num. i. 21 f.; Ex. xxx. 14) in the enumeration by name (Num. i. 18, iii. 43), by the head, performing the work for the service of the house of Jahve, from the men of twenty years and upwards.” עֲשֵׂה is not singular, but plural, as in 2 Chron. xxiv. 12, xxxiv. 10, 13, Ex. iii. 9, Neh. ii. 16, cf. 2 Chron. xi. 1. It occurs along with עָשָׂה, with a similar meaning and in a like position, 2 Chron. xxiv. 13, xxxiv. 17, Neh. xi. 12, xiii. 10. It is only another way of writing עָשָׂה, and the same form is found here and there in other words; cf. *Ew.* § 16, *b*. The statement that the Levites were numbered from twenty years old and upwards is accounted for in ver. 25 thus: David said, The Lord has given His people rest, and He dwells in Jerusalem; and the Levites also have no longer to bear the dwelling (tabernacle) with all its vessels. From this, of course, it results that they had not any longer to do such heavy work as during the march through the wilderness, and so might enter upon their service even at the age of twenty. In ver. 27 a still further reason is given: “For by the last words of David was this, (viz.) the numbering of the sons of Levi from twenty years old and upwards.” There is a difference of opinion as to how בְּרִכְרִי לְדִיד הָאֲחֻרָּיִים are to be understood. Bertheau translates, with Kimchi, “in the later histories of David are the number = the numbered,” and adduces in support of his translation chap. xxix. 29, whence it is clear that by “the later

chap. xxiv. had been dropped out. But in the genealogical lists in the Pentateuch also (Ex. vi. 19 and Num. iii. 33), only two sons of Merari are named; and according to them, the Merarites, when Moses' census of the Levites was taken, formed only two families. Had Merari had yet a third son besides the two—Mahli and Mushi, who alone were known in the time of Moses—who left descendants, forming three fathers'-houses in David's time, the omission of this third son in the family register in the Pentateuch would be quite incomprehensible. Or are we to suppose that in Ex. vi. 19 also the name Jaaziah had been dropped out, and that in consequence of that the family descended from him has been omitted from Num. iii. 33? Supported by the Pentateuch, the text of our verses is presumably entire, and this presumption of its integrity is confirmed by the character of the additions in xxiv. 26, 27, as above exhibited.

histories of David" a part of a historical work is meant. But the passage quoted does not prove this. In the formula **דְּבַר הָאֱלֹהִים** . . . (xxix. 29; 2 Chron. ix. 29, xii. 15, xvi. 11, etc.), which recurs at the end of each king's reign, **דְּבַר** denotes not *historia*, in the sense of a history, but *res gestæ*, which are recorded in the writings named. In accordance with this, therefore, **דְּבַר דָּוִד** cannot denote writings of David, but only words or things (= deeds); but the Levites who were numbered could not be in the acts of David. We must rather translate according to 2 Chron. xxix. 30 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 1. In the latter passage **דְּבַר דָּוִד הָאֲחֵרֹנִים** are the last words (utterances) of David, and in the former **בְּדְבַר דָּוִד**, "by the words of David," i.e. according to the commands or directions of David. In this way, Cler. and Mich., with the Vulg. *juxta præcepta*, have already correctly translated the words: "according to the last commands of David." **הַפֶּה** is nowhere found in the signification *sunt* as the mere copula of the subject and verb, but is everywhere an independent predicate, and is here to be taken, according to later linguistic usage, as *neutr. sing.* (cf. Ew. § 318, b): "According to the last commands of David, this," i.e. this was done, viz. the numbering of the Levites from twenty years and upwards. From this statement, from twenty years and upwards, which is so often repeated, and for which the reasons are so given, it cannot be doubtful that the statement in ver. 3, "from thirty years and upwards," is incorrect, and that, as has been already remarked on ver. 3, **שְׁלֹשִׁים** has crept into the text by an error of the copyist, who was thinking of the Mosaic census.<sup>1</sup> In vers. 28-32 we have, in the enumeration of the duties which the Levites had to perform, another ground for the employment

<sup>1</sup> The explanation adopted from Kimchi by the older Christian commentators, e.g. by J. H. Mich., is an untenable makeshift. It is to this effect: that David first numbered the Levites from thirty years old and upwards, according to the law (Num. iv. 3, xxiii. 30), but that afterwards, when he saw that those of twenty years of age were in a position to perform the duties, lightened as they were by its being no longer necessary for the Levites to bear the sanctuary from place to place, he included all from twenty years of age in a second census, taken towards the end of his life; cf. ver. 27. Against this Bertheau has already rightly remarked that the census of the Levites gave the number at 38,000 (ver. 3), and these 38,000 and no others were installed; it is nowhere said that this number was not sufficient, or that the arrangements based upon this number (vers. 4, 5) had no continued existence. He is, however, incorrect in his further remark, that the historian clearly enough is

of those from twenty years old and upwards in actual service. —Ver. 28. Their appointed place or post was at the hand of the sons of Aaron, *i.e.* they were ready to the priest's hand, to aid him in carrying on the service of the house of God. "Over the courts and the cells (of the courts; cf. ix. 26), and the purifying of every holy thing," *i.e.* of the temple rooms and the temple vessels. On לְ before בְּלִיָּה, used for mediate connection after the *stat. const.*, cf. Ew. § 289, b. וּמַעֲשֵׂה עֲבֹדָה, and for the performance of the service of the house of God. Before מַעֲשֵׂה, לְ is to be supplied from the preceding. The individual services connected with the worship are specialized in vers. 29–31, and introduced by the preposition לְ. For the bread of the pile, *i.e.* the shew-bread (see on Lev. xxiv. 8 f.), viz. to prepare it; for the laying of the bread upon the table was the priest's business. For fine meal (סֹלֶת, see on Lev. ii. 1) for the meat-offering and unleavened cakes (לֶחֶם חֲמִצִּים, see on Lev. ii. 4), and for the pans, *i.e.* that which was baked in pans (see on Lev. ii. 5), and for that which was roasted (מִרְבֵּכַת, see on Lev. vi. 14), and for all measures of capacity and measures of length which were kept by the Levites, because meal, oil, and wine were offered along with the sacrifices in certain fixed quantities (cf. *e.g.* Ex. xxix. 40, xxx. 24), and the Levites had probably to watch over the weights and measures in general (Lev. xix. 35).—Ver. 30. "On each morning and evening to praise the Lord with song and instruments." These words refer to the duties of the singers and musicians, whose classes and orders are enumerated in chap. xxv. The referring of them to the Levites who assisted the priests in the sacrificial worship (Berth.) needs no serious refutation, for

desirous of calling attention to the fact that here a statement is made which is different from the former, for of this there is no trace; the contrary, indeed, is manifest. Since אֲלֵהָ (ver. 24) refers back to the just enumerated fathers'-houses of the Levites, and ver. 24 consequently forms the subscription to the preceding register, the historian thereby informs us plainly enough that he does not communicate here a statement different from the former, but only concludes that which he has formerly communicated. We cannot very well see how, from the fact that he here for the first time adduces the motive which determined David to cause the Levites from twenty years old and upwards to be numbered and employed in the service, it follows that he derived this statement of David's motive from a source different from that account which he has hitherto made use of. Nor would it be more manifest if ver. 27 contained—as it does not contain—a reference to the source from which he derived this statement.



**הַלֵּל הַזֶּה** is the standing phrase for the sacred temple music; and we can hardly believe that the Levites sang psalms or played on harps or lutes while the beasts for sacrifices were slaughtered and skinned, or the meat-offerings baked, or such duties performed.—Ver. 31. “And for all the bringing of offerings to Jahve on the sabbaths, the new moons, and the feasts, in the number according to the law concerning them (*i.e.* according to the regulations that existed for this matter), continually before Jahve.” It was the duty of the Levites to procure the necessary number of beasts for sacrifice, to see to their suitableness, to slaughter and skin them, etc. **זֶבַח** refers to **עֹלֹת**, the burnt-offerings for Jahve, which are **זֶבַח**, because they must always be offered anew on the appointed days.—Ver. 32. In conclusion, the whole duties of the Levites are summed up in three clauses: they were to keep the charge of the tabernacle, the charge of the sacred things, *i.e.* of all the sacred things of the worship, and the charge of the sons of Aaron, *i.e.* of all that the priests committed to them to be done; cf. Num. xviii. 3 ff., where these functions are more exactly fixed.

Chap. xxiv. *The division of the priests and Levites into classes.*—Vers. 1-19. *The twenty-four classes of priests.* After the statement as to the fathers'-houses of the Levites (chap. xxiii.), we have next the arrangements of the priests for the performance of the service in the sanctuary; the priestly families descended from Aaron's sons Eleazar and Ithamar being divided into twenty-four classes, the order of whose service was settled by lot.—Ver. 1a contains the superscription, “As for the sons of Aaron, their divisions (were these).” To make the division clear, we have an introductory notice of Aaron's descendants, to the effect that of his four sons, the two elder, Nadab and Abihu, died before their father, leaving no sons, so that only Eleazar and Ithamar became priests (**כֹּהֲנִים**), *i.e.* entered upon the priesthood. The four sons of Aaron, ver. 1, as in v. 29, Ex. vi. 23.—Ver. 2; cf. Lev. x. 1 f., Num. iii. 4. These priestly families David caused (ver. 3) to be divided, along with the two high priests (see on xviii. 16), “according to their service.” **מִשְׁמֶנָּה**, office, official class, as in xxiii. 11.—Ver. 4. As the sons of Eleazar proved to be more numerous in respect of the heads of the men than the sons of Ithamar, they (David, Zadok, and Ahimelech) divided them thus: “For the sons of Eleazar, heads of fathers'-houses, sixteen; and for the sons of Ithamar, (heads)

of fathers'-houses, eight." **לְרֹאשֵׁי הַבָּנִים** means neither in respect to the number of the men by the head (cf. xxiii. 3), nor with respect to the chiefs of the men, divided according to their fathers'-houses (Berth.). The supplying of the words, "divided according to their fathers'-houses," is perfectly arbitrary. The expression **לְרֹאשֵׁי הַבָּנִים** is rather to be explained by the fact that, according to the natural articulations of the people, the fathers'-houses, i.e. the groups of related families comprehended under the name **בֵּית-אָבוֹת**, divided themselves further into individual households, whose heads were called **בָּנִים**, as is clear from Josh. vii. 16-18, because each household had in the man, **הַבָּנִי**, its natural head. **לְרֹאשֵׁי הַבָּנִים** are therefore the heads, not of the fathers'-houses, but of the individual households, considered in their relation to the men as heads of households. Just as **בֵּית-אָב** is a technical designation of the larger groups of households into which the great families fell, so **הַבָּנִי** is the technical expression for the individual households into which the fathers'-houses fell. —Ver. 5. They divided them by lot, **אֵלֶּה עִם-אֵלֶּה**, these with these, i.e. the one as the other (cf. xxv. 8), so that the classes of both were determined by lot, as both drew lots mutually. "For holy princes and princes of God were of the sons of Eleazar, and among the sons of Ithamar;" i.e., of both lines of priests holy princes had come, men who had held the highest priestly dignity. The high-priesthood, as is well known, went over entirely to Eleazar and his descendants, but had been held for a considerable period in the time of the judges by the descendants of Ithamar; see above, p. 113. In the settlement of the classes of priests for the service, therefore, neither of the lines was to have an advantage, but the order was to be determined by lot for both. **שָׂרֵי קֹדֶשׁ**, cf. Isa. xliii. 28, = **שָׂרֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים**, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14, are the high priests and the heads of the priestly families, the highest officers among the priests, but can hardly be the same as the *ἀρχιερεῖς* of the gospel history; for the view that these *ἀρχιερεῖς* were the heads of the twenty-four classes of priests cannot be made good: cf. Wichelhaus, *Comment. zur Leidensgesch.* (Halle, 1855), S. 32 ff. **שָׂרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים** would seem to denote the same, and to be added as synonymous; but if there be a distinction between the two designations, we would take the princes of God to denote only the regular high priests, who could enter in before God into the most holy place.—Ver. 6. "He set them down," viz. the classes, as the lot had determined them. **בְּיָדֵיהֶם**,

of the tribe of Levi. רֹאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת לְכֹהֲנִים וְלִלְוִיִּם belongs to the fathers'-houses of the priests and of the Levites. The second hemistich of ver. 6 gives a more detailed account of the drawing of the lots: "One father's-house was drawn for Eleazar, and drawn for Ithamar." The last words are obscure. לָקַח, to lay hold of, to draw forth (Num. xxxi. 30, 47), here used of drawing lots, signifies plucked forth or drawn from the urn. The father's-house was plucked forth from the urn, the lot bearing its name being drawn. וְאֶתְּנָהּ, which is the only well-attested reading, only some few mss. containing the reading וְאֶתְּנָהּ, is very difficult. Although this various reading is a mere conjecture, yet Gesen. (*Theol.* p. 68), with Cappell and Grotius, prefers it. The repetition of the same word expresses sometimes totality, multitude, sometimes a distributive division; and here can only be taken in this last signification: one father's-house drawn for Eleazar, and then always drawn (or always one drawn) for Ithamar. So much at least is clear, that the lots of the two priestly families were not placed in one urn, but were kept apart in different urns, so that the lots might be drawn alternately for Eleazar and Ithamar. Had the lot for Eleazar been first drawn, and thereafter that for Ithamar, since Eleazar's family was the more numerous, they would have had an advantage over the Ithamarites. But it was not to be allowed that one family should have an advantage over the other, and the lots were consequently drawn alternately, one for the one, and another for the other. But as the Eleazarites were divided into sixteen fathers'-houses, and the Ithamarites into eight, Bertheau thinks that it was settled, in order to bring about an equality in the numbers sixteen and eight, in so far as the drawing of the lots was concerned, that each house of Ithamar should represent two lots, or, which is the same thing, that after every two houses of Eleazarites one house of Ithamarites should follow, and that the order of succession of the single houses was fixed according to this arrangement. To this or some similar conception of the manner of settling the order of succession we are brought, he says, by the relation of the number eight to sixteen, and by the words וְאֶתְּנָהּ and וְאֶתְּנָהּ. But even though this conception be readily suggested by the relation of the number sixteen to eight, yet we cannot see how the words וְאֶתְּנָהּ and וְאֶתְּנָהּ indicate it. These words would much rather suggest that a lot for Eleazar alternated with the drawing of one for Ithamar, until the eight

heads of Ithamar's family had been drawn, when, of course, the remaining eight lots of Eleazar must be drawn one after the other. We cannot, however, come to any certain judgment on the matter, for the words are so obscure as to be unintelligible even to the old translators. In vers. 7-18 we have the names of the fathers'-houses in the order of succession which had been determined by the lot. אֵלֶּיךָ, of the lot coming forth from the urn, as in Josh. xvi. 1, xix. 1. The names Jehoiarib and Jedaiah occur together also in ix. 10; and Jedaiah is met with, besides, in Ezra ii. 36 and Neh. vii. 39. The priest Mattathias, 1 Macc. ii. 1, came of the class Jehoiarib. Of the succeeding names, שַׁעְרִים (ver. 8), אֶשְׁבָּחָה (ver. 13), and הַפְּזִין (ver. 15) do not elsewhere occur; others, such as חֲפָה (ver. 13), זַכַּרְיָה (ver. 17), do not recur among the names of priests. The sixteenth class, Immer, on the contrary, and the twenty-first, Jachin, are often mentioned; cf. ix. 10, 12. Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, belonged to the eighth, Abiah (Luke i. 5).—Ver. 19. These are their official classes for their service (cf. ver. 3), לְבָא, so that they came (according to the arrangement thus determined) into the house of Jahve, according to their law, through Aaron their father (ancestor), i.e. according to the lawful arrangement which was made by Aaron for their official service, as Jahve the God of Israel had commanded. This last clause refers to the fact that the priestly service in all its parts was prescribed by Jahve in the law.<sup>1</sup>

Vers. 20-31. *The classes of the Levites.*—The superscription, "As to the other Levites" (ver. 20), when compared with the subscription, "And they also cast lots, like to their brethren the sons of Aaron" (ver. 31), leads us to expect a catalogue of these classes of Levites, which performed the service in the house of God at the hand of, i.e. as assistants to, the priests. הַלְוִיִּם are

<sup>1</sup> Of these twenty-four classes, each one had to perform the service during a week in order, and, as may be gathered with certainty from 2 Kings xi. 9 and 2 Chron. xxiii. 9, from Sabbath to Sabbath. Josephus bears witness to this division in *Antt.* vii. 14. 7: διέμενον οὗτος ὁ μερισμὸς ἀλλήλοις τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. Herzfeld, on the contrary (*Geschichte des Volks Israel von der Zerstörung des ersten Tempels*, Bd. i. S. 381 ff.), following de Wette and Gramb., has declared the reference of this organization of the priests to David to be an invention of the chronicler, and maintains that the twenty-four classes of priests were formed only after the exile, from the twenty-two families of priests who returned out of exile with Zerubbabel. But this baseless hypothesis is sufficiently refuted by the evidence adduced by Movers, *die bibl.*

the Levites still remaining after the enumeration of the priests. We might certainly regard the expression as including all the Levites except the Aaronites (or priests); but the statement of the subscription that they cast lots like the sons of Aaron, and the circumstance that in chap. xxv. the twenty-four orders of singers and musicians, in chap. xxvi. 1-19 the class of the doorkeepers, and in xxvi. 20-32 the overseers of the treasures, and the scribes and judges, are specially enumerated, prove that our passage treats only of the classes of the Levites who were employed about the worship. Bertheau has overlooked these circumstances, and, misled by false ideas as to the catalogue in chap. xxiii. 6-23, has moreover drawn the false conclusion that the catalogue in our verses is imperfect, from the circumstance that a part of the names of the fathers'-houses named in xxiii. 6-23 recur here in vers. 20-29, and that we find a considerable number of the names which are contained in chap. xxiii. 6-23 to be omitted from them. In vers. 20-25, for example, we find only names of Kohathites, and in vers. 26-29 of Merarites, and no Gershonites. But it by no means follows from that, that the classes of the Gershonites have been dropped out, or even omitted by the author of the Chronicle as an unnecessary repetition. This conclusion would only be warrantable if it were otherwise demonstrated, or demonstrable, that the Levites who were at the hand of the priests in carrying on the worship had been taken from all the three Levite families, and that consequently Gershonites also must have been included. But no such thing can be proved. Several fathers'-houses of the Gershonites were, according to xxvi. 20 ff., entrusted with the oversight of the treasures of the sanctuary. We have indeed no further accounts as to the employment of the other Gershonites; but the statements about the management of the treasures, and the scribes and judges, in chap. xxvi. 20-32, are everywhere imperfect. David had appointed 6000 men to be

*Chron.* S. 279 ff., for the historical character of the arrangements attributed to David, and described in our chapters; but the remarks of Oehler in Herzog's *Realenc.* xii. S. 185 f. may also be compared. An unimpeachable witness for the præ-exilic origin of the division of the priests into twenty-four orders is the vision of Ezekiel (chap. viii. 16-18), where the twenty-five men who worship the sun in the priests' court represent the twenty-four classes of priests, with the high priest at their head. In *Neh.* xii. 1-7 and 12-21 also unimpeachable evidence for the Davidic origin of the division of the priests into twenty-four classes is to be found, as we shall show in treating of these passages.

scribes and judges: those mentioned in chap. xxvi. 29–32 amounted to only 1700 and 2700, consequently only 4400 persons in all; so that it is quite possible the remaining 1600 were taken from among the Gershonites. Thus, therefore, from the fact that the Gershonites are omitted from our section, we cannot conclude that our catalogue is mutilated. In it all the chief branches of the Kohathites are named, viz. the two lines descended from Moses' sons (vers. 20, 21); then the Izharites, Hebronites, and Uzzielites (vers. 22–25), and the main branches of the Merarites (vers. 26–30).—Ver. 20*b* is to be taken thus: Of the sons of Amram, *i.e.* of the Kohathite Amram, from whom Moses descended (xxiii. 13), that is, of the chief Shubael, descended from Moses' son Gershon (xxiii. 16), his son Jehdeiah, who as head and representative of the class made up of his sons, and perhaps also of his brothers, is alone mentioned.—Ver. 21. Of the father's-house Rehabiah, connected with Eliezer the second son of Moses (xxiii. 16); of the sons of this Rehabiah, Isshiah was the head.—Ver. 22. Of the Izharites, namely of the father's-house Shelomoth (xxiii. 18), his sons were under the head Jahath. The heads of the class formed by David mentioned in vers. 20–22, Jehdeiah, Isshiah, and Jahath, are not met with in chap. xxiii.,—a clear proof that chap. xxiii. treats of the fathers'-houses; our section, on the contrary, of the official classes of the Levites.—Ver. 23 treats of the Hebronites, as is clear from xxiii. 19; but here the text is imperfect. Instead of enumerating the names of the chiefs of the classes into which David divided the four fathers'-houses into which Hebron's descendants fell for the temple service, we find only the four names of the heads of the fathers'-houses repeated, just as in xxiii. 19,—introduced, too, by יבְנֵי as sons of . . . Bertheau would therefore interpolate the name חֲבֵרֹן after יבְנֵי (according to xxiii. 19). This interpolation is probably correct, but is not quite beyond doubt, for possibly only the יבְנֵי of the four sons of Hebron named could be mentioned as being busied about the service of the sanctuary according to their divisions. In any case, the names of the heads of the classes formed by the Hebronites are wanting; but it is impossible to ascertain whether they have been dropped out only by a later copyist, or were not contained in the authority made use of by our historian, for even the LXX. had our text.—Vers. 26–28. The classes of the Merarites. As to Jaaziah and his sons, see the remarks on xxiii. 31. As Mahli's son

Eleazar had no sons, only Jerahmeel from his second son Kish, as head of the class formed by Mahli's sons, is named. Of Mushi's sons only the names of the four fathers'-houses into which they fell are mentioned, the chiefs of the classes not being noticed. The heads mentioned in our section are fifteen in all; and supposing that in the cases of the fathers'-houses of the Hebronites and of the Merarite branch of the Mushites, where the heads of the classes are not named, each father's-house formed only one class, we would have only fifteen classes. It is, however, quite conceivable that many of the fathers'-houses of the Hebronites and Mushites were so numerous as to form more than one class; and so out of the Levite families mentioned in vers. 20-29 twenty-four classes could be formed. The subscription, that they cast the lot like their brethren, makes this probable; and the analogy of the division of the musicians into twenty-four classes (chap. xxv.) turns the probability that the Levites who were appointed to perform service for the priests, were divided into the same number of classes, into a certainty, although we have no express statement to that effect, and in the whole Old Testament no information as to the order of succession of the Levites is anywhere to be found.—Ver. 31. לִפְנֵי דָוִד וְנֹ, as in ver. 6. In the last clause אֲבוֹת is used for בֵּית-אֲבוֹת, as רֹאשִׁי אֲבוֹת stands frequently for רֹאשִׁי בֵּית-אֲבוֹת in these catalogues. הָרֹאשׁ stands in apposition to בֵּית-אֲבוֹת, the father's-house; the head even as his younger brother, i.e. he who was the head of the father's-house as etc., i.e. the oldest among the brethren as his younger brethren. The Vulgate gives the meaning correctly: *tam majores quam minores; omnes sors æqualiter dividebat.*

Chap. xxv. *The twenty-four classes of musicians.*—Ver. 1. "David and the princes of the host separated for the service the sons of Asaph," etc. שְׂרָרֵי הָעֵבֶדָה are not princes of the Levite host; for although the service of the Levites is called עֲבָדָה in Num. iv. 23, yet the princes of the Levites are nowhere called שְׂרָרֵי הָעֵבֶדָה. This expression rather denotes either the leaders of the army or the chiefs of Israel, as the host of Jahve, Ex. xii. 17, 41, etc. Here it is used in the last signification, as synonymous with princes of Israel (xxiii. 2); in xxiv. 6 we have simply the princes, along with whom the heads of the fathers'-houses of the priests and the Levites are mentioned. הַקְּהִלִּים לְעֵבֶדָה, separate for the service; cf. Num. xvi. 9. The לְ in לִבְנֵי אֶסָפָה is *nota acc.* Since Asaph was, according to vi. 24-28, a descendant of Gershon, Heman,

according to vi. 18–23, a descendant of Kohath, and Jeduthun (= Ethan) a descendant of Merari (vi. 29–32), all the chief families of Levi had representatives among the singers. The Kethibh הַנְּבִיאִים is an orthographical error for הַנְּבָאִים (Keri), *partic. Niph.*, corresponding to the singular הַנְּבָא, vers. 2 and 3. נְבִיא, *prophetare*, is here used in its wider signification of the singing and playing to the praise of God performed in the power of the Divine Spirit. In reference to the instruments of these chief musicians, cf. xv. 16. The suffix in מְסַפְּרִים refers to the following noun, which is subordinated to the word מְסַפֵּר as genitive; cf. the similar construction נַפְשׁוֹ עַל, his, the sluggard's, soul, Prov. xiii. 4, and Ew. § 309, e. "Their number (the number) of the workmen for the service, i.e. of those who performed the work of the service, was (as follows)."—Ver. 2. With לְבְנֵי אָסָף the enumeration begins: "Of Asaph's sons were, or to Asaph's sons belonged, Zacchur," etc. Four are here named, but the number is not stated, while it is given in the case of the sons of Jeduthun and Heman, vers. 3 and 5. עַל־יָד, at the hand, alternates with עַל־יָד (vers. 3 and 6), and עַל יָד אָסָף does not of itself express a different relationship to Asaph than that expressed by עַל יָד הַמֶּלֶךְ with reference to the king. It signifies only "under (according to) the direction of;" and in ver. 6 the king, Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman are co-ordinated, inasmuch as the musical part of the worship was arranged by David and the three chief musicians in common, although only the latter were concerned in its performance. In ver. 3 לְיְדוּתֻן is placed at the beginning, because the choir of singers led by him bore his name; and so also in the case of Heman, ver. 4. "As to Jeduthun, were sons of Jeduthun." The word sons in these catalogues denotes not merely actual sons, but those intellectually sons, i.e. scholars taught by the master. This is clear from the fact that the twenty-four classes, each of which numbered twelve men, consist of sons and brothers of the leaders. The names given as those of the sons of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman, in vers. 2–5, do not represent the whole number of the scholars of these masters, but only the presidents of the twenty-four classes of Levites who were engaged under their leadership in performing the sacred music. Only five sons of Jeduthun are named in our text, while according to the number given there should be six. A comparison of the names in vers. 9–31 shows that in ver. 3 the name שִׁמְעִי (ver. 17) has been dropped out. יְדוּתֻן בֶּנְיָמִן belongs to יְדוּתֻן: under the direction of their father



Jeduthun (the master), upon the kinnor (see on xv. 16), who was inspired to sing praise, *i.e.* who played inspiredly to bring praise and honour to the Lord; cf. xvi. 4, xxiii. 30, etc.—Ver. 4 f. Fourteen sons of Heman are enumerated. רִמְמִי עֶזֶר is one name, cf. 31, although עֶזֶר is without doubt to be supplied also after גִּדְדַלְתִּי. Probably also מַחְזִיאוֹת is to be supplied in thought after the names. מְלוֹתִי, I made full, and הוֹתִיר, increased.<sup>1</sup> Heman is called in ver. 5 the seer of the king in the words of God, because he, along with his gift of song, was endowed also with the prophetic gift, and as seer made known to the king revelations of God. In 2 Chron. xxxv. 15 the same thing is predicated also of Jeduthun, and in the same sense the prophet Gad is called in xxi. 9 David's seer. לְהִרִים קֶן the Masoretes have connected with the preceding, by placing Athnach under the קֶן, and the phrase has been wholly misunderstood by the Rabbins and Christian commentators. Berth., *e.g.*, connects it with בִּדְבָרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, and translates, "to sound loud upon horns, according to the divine command," referring to 2 Chron. xxix. 15, where, however, both meaning and accentuation forbid us to connect בִּדְבָרֵי יְהוָה with what follows. This interpretation of the words is thoroughly wrong, not only because the Levites under Heman's direction did not blow horns, the horn not being one of the instruments played by the Levites in connection with the worship, but also because on linguistic grounds it is objectionable. הִרִים קֶן never has the signification to blow the horn; for to elevate the horn signifies everywhere to heighten the power of any one, or unfold, show power; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 10; Lam. ii. 17; Ps. cxlviii. 14, lxxxix. 18, xcii. 11, etc. That is the meaning of the phrase here, and the words are to be connected, according to their sense, with what follows: "to elevate the horn," *i.e.* to give power, God gave Heman fourteen sons and three daughters; *i.e.* to make Heman's race

<sup>1</sup> On these names Ewald says, *ausf. Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, § 274, S. 672, der 7 Ausg.: "It is thought that the utterance of a great prophet is to be found cut up into names of near relatives, when the words,

גִּדְדַלְתִּי רִמְמִי עֶזֶר  
מְלוֹתִי הוֹתִיר מַחְזִיאוֹת

'I have given great and lofty help,  
I have to fulness spoken oracles,'

which manifestly form a verse, and may have been the commencement of a famed ancient oracle, are found transferred to the five musical sons of Heman, Giddalti(ezer), Romantiezzer, Mallothi, Hothir, and Machazioth."

mighty for the praise of God, God gave him so many sons and daughters.—Ver. 6 is the subscription to the enumeration, vers. 2-5. **בְּלִיאָה** are not the fourteen sons of Heman, but all the sons of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman. All these were under the direction of their fathers for song in the house of Jahve, with cymbals . . . for the service in the house of God under the direction of the king, etc. **אֲבִיהֶם** is used distributively of each father of the sons named. Bertheau supplies after **אֲבִיהֶם** the name Heman, and thereby the first half of the verse contradicts the second, which he correctly understands to refer to the twenty-four persons enumerated.—In ver. 7 the total number is given. Their number (the number) of the sons of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman (*i.e.* of the twenty-four [4+6+14] mentioned by name), with their brethren, was 288 (24×12); whence we learn that each of those named had eleven **אֶחָיו**, all of them **מְלֻמְדֵי שִׁיר**, learned, practised in song for Jahve. In **בְּלִיהֶבֶן** the sons and the brothers are both included, in order to give the total number. **מְבִינִן**, having understanding, knowledge of a thing, denotes here those who by education and practice were skilled in song—the accomplished musicians. Their number was 288, and these were divided into twenty-four choirs (classes). David had, according to xxiii. 5, appointed 4000 Levites for the performance of the music. Of these, 288 were **מְבִינִים** skilled in song; the others were scholars (**תַּלְמִידִים**), as ver. 8 shows, where **מְבִינִן** and **תַּלְמִידִים** are the two categories into which the musicians are divided.—Ver. 8. They cast lots, **בְּשִׁמְרָה**, **בְּזִלְזוֹת**, **אֶלְגָּרוֹוס ἐφημερίων** (LXX.), by which the **שִׁמְרָה**, the waiting upon the service, was fixed, that is, the order of their succession in the official service. **לְעֶפֶת** is variously translated. As no name follows, R. Shel. and Kimchi would repeat the preceding **שִׁמְרָה**: one class as the other; and this is supported by xxvi. 16 and Neh. xii. 24, and by the fact that in xvii. 5, after **בְּשִׁמְרָה**, the words **אֶל מְשִׁבֵּן** have been dropped out. But according to the accentuation **שִׁמְרָה** belongs to **זִלְזוֹת**, and so the proposed completion is at once disposed of. Besides this, however, the thought “class like class” does not appear quite suitable, as the classes were only formed by the lots, and so were not in existence so as to be able to cast lots. We therefore, with Ewald, § 360, *a*, and Berth., hold the clause **בְּזִלְזוֹת בְּזִלְזוֹת** to be the genitive belonging to **לְעֶפֶת**, since **עֶפֶת** is in Eccles. v. 15 also connected with a clause: “in the manner of, as the small, so the great,” *i.e.* the small and the great, the older as the younger.

This is further defined by "the skilled as the scholars." From these words it is manifest that not merely the 288 cast lots, for these were לִלְמַדִּים (ver. 7), but also the other 3712 Levites appointed for the service of the singers; whence it further follows that only the 288 who were divided by lot into twenty-four classes, each numbering twelve persons, were thoroughly skilled in singing and playing, and the scholars were so distributed to them that each class received an equal number of them, whom they had to educate and train. These, then, were probably trained up for and employed in the temple music according to their progress in their education, so that the ἐφημέρια which had at any time charge of the service consisted not only of the twelve skilled musicians, but also of a number of scholars who assisted in singing and playing under their direction.

Vers. 9-31. The order of succession was so determined by lot, that the four sons of Asaph (ver. 3) received the first, third, fifth, and seventh places; the six sons of Jeduthun, the second, fourth, eighth, twelfth, and fourteenth; and finally, the four sons of Heman (first mentioned in ver. 4), the sixth, ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth places; while the remaining places, 15-24, fell to the other sons of Heman. From this we learn that the lots of the sons of the three chief musicians were not placed in separate urns, and one lot drawn from each alternately; but that, on the contrary, all the lots were placed in one urn, and in drawing the lots of Asaph and Jeduthun came out so, that after the fourteenth drawing only sons of Heman remained.<sup>1</sup> As to the details in ver. 9, after Joseph we miss the statement, "he and his sons and his brothers, twelve;" which, with the exception of the לִלְמַדִּים, used only of the second lot, and omitted for the sake of brevity in all the other cases, is repeated with all the 23 numbers, and so can have been dropped here only by an error. The words אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה are to be understood thus: The first lot drawn was for

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau, S. 218, draws quite another conclusion from the above-mentioned order in which the lots were drawn. He supposes "that two series, each of seven, were first included in the lot: to the one series belonged the four sons of Asaph and the three sons of Heman, Mattaniah, Uzziel or Azarel, and Shebuel or Shubael; to the other, the six sons of Jeduthun and Bukkiah the son of Heman. A lot was drawn from each series alternately, commencing with the first, so that the four sons of Asaph and the three sons of Heman obtained the places 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13; while to the six sons of Jeduthun, and the son of Heman added to them, fell the places 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14. The still remaining ten sons of Heman were then finally drawn for, and re-

Asaph, viz. for his son Joseph. In the succeeding verses the names are enumerated, sometimes with and sometimes without  $\text{בן}$ . Some of the names diverge somewhat in form. Izri, ver. 11, stands for Zeri, ver. 3; Jesharelah, ver. 14, for Asarelah, ver. 2; Azarel, ver. 18, for Uzziel, ver. 4 (like the king's names Uziah and Azariah, iii. 12, and 2 Chron. xxvi. 1); Shubael, ver. 20, for Shebuel, ver. 4 (cf. xxiii. 16 with xxiv. 20); Jeremoth, ver. 22, for Jerimoth, ver. 4; Eliyathah, ver. 27, for Eliathah, ver. 4. Besides these, the fuller forms Nethanyahu (ver. 12), Hashab-yahu (ver. 3), Hananyahu (ver. 23), are used instead of the shorter Nethaniah, etc. (vers. 2, 19, 4). Of the 24 names which are here enumerated, besides those of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman, only Mattithiah recurs (xv. 18, 21) in the description of the solemnities connected with the bringing in of the ark; "but we are not justified in seeking there the names of our twenty-four classes" (Berth.).

Chap. xxvi. *The classes of the doorkeepers, the stewards of the treasures of the sanctuary, and the officers for the external business.*—Vers. 1–19. *The classes of the doorkeepers.* Ver. 1. The superscription runs shortly thus: "As to (?) the divisions of the doorkeepers." The enumeration begins with  $\text{לְקַרְיָהִים}$ : to the Korahites (belongs) Meshelemiah (in ver. 14, Shelemiah). Instead of  $\text{בְּנֵי קֹרַח}$  we should read, according to ix. 19,  $\text{בְּנֵי אֶבְיָהִים}$ , for the Korahites are descended from Kohath (Ex. vi. 21, xviii. 16), but Asaph is a descendant of Gershon (vi. 24 f.).—In vers. 2, 3, seven sons of Meshelemiah are enumerated; the first-born Zechariah is mentioned also in ix. 21, and was entrusted, according to ver. 14, with the guarding of the north side.—Vers. 4–8. Obed-edom's family. Obed-edom has been already mentioned in chap. xvi. 38 and xv. 24 as doorkeeper; see the commentary on the passage. From our passage we learn that Obed-edom belonged to the Kohathite family of the Korahites. According to ver. 19, the doorkeepers were Korahites and Merarites. The Merarites,

ceived the places from the 15th to the 24th." This very artificial hypothesis explains, indeed, the order of the lots, but we cannot think it probable, because (1) for the supposed dividing of the lots to be drawn into divisions of 10 and 14 no reason can be assigned; (2) by any such division the sons of Heman would have been placed at a disadvantage from the beginning as compared with the sons of Asaph and Jeduthun, since not only Asaph's four sons, but also all Jeduthun's six sons, would have been placed in the first rank, while only four sons of Heman accompany them, Heman's ten remaining sons having had the last place assigned them.

however, are only treated of from ver. 10 and onwards. **אֶלְעָזָר** (ver. 4) corresponds to **אֶלְעָזָר** (ver. 2), and is consequently thereby brought under **בְּנֵי** (ver. 1). Here, vers. 4, 5, eight sons with whom God had blessed him (cf. xiii. 14), and in 6 and 7 his grandchildren, are enumerated. The verb **נָלַךְ** is used in the singular, with a subject following in the plural, as frequently (cf. Ew. § 316, a). The grandchildren of Obed-edom by his first-born son Shemaiah are characterized as **הַמְּשָׁלִים**, the dominions, i.e. the lords (rulers) of the house of their fathers (**מִשְׁלָה**, the abstract dominion, for the concrete **מִשְׁלָה**; cf. Ew. § 160, b), because they were **גִּבּוֹרֵי הַלָּל**, valiant heroes, and so qualified for the office of doorkeepers. In the enumeration in ver. 7, the omission of the 1 cop. with **אֶלְעָזָר** is strange; probably we must supply **וְ** before both words, and take them thus: And Elzabad and his brethren, valiant men, (viz.) Elihu and Semachiah. For the conjecture that the names of the **אֶלְעָזָר** are not given (Berth.) is not a very probable one.—Ver. 8. The whole number of doorkeepers of Obed-edom's family, his sons and brethren, was sixty-two; able men with strength for the service. The singular **אִישׁ**, after the preceding plural, is most simply explained by taking it to be in apposition to the **בָּל** at the beginning of the verse, by repeating **בָּל** mentally before **אִישׁ**.—In ver. 9 the number of Meshelemiah's sons and brothers is brought in in a supplementary way.—Vers. 10, 11. The Merarites. Hosah's sons and brothers. **הוֹסָה** has been already mentioned (xvi. 38) along with Obed-edom as doorkeeper. Hosah made Shimri head of the Merarites, who served as doorkeepers, because there was no first-born, i.e. because his first-born son had died without leaving any descendant, so that none of the families descended from Hosah had the natural claim to the birthright. All the sons and brothers of Hosah were thirteen. Meshelemiah had eighteen (cf. ver. 9), and Obed-edom sixty-two (ver. 8); and all taken together they make ninety-three, whom we are (according to ver. 12 f.) to regard as the heads of the 4000 doorkeepers. In ix. 22 the number of the doorkeepers appointed by David is stated to be 212, but that number most probably refers to a different time (see on ix. 22). Bertheau further remarks: "According to xvi. 38, sixty-eight are reckoned to Obed-edom and Hosah, in our passage seventy-five; and the small difference between the numbers is explained by the fact that in the first passage only the doorkeepers before the ark are referred to." Against this we

have already shown, in our remarks on xvi. 38, that the number there mentioned cannot be held with certainty to refer to the doorkeepers. — Vers. 12–19. The division of the doorkeepers according to their posts of service. Ver. 12. “To these classes of doorkeepers, viz. to the heads of the men, (were committed) the watches, in common with their brethren, to serve in the house of Jahve.” By **לְאֵלֶּה מַחְלָקוֹת** it is placed beyond doubt that the above-mentioned names and numbers give us the classes of the doorkeepers. By the apposition **לְרָאשֵׁי הַבָּרִים**, the meaning of which is discussed in the commentary on xxiv. 4, **מַחְלָקוֹת הַשֵּׁ** is so defined as to show that properly the heads of the households are meant, only these having been enumerated in the preceding section, and not the classes.—Ver. 13. The distribution of the stations by lot followed (cf. xxv. 8), the small as the great; i.e. the younger as the older cast lots, according to their fathers’-houses, “for door and door,” i.e. for each door of the four sides of the temple, which was built so that its sides corresponded to the points of the compass.—Ver. 14. The lot towards the east, i.e. for the guarding of the east side, fell to Shelemiah (cf. vers. 1, 2); while that towards the north fell to his first-born Zechariah. Before **וְזַכְרְיָהוּ**, **לְ** is to be repeated. To him the title **יִזְעָן בְּשֵׁקֶל** is given, for reasons unknown to us. **הַפִּלְיוֹ נֹ**, (for him) they threw lots.—Ver. 15. To Obed-edom (fell the lot) towards the south, and to his sons it fell (to guard) the house Asuppim. As **בֵּית-הָאֲסַפִּים**, called for brevity **אֲסַפִּים** in ver. 17, i.e. house of collections or provisions (cf. Neh. xii. 25), we can say nothing further than that it was a building used for the storing of the temple goods, situated in the neighbourhood of the southern door of the temple in the external court, and that it probably had two entrances, since in ver. 19 it is stated that two guard-stations were assigned to it.—Ver. 16. The word **לְשָׁפִים** is unintelligible, and probably has come into the text merely by a repetition of the two last syllables of the preceding word, since the name **שָׁפִים** (vii. 12) has no connection with this passage. To Hosah fell the lot towards the west, by the door Shallecheth on the ascending highway. **הַמַּסְלָה הָעֹלָה** is the way which led from the lower city up to the more lofty temple site. Instead of the door on this highway, in ver. 18, in the statement as to the distribution of the guard-stations, Parbar is named, and the highway distinguished from it, four doorkeepers being appointed for the **מַסְלָה**, and two for **פַּרְבַּר**. **פַּרְבַּר**, probably identical

with פִּרְוִיִּים, 2 Kings xxiii. 11, a word of uncertain meaning, was the name of an out-building on the western side, the back of the outer court of the temple by the door Shallecheth, which contained cells for the laying up of temple goods and furniture. שַׁלְּחֶת, Böttcher translates, *Proben*, S. 347, "refuse-door;" see on 2 Kings xxiii. 11. Nothing more definite can be said of it, unless we hold, with Thenius on 2 Kings xxiii. 11, that Ezekiel's temple is in all its details a copy of the Solomonic temple, and use it, in an unjustifiable way, as a source of information as to the præ-exilic temple. מִשְׁמָר לְעֵמֶת מִשְׁמָר (as in Neh. xii. 24), guard with (over against?) guard, or one guard as the other (cf. on לְעֵמֶת, ver. 12 and xxv. 8), Bertheau connects with Hosah, according to the Masoretic punctuation, and explains it thus: "Because it was Hosah's duty to set guards before the western gate of the temple, and also before the gate Shallecheth, which lay over against it." Clericus, on the contrary, refers the words to all the guard-stations: *cum ad omnes januas essent custodiæ, sibi ex adverso respondebant*. This reference, according to which the words belong to what follows, and introduce the statement as to the number of guards at the individual posts which follows in ver. 17 ff., seems to deserve the preference. So much is certain in any case, that there is no ground in the text for distinguishing the gate Shallecheth from the western gate of the temple, for the two gates are not distinguished either in ver. 16 or in ver. 18.—Ver. 17 f. Settlement of the number of guard-stations at the various sides and places. Towards morning (on the east side) were six of the Levites (six kept guard); towards the north by day (i.e. daily, on each day), four; towards the south daily, four; and at the storehouse two and two, consequently four also; at Parbar towards the west, four on the highway and two at Parbar, i.e. six. In all, therefore, there were twenty-four guard-stations to be occupied daily; but more than twenty-four persons were required, because, even supposing that one man at a time was sufficient for each post, one man could not stand the whole day at it: he must have been relieved from time to time. Probably, however, there were always more than one person on guard at each post. It further suggests itself that the number twenty-four may be in some way connected with the divisions or classes of doorkeepers; but there is only a deceptive appearance of a connection. The division of the priests and musicians each into twenty-four classes respectively is no sufficient analogy in the case, for these classes

had to perform the service in succession each for a week at a time, while the twenty-four doorkeepers' stations had to be all occupied simultaneously every day.—In vers. 2–11, then, twenty-eight heads in all are enumerated by name (Meshelemiah with seven sons, Obed-edom with eight sons and six grandsons, and Hosah with four sons); but the total number in all the three families of doorkeepers is stated at ninety-three, and neither the one nor the other of these numbers bears any relation to twenty-four. Finally, the posts are so distributed that Meshelemiah with his eighteen sons and brothers kept guard on the east and north sides with six posts; Obed-edom with his sixty-two sons and brothers on the south side with four and  $2 \times 2$ , that is, eight posts; and Hosah with his thirteen sons and brothers on the western side with four and two, that is, six; so that even here no symmetrical distribution of the service can be discovered.—Ver. 19. Subscription, in which it is again stated that the classes of doorkeepers were taken from among the Korahites and Merarites.

Vers. 20–28. *The stewards of the treasures of the sanctuary.*—Ver. 20 appears to contain the superscription of the succeeding section. For here the treasures of the house of God and the treasures of the consecrated things are grouped together, while in vers. 22 and 26 they are separated, and placed under the oversight of two Levite families: the treasures of the house of Jahve under the sons of the Gershonite Laadan (vers. 21, 22); the treasures of the consecrated things under the charge of the Amramites. But with this the words אֲחִיָּהּ הַלֵּוִיִּם cannot be made to harmonize. According to the Masoretic accentuation, הַלֵּוִיִּם alone would be the superscription; but אֲחִיָּהּ alone gives no suitable sense, for the Levites have been treated of already from chap xxiii. onwards. Moreover, it appears somewhat strange that there is no further characterization of אֲחִיָּהּ, for the name is a very common one, but has not before occurred in our chapter, whence we would expect a statement of his descent and his family, such as we find in the case of the succeeding chief overseers. All these things tend to throw doubt upon the correctness of the Masoretic reading, while the LXX., on the contrary, in καὶ οἱ Λευῖται ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν, κ.τ.λ., give a perfectly suitable superscription, which involves the reading אֲחִיָּהּ instead of אֲחִיָּהּ. This reading we, with J. D. Mich. and Berth., hold to be the original. On אֲחִיָּהּ הַלֵּוִיִּם, cf. vi. 29, 2 Chron. xxix. 34.—



Vers. 21 and 22 go together: "The sons of Laadan, (namely) the sons of the Gershonite family which belong to Laadan, (namely) the heads of the fathers'-houses of Laadan of the Gershonite family: Jehieli, (namely) the sons of Jehieli, Zetham and his brother Joel (see xxiii. 7), were over the treasures of the house of Jahve." The meaning is this: "Over the treasures of the house of Jahve were Zetham and Joel, the heads of the father's-house of Jehieli, which belonged to the Laadan branch of the Gershonites." Light is thrown upon these words, so obscure through their brevity, by chap. xxiii. 7, 8, according to which the sons of Jehiel, or the Jehielites, are descended from Laadan, the older branch of the Gershonites. This descent is briefly but fully stated in the three clauses of the 21st verse, each of which contains a more definite characterization of the father's-house Jehieli, whose two heads Zetham and Joel were entrusted with the oversight of the treasures of the house of God.—Vers. 23 and 24 also go together: "As to the Amramites, Jisharites, Hebronites, and Uzzielites (the four chief branches of the Kohathite family of Levites, chap. xxiii. 15-20), Shebuel the son of Gershon, the son of Moses, was prince over the treasures" (1 before Shebuel introduces the apodosis, cf. *Ew.* § 348, *a*, and = *Germ.* "so war").—Ver. 25. "And his (Shebuel's) brethren of Eliezer were Rehabiah his (Eliezer's) son, and Jeshaiiah his son, . . . and Shelomoth his son." These descendants of Eliezer were called brethren of Shebuel, because they were descended through Eliezer from Moses, as Shebuel was through his father Gershon.—Ver. 26. This Shelomoth (a descendant of Eliezer, and so to be distinguished both from the Jisharite Shelomith (xxiii. 18 and xxiv. 22), and the Gershonite of the same name (xxiii. 9)), and his brethren were over the treasures of the consecrated things which David the king had consecrated, and the heads of the fathers'-houses, etc. Instead of *לְאֶרְיָ* we must read *לְאֶרְיָ*, according to xxix. 6. The princes over the thousands and hundreds are the war captains, and the *שָׂרֵי הַצֶּבָא* are the commanders-in-chief, e.g. Abner, Joab, xxvii. 34, 2 Sam. viii. 16, 1 Chron. xviii. 15.—The 27th verse is an explanatory parenthesis: "from the wars and from the booty," i.e. from the booty taken in war had they consecrated. *לְחַזֵּק*, to make strong, i.e. to preserve in strength and good condition the house of Jahve. *בָּנָה* elsewhere of the renovation of old buildings, 2 Kings xii. 8 ff., Neh. iii. 2 ff., here in a somewhat general signification.—In ver. 28 the enumeration of

those who had consecrated, thus interrupted, is resumed, but in the form of a new sentence, which concludes with a predicate of its own. In **הַקִּדְּשִׁים** the article represents **אֲשֶׁר**, as in xxix. 17, 2 Chron. xxix. 36, and elsewhere; cf. Ew. § 331, b. With **בְּלֹא הַמִּקְדָּשִׁים**, all who had consecrated, the enumeration is concluded, and the predicate, "was at the hand of Shelomith and his brethren," is then brought in. **עַל-יָד**, laid upon the hand, *i.e.* entrusted to them for preservation; Germ. *unter der Hand* (under the hand).

If we glance back at the statements as to the stewards of the treasures (vers. 20–28), we find that the treasures of the house of Jahve were under the oversight of the Jehielites Zetham and Joel, with their brethren, a branch of the Gershonites (ver. 22); and the treasures of the consecrated things under the oversight of the Kohathite Shelomith, who was of the family of Moses' second son Eliezer, with his brethren (ver. 28). But in what relation does the statement in ver. 24, that Shebuel, the descendant of Moses through Gershon, was **נָגִיד עַל-הָאֲצִוִּיּוֹת**, stand to this? Bertheau thinks "that three kinds of treasures are distinguished, the guarding of which was committed to different officials: (1) The sons of Jehieli, Zetham and Joel, had the oversight of the treasures of the house of God, which, as we may conclude from xxix. 8, had been collected by voluntary gifts: (2) Shebuel was prince over the treasures, perhaps over the sums which resulted from regular assessment for the temple (Ex. xxx. 11–16), from redemption-money, *e.g.* for the first-born (Num. xviii. 16 ff.), or for vows (Lev. xxvii.); consequently over a part of the sums which are designated in 2 Kings xii. 5 by the name **כֶּסֶף הַקִּדְּשִׁים**; (3) Shelomith and his brothers had the oversight of all the **אֲצִוִּיּוֹת** **הַקִּדְּשִׁים**, *i.e.* of the consecrated gifts which are called in 2 Kings xii. 19 **קִדְּשִׁים**, and distinguished from the **כֶּסֶף קִדְּשִׁים** in ver. 5." But this view has no support in the text. Both in the superscription (ver. 20) and in the enumeration (vers. 22, 26) only two kinds of treasures—treasures of the house of God (of Jahve), and treasures of the **קִדְּשִׁים**—are mentioned. Neither by the facts nor by the language used are we justified in supposing that there was a third kind of treasures, *viz.* the sums resulting from the regular assessment for the holy place. For it is thoroughly arbitrary to confine the treasures of the house of God to the voluntary contributions and the consecrated gifts given from the war-booty; and it is still more arbitrary to limit the treasures

over which Shebuel was prince to the sums flowing into the temple treasures from the regular assessment; for the reference to 2 Kings xii. 19 and 5 is no proof of this, because, though two kinds of קרשים are there distinguished, yet both are further defined. The quite general expression תאצרות, the treasures, can naturally be referred only to the two different kinds of treasures distinguished in ver. 22. This reference is also demanded by the words נגיד . . . שְׁבֻעַל (ver. 24). Heads of fathers'-houses, with their brethren (אחיהם), are mentioned as guardians of the two kinds of treasures spoken of in ver. 20; while here, on the contrary, we have Shebuel alone, without assistants. Further, the other guardians are not called נגיד, as Shebuel is. The word נגיד denotes not an overseer or steward, but only princes of kingdoms (kings), princes of tribes (xii. 27, xiii. 1, xxvii. 16; 2 Chron. xxxii. 21), ministers of the palace and the temple, and commanders-in-chief (2 Chron. xi. 11, xxviii. 7), and is consequently used in our section neither of Zetham and Joel, nor of Shelomoth. The calling of Shebuel נגיד consequently shows that he was the chief guardian of the sacred treasures, under whose oversight the guardians of the two different kinds of treasures were placed. This is stated in vers. 23, 24; and the statement would not have been misunderstood if it had been placed at the beginning or the end of the enumeration; and its position in the middle between the Gershonites and the Kohathites is explained by the fact that this prince was, according to xxiii. 16, the head of the four Levite families descended from Kohath.

Vers. 29-32. *The officials for the external business.*—Ver. 29. "As to the Izharites, Chenaniah (see on xv. 22) with his sons was for the outward business over Israel for scribes and judges." According to this, the external business of the Levites consisted of service as scribes and judges, for which David had set apart 6000 Levites (xxiii. 4). Without sufficient reason, Bertheau would refer the external business to the exaction of the dues for the temple, because in Neh. xi. 16 תְּחִלָּתָהּ הָיְתָה לַמִּקְדָּשׁ for the temple is spoken of. But it does not at all follow that in our verse the external work had any reference to the temple, and that the scribes and judges had only this narrow sphere of action, since here, instead of the house of God, עַל יְהוָה is mentioned as the object with which the external service was connected.—Ver. 30. Of Hebronites, Hashabiah and his brethren, 1700 valiant men,

were 'עַל פְּקָדוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל, for the oversight (inspection) of Israel this side Jordan, for all the business of Jahve and the service of the king. Bertheau takes פְּקָדוֹת to mean "due," "fixed tribute," a meaning which the word cannot be shown to have. The LXX. have translated correctly, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, *ad inspectionem Israelis*, i.e. *praefecti erant* (J. H. Mich.). For 'עַל פְּקָדוֹת is in ver. 32 rendered by יַפְקִיד עַל מַעְבְּר לְיָרֵחַ. יַפְקִיד עַל מַעְבְּרָה to refer to the land of Canaan, as in Josh. v. 1, xxii. 7, since Israel, both under Joshua and also after the exile, had come from the eastward over Jordan into Canaan. The words מַלְאָכָה and עֲבֹדָה are synonymous, and are consequently both represented in ver. 32 by רִבְרָב.—Ver. 31 f. David set another branch of the Hebronites, under the head Jeriah (cf. xxiii. 9), over the East-Jordan tribes. Between the words "Jeriah the head," ver. 31, and יֵאָחִיז, ver. 32, a parenthesis is inserted, which gives the reason why David made these Hebronites scribes and judges among the East-Jordan tribes. The parenthesis runs thus: "As to the Hebronites, according to their generations, according to fathers, they were sought out in the fortieth year of David's rule, and valiant heroes were found among them in Jazer of Gilead." Jazer was a Levite city in the tribal domain of Gad, assigned, according to Josh. xxi. 39, to the Merarites (see on vi. 66). The number of these Hebronites was 2700 valiant men (ver. 32). The additional רָאשֵׁי הָאֲבוֹת is obscure, for if we take אֲבוֹת to be, as it often is in the genealogies, a contraction for בְּיַת־אֲבוֹת, the number given does not suit; for a branch of the Hebronites cannot possibly have numbered 2700 fathers'-houses (πατριά, groups of related households): they must be only 2700 men (נַפְּרִיִּים), or heads of families, i.e. households. Not only the large number demands this signification, but also the comparison of this statement with that in ver. 30. The 1700 בְּנֵי חֵיל of which the Hebronite branch, Hashabiah with his brethren, consisted, were not so many πατριά, but only so many men of this πατριά. In the same way, the Hebronite branch of which Jeriah was head, with his brethren, 2700 בְּנֵי חֵיל, were also not 2700 πατριά, but only so many men, that is, fathers of families. It is thus placed beyond doubt that רָאשֵׁי אֲבוֹת cannot here denote the heads of fathers'-houses, but only heads of households. And accordingly we must not understand לְאֲבוֹת (ver. 31) of fathers'-houses, as the LXX. and all commentators do, but only of heads of households. The use of the verb נִרְשָׁו also

favours this view, for this verb is not elsewhere used of the legal census of the people, *i.e.* the numbering and entering of them in the public lists, according to the great families and fathers'-houses. There may therefore be in נִרְשָׁה a hint that it was not a genealogical census which was undertaken, but only a numbering of the heads of households, in order to ascertain the number of scribes and judges to be appointed. There yet remain in this section three things which are somewhat strange: 1. Only 1700 scribes and judges were set over the cis-Jordanic land, inhabited as it was by ten and a half tribes, while 2700 were set over the trans-Jordanic land with its two and a half tribes. 2. Both numbers taken together amount to only 4400 men, while David appointed 6000 Levites to be scribes and judges. 3. The scribes and judges were taken only from two fathers'-houses of the Kohathites, while most of the other Levitical offices were filled by men of all the families of the tribe of Levi. On all these grounds, it is probable that our catalogue of the Levites appointed to be scribes and judges, *i.e.* for the external business, is imperfect.

CHAP. XXVII.—DIVISION OF THE ARMY. TRIBAL PRINCES, ADMINISTRATORS OF THE DOMAINS, AND COUNCILLORS OF STATE.

This chapter treats of the organization of the army (vers. 1-15) and the public administration; in vers. 16-24, the princes of the twelve tribes being enumerated; in vers. 25-31, the managers of the royal possessions and domains; and in vers. 32-34, the chief councillors of the king. The information on these points immediately succeeds the arrangement of the service of the Levites, because, as we learn from ver. 23 f., David attempted in the last year of his reign to give a more stable form to the political constitution of the kingdom also. In the enumeration of the twelve divisions of the army, with their leaders (vers. 1-15), it is not indeed said when David organized the men capable of bearing arms for the alternating monthly service; but the reference in ver. 23 f. of our chapter to the numbering of the people, spoken of in chap. xxi., leaves no doubt of the fact that this division of the people stands in intimate connection with that numbering of the people, and that David caused the people to be numbered in order to perfect the military constitution of the

kingdom, and to leave his kingdom to his son strong within and mighty without.

Vers. 1-15. *The twelve divisions of the army.*—Ver. 1. The lengthy superscription, “And the sons of Israel according to their number, the heads of the fathers’-houses, and the princes over the thousands and the hundreds, and their scribes, who served the king in regard to every matter of the divisions; which month for month of all months of the year went and came, one division 24,000 men,” is towards the end so intimately interwoven with the divisions of the army, that it can only refer to this, *i.e.* only to the catalogue, vers. 2-15. Since, then, we find in this catalogue only the twelve classes, the number of the men belonging to each, and their leaders, and since for this the short superscription, “the Israelites according to their number, and the princes of the divisions which served the king,” would be amply sufficient, Bertheau thinks that the superscription originally belonged to a more complete description of the classes and their different officers, of which only a short extract is here communicated. This hypothesis is indeed possible, but is not at all certain; for it is questionable whether, according to the above superscription, we have a right to expect an enumeration by name of the various officials who served the king in the classes of the army. The answer to this question depends upon our view of the relation of the words, “the heads of the fathers’-houses, and the princes,” to the first clause, “the sons of Israel according to their number.” Had these words been connected by the conjunction וְ (וְ) with this clause, and thereby made co-ordinate with it, we should be justified in having such an expectation. But the want of the conjunction shows that these words form an apposition, which as to signification is subordinate to the main idea. If we take this appositional explanation to mean something like this, “the sons of Israel, according to their number, with the heads of the fathers’-houses and the princes,” the emphasis of the superscription falls upon מְסָפְרָם, and the number of the sons of Israel, who with their heads and princes were divided into classes, is announced to be the important thing in the following catalogue. That this is the meaning and object of the words may be gathered from this, that in the second half of the verse, the number of the men fit for service, who from month to month came and went as one class, is stated הָאֶחָד, one at a time (distributive), as in Judg. viii. 18, Num. xvii. 18, etc.; cf. Ew. § 313, a, note 1. בָּא

אֲדָרָא, used of entering upon and leaving the service (cf. 2 Chron. xxiii. 4, 8; 2 Kings xi. 5, 7, 9). But the words are hardly to be understood to mean that the classes which were in service each month were ordered from various parts of the kingdom to the capital, and there remained under arms; but rather, as Clericus, that they *paratæ essent ducum imperiis parere, si quid contigisset, dum ceteræ copiæ, si necesse essent, convenirent*.—Ver. 2 ff. Over the first division was Jashobeam, *scil.* commander. The second *עַל מִחְלָקָתוֹ* is to be rendered, “in his division were 24,000 men,” *i.e.* they were reckoned to it. As to Jashobeam, see on xi. 11 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 8.—Ver. 3 further relates of him that he was of the sons (descendants) of Perez, and the head of all the army chiefs in the first month (*i.e.* in the division for the first month).—Ver. 4. Before *יָדָיו*, according to xi. 12, *אֶלְעָזָר בֶּן* has been dropped out (see on 2 Sam. xxiii. 9). The words *וּמִחְלָקָתוֹ* and *וּמִקְלֹת הַנָּגִיד* are obscure. At the end of the sixth verse similar words occur, and hence Bertheau concludes that *וּבְמִקְלֹת* is to be struck out, and translates, “and his divisions, Mikloth the prince,” which might denote, perhaps, “and his division is that over which Mikloth was prince.” Older commentators have already translated the word in a similar manner, as signifying that Mikloth was prince or chief of this division under the Ahohite Eleazar. All that is certain is, that *מִקְלֹת* is a name which occurred in viii. 32 and ix. 37 among the Benjamites.—Ver. 5. Here the form of expression is changed; *יֵשֶׁר הַצָּבָא*, the chief of the third host, begins the sentence. As to Benaiah, see xi. 22 and the commentary on 2 Sam. xxiii. 20. *רֹאשׁ* does not belong to *הַצָּבָא*, but is the predicate of Benaiah: “the prince of the ... was Benaiah ... as head,” *sc.* of the division for the third month. This is added, because in ver. 6 still a third military office held by Benaiah is mentioned. He was hero of the (among the) thirty, and over the thirty, *i.e.* more honoured than they (cf. xi. 25 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 23).—With ver. 6b cf. what is said on the similar words, ver. 4.—Ver. 7. From here onwards the mode of expression is very much compressed: the fourth of the fourth month, instead of the chief of the fourth host of the fourth month. Asahel (see xi. 26 and on 2 Sam. xxiii. 24) was slain by Abner (2 Sam. ii. 18-23) in the beginning of David’s reign, and consequently long before the division of the army here recorded. The words, “and Zebadiah his son after him,” point to his death, as they mention his son as his successor in the command of the fourth division of the

army. When Asahel, therefore, is called commander of the fourth division of the host, it is done merely *honoris causâ*, since the division over which his son was named, *de patris defuncti nomine* (Cler.).—Ver. 8. Shamhuth is called in xi. 27 Shammoth, and in 2 Sam. xxiii. 25 Shamma. He was born in Harod; here he is called הַיִּזְרָהִי, the Jizrahite, = הַיִּזְרָהִי, ver. 13, of the family of Zerah the son of Judah (ii. 4, 6).—Ver. 9. Ira; see xi. 28, 2 Sam. xxiii. 26.—Ver. 10. Helez: xi. 27; 2 Sam. xxiii. 26.—Ver. 11. Sibbecai; see xi. 29, 2 Sam. xxiii. 27.—Ver. 12. Abiezer; see xi. 28, 2 Sam. xxiii. 27; he was of Anathoth in the tribe of Benjamin (Jer. i. 1).—Ver. 13. Maharai (see xi. 30, 2 Sam. xxiii. 28) belonged also to the family of Zerah; see vers. 11, 8.—Ver. 14. Benaiah of Pirathon; see xi. 31, 2 Sam. xxiii. 30.—Ver. 15. Heldai, in xi. 30 Heled, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 29 erroneously called Heleb, belonging to Othniel's family (Josh. xv. 17).

Vers. 16-24. *The princes of the twelve tribes.*—The enumeration of the tribal princes, commencing with the words, "and over the tribes of Israel," immediately follows the catalogue of the divisions of the army with their commanders, because the subjects are in so far connected as the chief management of the internal business of the people, divided as they were into tribes, was deposited in their hands. In the catalogue the tribes Gad and Asher are omitted for reasons unknown to us, just as in chap. iv.-vii., in the genealogies of the tribes, Dan and Zebulun are. In reference to Levi, on the contrary, the *Nagid* of Aaron, i.e. the head of the priesthood, is named, viz. Zadok, the high priest of the family of Eleazar.—Ver. 18. Elihu, of the brethren of David, is only another form of the name Eliab, ii. 13, David's eldest brother, who, as Jesse's first-born, had become tribal prince of Judah.—Ver. 20 f. Of Manasseh two tribal princes are named, because the one half of this tribe had received its inheritance on this side Jordan, the other beyond Jordan. בְּלָקָה, towards Gilead, to designate the East-Jordan Manassites.—Vers. 23 and 24 contain a concluding remark on the catalogue of the twelve detachments into which the men capable of bearing arms in Israel were divided, contained in vers. 2-15. David had not taken their number from the men of twenty years and under, i.e. he had only caused those to be numbered who were over twenty years old. The word מִסְפָּר points back to לְמִסְפָּר, ver. 1. נֶשָׂא מִסְפָּר as in Num. iii. 40 = נֶשָׂא רֹאשׁ, Ex. xxx. 12, Num. i. 49, to take up the sum or total. The reason of this is given in the clause, "for Jahve had said



(promised) to increase Israel like to the stars of heaven" (Gen. xii. 17), which cannot mean: For it was impossible for David to number all, because they were as numerous as the stars of heaven, which of course cannot be numbered (Berth.). The thought is rather that David never intended to number the whole people from the youngest to the eldest, for he did not desire *in fidem divinarum promissionum inquirere aut eam labefactare* (J. H. Mich.); and he accordingly caused only the men capable of bearing arms to be numbered, in order to organize the military constitution of the kingdom in the manner recorded in vers. 2-15. But even this numbering which Joab had begun was not completed, because wrath came on Israel because of it, as is narrated in chap. xxi. For this reason also the number, *i.e.* the result of the numbering begun by Joab, but not completed, is not included in the number of the chronicle of King David, *i.e.* in the official number which was usually inserted in the public annals. **בְּמִסְפָּר** neither stands for **בְּמִסְפָּר** (according to 2 Chron. xx. 34), nor does it denote, "in the section which treats of the numberings" (Berth.). **סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי ה'** is a shorter expression for **סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי ה' וְדְבָרֵי הַיָּמִים**, book of the events of the day.

Vers. 25-31. *The managers of David's possessions and domains.*

—The property and the income of the king were (ver. 25) divided into treasures of the king, and treasures in the country, in the cities, the villages, and the castles. By the "treasures of the king" we must therefore understand those which were in Jerusalem, *i.e.* the treasures of the royal palace. These were managed by Azmaveth. The remaining treasures are specified in ver. 26 ff. They consisted in fields which were cultivated by labourers (ver. 26); in vineyards (ver. 27); plantations of olive trees and sycamores in the Shephelah, the fruitful plain on the Mediterranean Sea (ver. 28); in cattle, which pastured partly in the plain of Sharon between Casarea Palestina and Joppa (see p. 107 f.), partly in various valleys of the country (ver. 29); and in camels, asses, and sheep (ver. 30 f.). All these possessions are called **רֶכֶשׁ**, and the overseers of them **שְׂרֵי הָרֶכֶשׁ**. They consisted in the produce of agriculture and cattle-breeding, the two main branches of Israelitish industry.—Ver. 27. Special officers were set over the vineyards and the stores of wine. The **שְׂרֵי הַשְּׂפָדִים** is a contraction of **שְׂרֵי הַשְּׂפָדִים וְהַיָּיִן**: "over that which was in the vineyards of treasures (stores) of wine." The officer over the vineyards, Shimei, was of Ramah in Benjamin (cf. Josh. xviii. 25); he who

was over the stores of wine, Zabdi, is called זַבְדִּי, probably not from זָבַד on the northern frontier of Canaan, Num. xxxiv. 10, the situation of which has not yet been discovered, but from the equally unknown זַבְדִּי in the Negeb of Judah, 1 Sam. xxx. 28. For since the vineyards, in which the stores of wine were laid up, must certainly have lain in the tribal domain of Judah, so rich in wine (Num. xiii. 23 ff.; Gen. xlix. 11), probably the overseers of it were born in the same district.—Ver. 28. As to the שִׁלְחָה, see on Josh. xv. 33. הַגִּדְרִי, he who was born in Geder, not Gedera, for which we should expect הַגִּדְרָתִי (xii. 4), although the situation of Gedera, south-east from Jabne (see on xii. 4), appears to suit better than that of גִּדְרָה or גִּדְרִי in the hill country of Judah; see Josh. xii. 13 and xv. 58.—Ver. 30. The name of the Ishmaelite who was set over the camels, Obil (אוֹבִיל), reminds us of the Arab

أَبِل *multos possedit vel acquisivit camelos*. הַמֶּרְנָתִי, he of Meroth (ver. 30 and Neh. iii. 17). The situation of this place is unknown. According to Neh. iii. 7, it is perhaps to be sought in the neighbourhood of Mizpah. Over the smaller cattle (sheep and goats) Jaziz the Hagarite, of the people Hagar (cf. v. 10), was set. The oversight, consequently, of the camels and sheep was committed to a Hagarite and an Ishmaelite, probably because they pastured in the neighbourhood where the Ishmaelites and Hagarites had nomadized from early times, they having been brought under the dominion of Israel by David. The total number of these officials amounted to twelve, of whom we may conjecture that the ten overseers over the agricultural and cattle-breeding affairs of the king had to deliver over the annual proceeds of the property committed to them to the chief manager of the treasures in the field, in the cities, and villages, and towns.

Vers. 32–34. *David's councillors*. This catalogue of the king's officials forms a supplementary companion piece to the catalogues of the public officials, chap. xviii. 15–17, and 2 Sam. viii. 15–18 and xx. 25, 26. Besides Joab, who is met with in all catalogues as prince of the host, i.e. commander-in-chief, we find in our catalogue partly other men introduced, partly other duties of the men formerly named, than are mentioned in these three catalogues. From this it is clear that it is not the chief public officials who are enumerated, but only the first councillors of the king, who formed as it were his senate, and that the catalogue probably is derived from the same source as the preceding cata-

logues. Jonathan, the  $\text{חָן}$  of David. The word  $\text{חָן}$  generally denotes a father's brother; but since a Jonathan, son of Shimea, the brother of David, occurs xx. 7 and 2 Sam. xxi. 21, Schmidt and Bertheau hold him to be the same as our Jonathan, when  $\text{חָן}$  would be used in the general signification of "relative," here of a nephew. Nothing certain can be ascertained in reference to it. He was  $\text{חָן}$ , councillor, and, as is added, a wise and learned man.  $\text{חָן}$  is here not an official designation, but signifies *literatus*, learned, scholarly, as in Ezra vii. 6. Jehiel, the son of Hachmon, was with the children of the king, *i.e.* was governor of the royal princes.—Ver. 33. Ahithophel was also, according to 2 Sam. xv. 31, xvi. 23, David's confidential adviser, and took his own life when Absalom, in his conspiracy against David, did not regard his counsel (2 Sam. xvii.). Hushai the Archite was also a friend and adviser of David (2 Sam. xv. 37 and xvi. 16), who caused Absalom to reject Ahithophel's counsel (2 Sam. xvii.).—Ver. 34. After Ahithophel, *i.e.* after his death, was Jehoiada the son of Benaiah (*scil.* counsellor of the king), and Abiathar. As Benaiah the son of Jehoiada is elsewhere, when named among the public officials of David, called chief of the royal body-guard (cf. xviii. 17), Bertheau does not scruple to transpose the names here. But the hypothesis of such a transposition is neither necessary nor probable in the case of a name which, like Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, so frequently occurs (*e.g.* in ver. 5). Since sons not unfrequently received the name of the grandfather, Jehoiada the son of the hero Benaiah may have been named after his grandfather Jehoiada. Abiathar is without doubt the high priest of this name of Ithamar's family (xv. 11, etc.; see on v. 27–31), and is here mentioned as being also a friend and adviser of David. As to Joab, see on xviii. 15.

CHAP. XXVIII. AND XXIX.—DAVID'S LAST DIRECTIONS AND  
HIS DEATH.

In order to give over the throne before his death to his son Solomon, and so secure to him the succession, and facilitate his accomplishment of the great work of his reign, the building of the temple, David summoned the estates of his kingdom, the court officials, and the heroes of the people in Jerusalem. In a solemn address he designated Solomon as his divinely chosen successor on the throne, and exhorted him to keep the command-

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ments of God, to serve the Lord with devoted heart, and to build Him a house for a sanctuary (xxviii. 1-10). He then committed to Solomon the sketches and plans for the sacred buildings and sacred objects of various sorts, with the confident promise that he, by the help of God, and with the co-operation of the priests and of the people, would complete the work (vers. 11-21). Finally, he announced, in the presence of the whole assembly, that he gave over his treasures of gold and silver to this building, and called upon the chiefs of the people and kingdom for a voluntary contribution for the same purpose; and on their freely answering this call, concluded with a solemn prayer of thanks, to which the whole assembly responded, bowing low before God and the king (xxix. 1-20). This reverence they confirmed by numerous burnt-offerings and thank-offerings, and by the repeated anointing of Solomon to be king (vers. 21 and 22).

Chap. xxviii. 1-10. David summoned the estates of the kingdom, and presented Solomon to them as his divinely chosen successor on the throne.—Ver. 1. "All the princes of Israel" is the general designation, which is then specialized. In it are included the princes of the tribes who are enumerated in chap. xxvii. 16-22, and the princes of the divisions which served the king, who are enumerated in xxvii. 1-15; the princes of thousands and hundreds are the chiefs and captains of the twelve army corps (xxvii. 1), who are subordinate to the princes of the host; the princes of all the substance and possessions of the king are the managers of the domains enumerated in xxvii. 25-31. לְכָנִי is added to לְפָנָיו, "of the king and of his sons," because the possession of the king as a property belonging to the house (*domanium*) belonged also to his sons. The Vulg. incorrectly translates לְכָנִי *filiosque suos*, for in this connection לְכָנִי cannot be *nota accus.* עַם הַפְּרִיסִים, with (together with) the court officials. פְּרִיסִים are not eunuchs, but royal chamberlains, as in 1 Sam. viii. 15; see on Gen. xxxvii. 36. הַגִּבּוֹרִים has been well translated by the LXX. *τοὺς δυνάστας*, for here the word does not denote properly or merely war heroes, but powerful influential men in general, who did not occupy any special public or court office. In אֲבֵל־גִּבּוֹר חַל all the others who were present in the assembly are comprehended.—Ver. 2. The king rose to his feet, in order to speak to the assembly standing; till then he had, on account of his age and feebleness, sat, not lain in bed, as Kimchi and others infer from 1 Kings i.—Ver. 3. The address, "My brethren and

my people," is expressive of condescending goodwill; cf. on וְיָאֵל, 1 Sam. xxx. 23, 2 Sam. xix. 13. What David here says (vers. 3-7) of the temple building, he had in substance already (chap. xxii. 7-13) said to his son Solomon: I, it was with my heart, *i.e.* I purposed (cf. xxii. 7) to build a house of rest for the ark of the covenant of Jahve, and the footstool of the feet of our God, *i.e.* for the ark and for the capporeth upon it, which is called "footstool of the feet of our God," because God was enthroned above the cherubim upon the capporeth. "And I have prepared to build," *i.e.* prepared labour and materials, xxii. 2-4 and 14 ff.; on ver. 3, cf. xxii. 8.—In ver. 4 David states how his election to be king was of God, who had chosen Judah to be ruler (cf. v. 2); and just so (vers. 5, 6) had God chosen Solomon from among all his many sons to be heir to the throne, and committed to him the building of the temple; cf. xxii. 10. The expression, "throne of the kingdom of Jahve," and more briefly, "throne of Jahve" (xxix. 23, or בֵּית־מֶלֶךְ, xvii. 14), denotes that Jahve is the true King of Israel, and had chosen Solomon as He had chosen David to be holder and administrator of His kingly dominion.—On vers. 6b and 7, cf. xxii. 10 and xvii. 11 f.; and with the condition אִם יִחְזַק וְנָתַן, cf. 1 Kings iii. 14, ix. 4, where God imposes an exactly similar condition on Solomon. בְּיוֹם הַהוּא, as is done at this time; cf. 1 Kings viii. 61, and the commentary on Deut. ii. 30. On this speech J. H. Mich. well remarks: "*tota hæc narratio aptata est ad propositum Davidis: vult enim Salomoni auctoritatem apud principes et fratres conciliare, ostendendo, non humana, sed divina voluntate electum esse.*" To this David adds an exhortation to the whole assembly (ver. 8), and to his son Solomon (ver. 9), to hold fast their faithfulness to God.—Ver. 8. "And now before the eyes of all Israel, of the congregation of Jahve (collected in their representatives), and into the ears of our God (so that God should hear as witness), (*scil.* I exhort you), observe and seek . . . that ye may possess (that is, keep as possession) the good land (cf. Deut. iv. 21 f.), and leave it to your sons after you for an inheritance" (cf. Lev. xxv. 46).—In ver. 9 he turns to his son Solomon in particular with the fatherly exhortation, "My son, know thou the God of thy father (*i.e.* of David, who has ever helped him, Ps. xviii. 3), and serve Him with whole (undivided) heart (xxix. 9, 19; 1 Kings viii. 61) and willing soul." To strengthen this exhortation, David reminds him of the omniscience of God. Jahve seeks, *i.e.* searches, all

hearts and knows all the imagination of the thoughts; cf. Ps. vii. 10, 1 Sam. xvi. 7, Jer. xi. 20, Ps. cxxxix. 1 ff. **וְיָדַע כָּל־חֲשׁוֹבוֹתָיו** as in Gen. vi. 5. With the last clauses cf. Deut. iv. 29, Isa. lv. 6, etc. **וְיָדַע**, only here and 2 Chron. xi. 14, xxix. 19.—With ver. 10 the discourse turns to the building of the temple. The exhortation **הִנֵּה עֲשֵׂה** is interrupted by the giving over of the sketches and plans of the temple, and is taken up again only in ver. 20.

Vers. 11–19. *The sketches and plans of the sacred buildings and vessels.*—The enumeration begins in ver. 11 with the temple house, progressing from outside to inside, and in ver. 12 goes on to the courts and the buildings in them, and in ver. 13 ff. to the vessels, etc. **תְּבִנִּית**, model, pattern; cf. Ex. xxv. 9; here the sketches and drawings of the individual things. **וְאֵת־בְּתָיו** is a contraction for **וְאֵת־תְּבִנֵּי בְתָיו**, and the suffix refers, as the succeeding words show, not to **הָאֵלִים**, but to **הַבַּיִת**, which may be easily supplied from the context (ver. 10). In the porch there were no houses. The **בְּתִים** are the buildings of the temple house, viz. the holy place and the most holy, with the three-storeyed side-building, which are specified in the following words. **גִּבְעוֹן** occurs only here, but is related to **גִּבְעִים**, Esth. iii. 9, iv. 7, Ezra xxvii. 24, and to the Chald. **גִּבְעִין**, Ezra vii. 20, and signifies store and treasure chambers, for which the chambers of the three-storeyed side-building served. **עֲלִיּוֹת** are the upper chambers over the most holy place, 2 Chron. iii. 9; **הַדְּרוֹת־הַפְּנִימִים** are the inner rooms of the porch and of the holy place, since **בֵּית הַרְחֵם**, the house of the ark with the mercy-seat, i.e. the most holy place, is mentioned immediately after.—Ver. 12. And the pattern, i.e. the description of all that was in the spirit with him, i.e. what his spirit had designed, **לְחֲצֹרוֹת**, as to the courts. **לְכָל־הַשְּׁכוֹת סָבִיב**, in reference to all the chambers round about, i.e. to all the rooms on the four sides of the courts. **לְאֲצִוֹת**, for the treasures of the house of God; see on xxvi. 20.—Ver. 13. **וְלִמְחֻלֹּת הַכֹּהֲנִים** (continuation of **לְאֲצִוֹת**), “and for the divisions of the priests and Levites, and for all the work of the service, and for all vessels,”—for for all these purposes, viz. for the sojourn of the priests and Levites in the service, as well as for the performance of the necessary works, e.g. preparation of the shew-bread, cooking of the sacrificial flesh, holding of the sacrificial meals, and for the storing of the vessels necessary for these purposes, the cells and buildings of the courts were set apart.—With ver. 14 begins the enumeration of the vessels. **לְכָל־הַשְּׁכוֹת** is co-ordinate with **לְחֲצֹרוֹת**, ver. 12:

he gave him the description of that which he had in mind "with regard to the golden (*i.e.* to the golden vessels, cf. xxix. 2), according to the weight of the golden, for all vessels of every service," in regard to all silver vessels according to the weight.—With ver. 15 the construction hitherto employed is dropped. According to the usual supposition, the verb *וַיִּתֵּן* is to be supplied from ver. 11 after *וַיִּשְׁקֶל*: "and gave him the weight for the golden candlesticks and their golden lamps," *וְהָרָב* being in a state of free subordination to the word *וַיִּתֵּן* (J. H. Mich., Berth., and others). But apart from the fact that no analogous case can be found for such a subordination (for in 2 Chron. ix. 15, which Berth. cites as such, there is no subordination, for there the first *וְהָרָב* is the accusative of the material dependent upon *וַיַּעַשׂ*), the supplying of *וַיִּתֵּן* gives no suitable sense; for David here does not give Solomon the metal for the vessels, but, according to vers. 11, 12, 19, only a *תַּבְּנִית*, pattern or model for them. If *וַיִּתֵּן* be supplied, *נָתַן* must be "he appointed," and so have a different sense here from that which it has in ver. 11. This appears very questionable, and it is simpler to take *מִשְׁקָל* without the article, as an accusative of nearer definition, and to connect the verse thus: "and (what he had in mind) as weight for the golden candlesticks and their lamps, in gold, according to the weight of each candlestick and its lamps, and for the silver candlesticks, in weight—*בְּעֵבֹדֶת*, according to the service of each candlestick" (as it corresponded to the service of each).—In ver. 16 the enumeration is continued in very loose connection: "And as to the gold (*זָהָב*, *quoad*; cf. Ew. § 277, *d*) by weight (*מִשְׁקָל*, acc. of free subordination) for the tables of the spreading out, *i.e.* of the shew-bread (*מַעֲרֹכֶת לֶחֶם* = *מַעֲרֹכֶת לֶחֶם*, 2 Chron. xiii. 11; see on Lev. xxiv. 6), for each table, and silver for the silver tables." Silver tables, *i.e.* tables overlaid with silver-lamin, and silver candlesticks (ver. 15), are not elsewhere expressly mentioned among the temple vessels, since the whole of the vessels are nowhere individually registered even in the description of the building of the temple. Yet, when the temple was repaired under Joash, 2 Kings xii. 14, 2 Chron. xxiv. 14, and when it was destroyed by the Chaldeans, 2 Kings xxv. 15, vessels of gold and silver are spoken of. The silver candlesticks were probably, as Kimchi has conjectured, intended for the priests engaged in the service, and the tables for reception of the sacrificial flesh after it had been prepared for burning upon the altar.—Ver. 17. Before *וַיִּתֵּן* וְהָרָב

we should probably supply from ver. 11: "he gave him the pattern of the forks . . . **וְלִכְמוֹרֵי**, and for the golden tankards, according to the weight of each tankard." For **מִזְבֵּחוֹת** and **מִזְבֵּחוֹת**, see on 2 Chron. iv. 22. **קְשֻׁוֹת**, *σπονδεῖα*, cups for the libations, occur only in Ex. xxv. 29, xxxvii. 16, and Num. iv. 7. **וְהָבָה מְהֹרָה**, in free subordination: of pure gold. **כְּמוֹרֵי** from **כָּפַר**, to cover, are vessels provided with covers, tankards; only mentioned here and in Ezra i. 10, viii. 27.—Ver. 18. And (the pattern) for the altar of incense of pure gold by weight. In the second member of the verse, at the close of the enumeration, **הַבְּנִיחַ**, from vers. 11, 12, is again taken up, but with **לְ**, which Berth. rightly takes to be *nota accus.*: and (gave him) "the model of the chariot of the cherubim of gold, as spreading out (wings), and sheltering over the ark of the covenant of Jahve." **הַחֲרוֹיִתִּים** is not subordinated in the genitive to **הַמְּכַפֵּה**, but is in explanatory apposition to it. The cherubim, not the ark, are the chariot upon which God enters or is throned; cf. Ps. xviii. 11, xcix. 1, Ex. xxv. 22. The conception of the cherubim set upon the golden cover of the ark as **מְכַפֵּה** is derived from the idea **יִרְפֵּב עַל־כְּרוֹבֵי**, Ps. xviii. 11. Ezekiel, it is true, saw wheels on the throne of God under the cherubim (i. 15 ff., 26), and in accordance with this the LXX. and Vulg. have made a cherubim-chariot out of the words (*ἀγυρῶν Χερουβίμ, quadriga cherubim*); but as against this Berth. rightly remarks, that the idea of a chariot of the cherubim does not at all appear in the two sculptured cherubim upon the ark, nor yet in our passage. **לְפָרְשִׁים** (without the article, and with **לְ**) Berth. thinks quite unintelligible, and would alter the text, reading **הַפָּרְשִׁים וְהַכְּבֵּי**, because the two participles should be in apposition to **הַחֲרוֹיִתִּים**. But this is an error; for neither by the meaning of the words, nor by the passages, 2 Chron. v. 8, Ex. xxv. 20, 1 Kings viii. 7, are we compelled to make this alteration. The two first-mentioned passages prove the opposite, viz. that these participles state for what purpose the cherubim are to serve. **הַחֲרוֹיִתִּים לְפָרְשִׁים וְכְבֵּי** have the signification of **הַחֲרוֹיִתִּים פָּרְשִׁי** **וְכָנְפִים**, "that the cherubim might be spreading wings and protecting" (Ex. xxv. 20), as J. H. Mich. has rightly seen. This use of **לְ**, where in **לְ** even without a verb the idea of "becoming something" lies, but which Berth. does not understand, has been already discussed, Ew. § 217, d, and illustrated by passages, among which 1 Chron. xxviii. 18 is one. The reference to Ex. xxv. 20 explains also the use of **פָּרְשִׁי** without **וְכָנְפִים**, the author of the



Chronicle not thinking it necessary to give the object of פָּרֹשׁ, as he might assume that that passage would be known to readers of his book.—Ver. 19. In giving over to Solomon the model of all the parts and vessels of the temple enumerated in vers. 11-18, David said: "All this, viz. all the works of the pattern, has He taught by writing from the hand of Jahve which came upon me." כָּל מְלָאכֹות הַכֹּל is more closely defined by the apposition עָלַי הָאֵל. That the verse contains words of David is clear from הָאֵל. The subject of הַשִּׁבְלִי is Jahve, which is easily supplied from מִיַּד יְהוָה. It is, however, a question with what we should connect עָלַי. Its position before the verb, and the circumstance that הַשִּׁבְלִי construed with עָלַי *pers.* does not elsewhere occur, are against its being taken with הַשִּׁבְלִי; and there remains, therefore, only the choice between connecting it with מִיַּד יְהוָה and with בְּכֶתֶב. In favour of the last, Ps. xl. 8, כָּתַב עָלַי, prescribed to me, may be compared; and according to that, כָּתַב עָלַי can only mean, "what is prescribed to me;" cf. for the use of כָּתַב for written prescription, the command in 2 Chron. xxxv. 4. Bertheau accordingly translates מִיַּד יְהוָה עָלַי, "by a writing given to me for a rule from Jahve's hand," and understands the law of Moses to be meant, because the description of the holy things in Ex. xxv. ff. is manifestly the basis of that in our verses. But had David wished to say nothing further than that he had taken the law in the Scriptures for the basis of his pattern for the holy things, the expression which he employs would be exceedingly forced and wilfully obscure. And, moreover, the position of the words would scarcely allow us to connect בְּכֶתֶב with עָלַי, for in that case we should rather have expected מִיַּד יְהוָה עָלַי. We must there take עָלַי along with מִיַּד יְהוָה: "writing from the hand of Jahve came upon me," i.e., according to the analogy of the phrase הֵיטָה עָלַי (2 Kings iii. 15, Ezek. i. 3, iii. 14, etc.), a writing coming by divine revelation, or a writing composed in consequence of divine revelation, and founded upon divine inspiration. David therefore says that he had been instructed by a writing resting upon divine inspiration as to all the works of the pattern of the temple. This need not, however, be understood to mean that David had received *exemplar vel ideam templi et vasorum sacrorum* immediately from Jahve, either by a prophet or by vision, as the model of the tabernacle was shown to Moses on the mount (Ex. xxv. 40, xxvii. 8); for it signifies only that he had not himself invented the pattern which he had committed to

writing, *i.e.* the sketches and descriptions of the temple and its furniture and vessels, but had drawn them up under the influence of divine inspiration.

Vers. 20, 21. In conclusion, David encourages his son to go forward to the work with good courage, for his God would not forsake him; and the priests and Levites, cunning workmen, and the princes, together with the whole people, would willingly support him. With the encouragement, ver. 20*a*, cf. xxii. 13; and with the promise, ver. 20*b*, cf. Deut. xxxi. 6, 8, Josh. i. 5. אֱלֹהֵי, my God, says David, *ut in mentem ei revocet, quomodo multis in periculis servatus sit* (Lav.). כָּל־מְלָאכָתָ עֲבוּדָה, all the work-business, *i.e.* all the labour necessary for the building of the house of God.—Ver. 21. וְהִנֵּה is fittingly translated by Clericus, “*en habes*.” The reference which lies in the הִנֵּה to the classes of the priests and Levites, *i.e.* the priests and Levites divided into classes, does not presuppose their presence in the assembly. With the וְהִנֵּה corresponds וְעִמָּךְ, with thee, *i.e.* for assistance to thee, in the second half of the verse. The ל before נָרִיב, “are all freely willing with wisdom,” in the middle of the sentence introducing the subject is strange; Bertheau would therefore strike it out, thinking that, as לָל goes immediately before, and follows immediately afterwards twice, לָל here may easily be an error for כָּל. This is certainly possible; but since this ל is very frequently used in the Chronicle, it is a question whether it should not be regarded as authentic, “serving to bring into emphatic prominence the idea of the כָּל נָרִיב: with thee is for each business, what regards each willing person, for also all willing persons;” cf. Ew. § 310, *a*. נָרִיב = לָב, 2 Chron. xxix. 31, Ex. xxxv. 5, 22, usually denotes him who brings voluntary gifts, but here, him who voluntarily brings wisdom to every service, who willingly employs his wisdom and knowledge in a service. Cunning, intelligent workmen and artists are meant, xxii. 15, 2 Chron. ii. 6. לְכָל־דְּבָרֶיךָ, “towards all thy words,” *i.e.* as thou sayest or commandest them, the princes and the people, or callest upon them for assistance in the work.

Chap. xxix. 1–9. *Contributions of the collected princes for the building of the temple.*—David then turns to the assembled princes to press upon them the furthering of the building of the temple. After referring to the youth of his son, and to the greatness of the work to be accomplished (ver. 1), he mentions what materials he has prepared for the building of the temple (ver. 2); then

further states what he has resolved to give in addition from his private resources (ver. 4); and finally, after this introduction, calls upon those present to make a voluntary collection for this great work (ver. 5). The words, "as only one hath God chosen him," form a parenthesis, which is to be translated as a relative sentence for "my son, *whom* alone God hath chosen." נָעַר וְרָךְ as in xxii. 5. The work is great, because not for man the palace, *scil.* is intended, *i.e.* shall be built, but for Jahve God. הַבִּיָּרָה, the citadel, the palace; a later word, generally used of the residence of the Persian king (Esth. i. 2, 5, ii. 3; Neh. i. 1), only in Neh. ii. 8 of the citadel by the temple; here transferred to the temple as the glorious palace of Jahve, the God-king of Israel. With ver. 2a, cf. xxii. 14. הָזָהָב לְזָהָב, the gold for the golden, etc., *i.e.* for the vessels and ornaments of gold, cf. xxviii. 14. אֲבָנֵי שֹׁהַם וְכִלְמִיָּם as in Ex. xxv. 7, xxxv. 9, precious stones for the ephod and choshen. שֹׁהַם, probably beryl. אֲבָנֵי מְלִואִים, stones of filling, that is, precious stones which are put in settings. אֲבָנֵי פֶזֶז, stones of pigment, *i.e.* ornament, conjecturally precious stones which, from their black colour, were in appearance like פֶּזֶז, *stibium*, a common eye pigment (see 2 Kings ix. 30). אֲבָנֵי רֶקְמָה, stones of variegated colour, *i.e.* with veins of different colours. אֲבָנֵי יָקָרָה, precious stones, according to 2 Chron. iii. 6, for ornamenting the walls. אֲבָנֵי שֵׁשׁ, white marble stones.—Ver. 3. "And moreover, because I have pleasure in the house of my God, there is to me a treasure of gold and silver; it have I appointed for the house of my God over and above all that . . ." אֲבָנֵי הַבִּיָּנֹתִי with לֹא without the relative, cf. xv. 12.—Ver. 4. Gold 3000 talents, *i.e.* about 13½, or, reckoning according to the royal shekel, 6½ millions of pounds; 7000 talents of silver, *circa* 2½ or 1½ millions of pounds: see on xxii. 14. Gold of Ophir, *i.e.* the finest, best gold, corresponding to the pure silver. לְטַחֵהוּ, to overlay the inner walls of the houses with gold and silver leaf. הַבְּתָיִם as in xxviii. 11, the different buildings of the temple. The walls of the holy place and of the most holy, of the porch and of the upper chambers, were overlaid with gold (cf. 2 Chron. iii. 4-6, 8, 9), and probably only the inner walls of the side buildings.—Ver. 5. לְזָהָב לְזָהָב, for every golden thing, etc., cf. ver. 2. מְלִאכָה, and in general for every work to be wrought by the hands of the artificer. וְיִי, who then is willing (expressing it as the consequence). To fill one's hand to the Lord, means to provide oneself with something which one brings to the Lord; see on

Ex. xxxii. 29. The infinitive מִלְאֹת occurs also in Ex. xxxi. 5 and Dan. ix. 4, and along with מִלֵּא, 2 Chron. xiii. 9.—Ver. 6 f. The princes follow the example, and willingly respond to David's call. שָׂרֵי הָאֲבוֹת = רָאשֵׁי הָאֲבוֹת, xxiv. 31, xxvii. 1, etc. לְשָׂרֵי מִלְאֲכַת הַמֶּלֶךְ, and as regards the princes of the work of the king. The שָׂרֵי רֶכֶשׁ וּמִסְקָה לְמֶלֶךְ, xxviii. 1, the officials enumerated in xxvii. 25–31 are meant; on לְ see on xxviii. 21. They gave 5000 talents of gold ( $22\frac{1}{2}$  or  $11\frac{1}{2}$  millions of pounds), and 1000 darics =  $11\frac{1}{2}$  millions of pounds. אֲדָרְכָּן, with א *prosth.* here and in Ezra viii. 27, and דִּרְכָּמָן, Ezra ii. 69, Neh. vii. 70 ff., does not correspond to the Greek δραχμή, Arab. *dirhem*, but to the Greek δαρεικός, as the Syrian translation קִרְבָּסָן, Ezra viii. 27, shows; a Persian gold coin worth about 22s. 6d. See the description of these coins, of which several specimens still exist, in Cavedoni *bibl. Numismatik*, übers. von A. Werlhof, S. 84 ff.; J. Brandis, *das Münz-Mass und Gewichtssystem in Vorderasien* (1866), S. 244; and my *biibl. Archäol.* § 127, 3. “Our historian uses the words used in his time to designate the current gold coins, without intending to assume that there were darics in use in the time of David, to state in a way intelligible to his readers the amount of the sum contributed by the princes” (Bertheau). This perfectly correct remark does not, however, explain why the author of the Chronicle has stated the contribution in gold and that in silver in different values, in talents and in darics, since the second cannot be an explanation of the first, the two sums being different. Probably the sum in darics is the amount which they contributed in gold pieces received as coins; the talents, on the other hand, probably represent the weight of the vessels and other articles of gold which they brought as offerings for the building. The amount contributed in silver is not large when compared with that in gold: 10,000 talents = £3,500,000, or one half that amount. The contribution in copper also, 18,000 talents, is not very large. Besides these, those who had stones, i.e. precious stones, also brought them. הַכִּנְזָאִים אִתּוֹ, that was found with him, for: that which he (each one) had of stones they gave. The sing. אִתּוֹ is to be taken distributively, and is consequently carried on in the plural, נִתְּנִי; cf. Ew. § 319, a. אֲבָנִים is *accus.* of subordination. נָתַן עַל יַד, to give over for administration (Ew. § 282, b). הַלֵוִיִּם, the Levite family of this name which had the oversight of the treasures of the house of God (xxvi. 21 f.).—Ver. 9. The people and

the king rejoiced over this willingness to give. בָּלַב שָׁלֵם, as in xxviii. 9.

Vers. 10-19. *David's thanksgiving prayer.*—David gives fitting expression to his joy on the success of the deepest wish of his heart, in a prayer with which he closes the last parliament of his reign. Since according to the divine decree, not he, the man of war, but his son, the peace-king Solomon, was to build a temple to the Lord, David had taken it upon himself to prepare as far as possible for the carrying out of the work. He had also found the princes and chiefs of the people willing to further it, and to assist his son Solomon in it. In this the pious and grey-haired servant of the Lord saw a special proof of the divine favour, for which he must thank God the Lord before the whole congregation. He praises Jahve, "the God of Israel our father," ver. 10, or, as it is in ver. 18, "the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, our fathers." Jahve had clearly revealed himself to David and his people as the God of Israel and of the patriarchs, by fulfilling in so glorious a manner to the people of Israel, by David, the promises made to the patriarchs. God the Lord had not only by David made His people great and powerful, and secured to them the peaceful possession of the good land, by humbling all their enemies round about, but He had also awakened in the heart of the people such love to and trust in their God, that the assembled dignitaries of the kingdom showed themselves perfectly willing to assist in furthering the building of the house of God. In this God had revealed His greatness, power, glory, etc., as David (in vers. 11, 12) acknowledges with praise: "Thine, Jahve, is the greatness," etc. הַגָּדָה, according to the Aramaic usage, *gloria*, splendour, honour. בִּי כֹל, yea all, still dependent on הַלְּ at the commencement of the sentence, so that we do not need to supply הַלְּ after בִּי. "Thine is the dominion, and the raising of oneself to be head over all." In His מַלְכוּתָהּ God reveals His greatness, might, glory, etc. מְהִלָּה is not a participle requiring אַתָּה, "thou art," to be supplied (Berth.), but an appellative, an Aramaic infinitive,—the raising oneself (Ew. § 160, e).—Ver. 12. "From Thee came the riches and the glory . . . , and in Thy hand is it (it lies) to make all things great and strong."—Ver. 13. For this we must thank God, and sing praise to His holy name. By the partic. מְהִלָּה, from הוֹדָה, confess, praise, the praising of God is characterized as an enduring praise, always rising anew.—Ver. 14. For man of him-

self can give nothing: "What am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to show ourselves so liberal?" עָצַר כֹּחַ, to hold strength together; both to have power to do anything (here and 2 Chron. ii. 5, xxii. 9), and also to retain strength (2 Chron. xiii. 20; Dan. x. 8, 16, xi. 6), only found in Daniel and in the Chronicle. הִתְנַחֵב, to show oneself willing, especially in giving. בָּנָאח refers to the contribution to the building of the temple (vers. 3-8). From Thy hand, *i.e.* that which is received from Thee, have we given.—Ver. 15. For we are strangers (as Ps. xxxix. 13), *i.e.* in this connection we have no property, no enduring possession, since God had only given them the usufruct of the land; and as of the land, so also of all the property of man, it is only a gift committed to us by God in usufruct. The truth that our life is a pilgrimage (Heb. xi. 12, 13, 14), is presented to us by the brevity of life. As a shadow, so swiftly passing away, are our days upon the earth (cf. Job viii. 9, Ps. xc. 9 f., cii. 12, cxliv. 4). וַאֲיֵן מִקֶּה, and there is no trust, *scil.* in the continuance of life (cf. Jer. xiv. 8).—Ver. 16. All the riches which we have prepared for the building of the temple come from the hand of God. The Keth. הִיא is neuter, the Keri הוא corresponds to הִתְנַחֵב.—Ver. 17. Before God, who searches the heart and loves uprightness, David can declare that he has willingly given in uprightness of heart, and that the people also have, to his joy, shown equal willingness. כָּל־אֵלֶּה, all the treasures enumerated (vers. 3-8). The plural הַמִּצְעָא refers to עֲמֵד, and the demonstrative הַ stands for אֵשֶׁר as in xxvi. 28.—Ver. 18. He prays that God may enable the people ever to retain this frame of heart. זֶמֶר is more closely defined by לִיצֵר מֶחָ, viz. the frame of the thoughts of the heart of Thy people. "And direct their heart (the people's heart) to Thee," cf. 1 Sam. vii. 3.—Ver. 19. And to Solomon may God give a whole (undivided) heart, that he may keep all the divine commands and do them, and build the temple. לֵב שָׁלֵם as in ver. 9. לַעֲשׂוֹת הֵכֵל, that he may do all, *scil.* that the commands, testimonies, and statutes require. For הַבִּירָה, see ver. 1.

Vers. 20-22. *Close of the public assembly.*—Ver. 20. At the conclusion of the prayer, David calls upon the whole assembly to praise God; which they do, bowing before God and the king, and worshipping. יָקְדוּ וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ, connected as in Ex. iv. 31, Gen. xliii. 28, etc.—Ver. 21. To seal their confession, thus made in word and deed, the assembled dignitaries prepared a great sacrificial feast to the Lord on the following day. They sacrificed to

the Lord sacrifices, viz. 1000 bullocks, 1000 rams, and 1000 lambs as burnt-offering, with drink-offerings to correspond, and sacrifices, i.e. thank-offerings (שְׁלָמִים), in multitude for all Israel, i.e. so that all those present could take part in the sacrificial meal prepared from these sacrifices. While זָבָחִים in the first clause is the general designation of the bloody offerings as distinguished from the meat-offerings, in the last clause it is restricted by the contrast with עֹלֹת and the שְׁלָמִים, from which joyous sacrificial meals were prepared.—Ver. 22. On this day they made Solomon king a second time, anointing him king to the Lord, and Zadok to be priest, i.e. high priest. The שָׁנִית refers back to chap. xxiii. 1, and the first anointing of Solomon narrated in 1 Kings i. 32 ff. לַיהוָה, not : before Jahve, which לֹא cannot signify, but : “to Jahve,” in accordance with His will expressed in His choice of Solomon (xxviii. 4). The לֹא before זָרֹק is *nota accus.*, as in לֹא-שָׁלַח. From the last words we learn that Zadok received the high-priesthood with the consent of the estates of the kingdom.

Vers. 23-30. *Solomon's accession and David's death*, with a statement as to the length of his reign and the sources of the history.—Vers. 23-25. The remarks on Solomon's accession and reign contained in these verses are necessary to the complete conclusion of a history of David's reign, for they show how David's wishes for his son Solomon, whom Jahve chose to be his successor, were fulfilled. On עַל-כֵּן יָהוָה see the commentary on xxviii. 5. וַיִּשְׁלַח, he was prosperous, corresponds to the hope expressed by David (xxii. 13), which was also fulfilled by the submission of all princes and heroes, and also of all the king's sons, to King Solomon (ver. 24). There can hardly, however, be in these last words a reference to the frustrating of Adonijah's attempted usurpation of the throne (cf. 1 Kings i. 15 ff.). וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה = to submit. But this meaning is not derived (Rashi) from the custom of taking oaths of fidelity by clasping of hands, for this custom cannot be certainly proved to have existed among the Israelites; still less can it have arisen from the ancient custom mentioned in Gen. xxiv. 2, 9, xlvii. 29, of laying the hand under the thigh of the person to whom one swore in making promises with oath. The hand, as the instrument of all activity, is here simply a symbol of power.—Ver. 25. Jahve made Solomon very great, by giving him the glory of the kingdom, as no king before him had had it. לֹא is to be taken along with לֹא, *nullus*, and does not presuppose a number of kings before Solomon; it involves only

more than one. Before him, Saul, Ishbosheth, and David had been kings, and the kingship of the latter had been covered with glory.—Ver. 26–30. **עַל כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל** (as in xi. 1, xii. 38), referring to the fact that David had been for a time king only over Judah, but had been recognised at a later time by all the tribes of Israel as king. The length of his reign as in 1 Kings ii. 11. In Hebron seven years; according to 2 Sam. v. 5, more exactly seven years and six months.—Ver. 28. On **עֶשֶׂר וְכָבוֹד** cf. 1 Kings iii. 13, 2 Chron. xvii. 5.—Ver. 29. On the authorities cited see the Introduction, p. 30 ff. **הָיָה כָּל־מַלְכוּתוֹ וְהָיָה עִם כָּל־פְּתָגָיו** goes with **הָיָה כָּל־פְּתָגָיו**: the acts of David . . . are written . . . together with his whole reign and his power, and the times which went over him. **וְהָיָה עִם כָּל־פְּתָגָיו**, the times, with their joys and sorrows, as in Ps. xxxi. 16, Job xxiv. 1. The kingdoms of the lands (cf. 2 Chron. xii. 8, xvii. 10, xx. 29) are the kingdoms with which the Israelites under David came into contact,—Philistia, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Aram.



## THE SECOND BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES.

### III. HISTORY OF SOLOMON'S KINGSHIP.—CHAP. I.—IX.

**T**HE kingship of Solomon centres in the building of the temple of the Lord, and the account of that begins in chap. ii. with a statement of the preparations which Solomon made for the accomplishment of this great work, so much pressed upon him by his father, and concludes in chap. vii. with the answer which the Lord gave to his consecrating prayer in a vision. In chap. i., before the history of the temple building, we have an account of the sacrifice at Gibeon by which Solomon inaugurated his reign (ver. 1-13), with some short notices of his power and riches (vers. 14-17); and in chap. viii. and ix., after the temple building, we have summary statements about the palaces and cities which he built (viii. 1-11), the arrangement of the regular religious service (vers. 12-16), the voyage to Ophir (vers. 17 and 18), the visit of the queen of Sheba (ix. 1-12), his riches and his royal magnificence and glory (vers. 13-28), with the concluding notices of the duration of his reign, and of his death (vers. 29, 30). If we compare with this the description of Solomon's reign in 1 Kings i.-xi., we find that in the Chronicle not only are the narratives of his accession to the throne in consequence of Adonijah's attempted usurpation, and his confirming his kingdom by punishing the revolter (1 Kings chap. i. and ii.), of his marriage to the Egyptian princess (iii. 1 and 2), his wise judgment (iii. 16-28), his public officers, his official men, his royal magnificence and glory (1 Kings iv. 1-v. 14), omitted, but also the accounts of the building of his palace (1 Kings vii. 1-12), of his idolatry, and of the adversaries who rose against him (1 Kings xi. 1-40). On the other hand, the description of the building and consecration of the temple is supplemented by various important details which are omitted from the first book of Kings. Hence it is clear that the author of the Chronicle purposed only to portray more exactly the building of

the house of God, and has only shortly touched upon all the other undertakings of this wise and fortunate king.

CHAP. I. 1-17.—SOLOMON'S SACRIFICE, AND THE THEOPHANY AT GIBEON. CHARIOTS, HORSES, AND RICHES OF SOLOMON.

Vers. 1-13. *The sacrifice at Gibeon, and the theophany.*—Vers. 1-6. When Solomon had established himself upon his throne, he went with the princes and representatives of the congregation of Israel to Gibeon, to seek for the divine blessing upon his reign by a solemn sacrifice to be offered there before the tabernacle. Ver. 1 forms, as it were, the superscription of the account of Solomon's reign which follows. In 'וַיָּחֲזֶק = Solomon established himself in his kingdom, i.e. he became strong and mighty in his kingdom, the older commentators saw a reference to the defeat of Adonijah, the pretender to the crown, and his followers (1 Kings ii.). But this view of the words is too narrow; we find the same remark made of other kings whose succession to the throne had not been questioned (cf. xii. 13, xiii. 21, xvii. 1, and xxi. 4), and the remark refers to the whole reign,—to all that Solomon undertook in order to establish a firm dominion, not merely to his entry upon it. With this view of the words, the second clause, "his God was with him, and made him very great," coincides. God gave His blessing to all that Solomon did for this end. With the last words cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 25.

We have an account of the sacrifice at Gibeon (vers. 7-13) in 1 Kings iii. 4-15 also. The two narratives agree in all the main points, but, in so far as their form is concerned, it is at once discernible that they are two independent descriptions of the same thing, but derived from the same sources. In 1 Kings iii. the theophany—in our text, on the contrary, that aspect of the sacrifice which connected it with the public worship—is more circumstantially narrated. While in 1 Kings iii. 4 it is briefly said the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there, our historian records that Solomon summoned the princes and representatives of the people to this solemn act, and accompanied by them went to Gibeon. This sacrifice was no mere private sacrifice,—it was the religious consecration of the opening of his reign, at which the estates of the kingdom were present as a matter of course. "All Israel" is defined by "the princes over the thousands . . . , the

judges, and all the honourable;" then לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל is again taken up and explained by the apposition רָאִשֵׁי הָאֲבוֹת: to all Israel, viz. the heads of the fathers'-houses. לְ is to be repeated before רָאִשֵׁי. What Solomon said to all Israel through its representatives, is not communicated; but it may be gathered from what succeeds, that he summoned them to accompany him to Gibeon to offer the sacrifice. The reason why he offered his sacrifice at the מִזְבֵּחַ, i.e. place of sacrifice, is given in ver. 3 f. There the Mosaic tabernacle stood, yet without the ark, which David had caused to be brought up from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem (1 Chron. xiii. and xv f.). In לֹא־יָבִינָה the article in יָבִינָה represents the relative אֲשֶׁר = בְּאֲשֶׁר or אֲשֶׁר הָיָה לוֹ; cf. Jud. v. 27, Ruth i. 16, 1 Kings xxi. 19; see on 1 Chron. xxvi. 28. Although the ark was separated from the tabernacle, yet by the latter at Gibeon was the Mosaic altar of burnt-offering, and on that account the sanctuary at Gibeon was Jahve's dwelling, and the legal place of worship for burnt-offerings of national-theocratic import. "As our historian here brings forward emphatically the fact that Solomon offered his burnt-offering at the legal place of worship, so he points out in 1 Chron. xxi. 28-xxx. 1, how David was only brought by extraordinary events, and special signs from God, to sacrifice on the altar of burnt-offering erected by him on the threshing-floor of Ornan, and also states how he was prevented from offering his burnt-offering in Gibeon" (Berth.). As to Bezaleel, the maker of the brazen altar, cf. Ex. xxxi. 2 and xxxvii. 1. Instead of שָׁם, which most manuscripts and many editions have before לִפְנֵי, and which the Targ. and Syr. also express, there is found in most editions of the 16th century, and also in manuscripts, שָׁנָה, which the LXX. and Vulgate also read. The reading שָׁנָה is unquestionably better and more correct, and the Masoretic pointing שָׁם, *posuit*, has arisen by an undue assimilation of it to Ex. xl. 29. The suffix in יִרְשֶׁהוּ does not refer to the altar, but to the preceding word יְהוָה; cf. יִרְשֶׁהוּ אֱלֹהִים, 1 Chron. xxi. 30, xv. 13, etc.—Vers. 7-13. The theophany, cf. 1 Kings iii. 5-15. In that night, i.e. on the night succeeding the day of the sacrifice. The appearance of God by night points to a dream, and in 1 Kings xxxv. 15 we are expressly informed that He appeared in a vision. Solomon's address to God, vers. 8-10, is in 1 Kings v. 6-10 given more at length. The mode of expression brings to mind 1 Chron. xvii. 23, and recurs in 2 Chron. vi. 17, 1 Kings viii. 26. מִדֶּעַ, with Pathach in the second syllable,

elsewhere **כִּדְע** (vers. 11, 12), occurs elsewhere only in Dan. i. 4, 17, Eccles. x. 20.—Vers. 11 and 12. The divine promise. Here **עֲשֶׂה** is strengthened by the addition **וְנִכְסִים**, treasures (Josh. xxii. 8; Eccles. v. 18, vi. 2). **אֲשֶׁר הָיָה**, *ut judicare possis*. In general, the mode of expression is briefer than in 1 Kings iii. 11–13, and the conditional promise, “long life” (1 Kings iii. 14), is omitted, because Solomon did not fulfil the condition, and the promise was not fulfilled. In ver. 13 **לְבָמָה** is unintelligible, and has probably come into our text only by a backward glance at ver. 3, instead of **מִהַבְמָה**, which the contents demand, and as the LXX. and Vulgate have rightly translated it. The addition, “from before the tabernacle,” which seems superfluous after the preceding “from the Bamah at Gibeon,” is inserted in order again to point to the place of sacrifice at Gibeon, and to the legal validity of the sacrifices offered there (Berth.). According to 1 Kings iii. 15, Solomon, on his return to Jerusalem, offered before the ark still other burnt-offerings and thank-offerings, and prepared a meal for his servants. This is omitted by the author of the Chronicle, because these sacrifices had no ultimate import for Solomon’s reign, and not, as Thén. supposes, because in his view only the sacrifices offered on the ancient brazen altar of burnt-offering belonging to the temple had legal validity. For he narrates at length in 1 Chron. xxi. 18, 26 ff. how God Himself directed David to sacrifice in Jerusalem, and how the sacrifice offered there was graciously accepted by fire from heaven, and the threshing-floor of Araunah thereby consecrated as a place of sacrifice; and it is only with the purpose of explaining to his readers why Solomon offered the solemn burnt-offering in Gibeon, and not, as we should have expected from 1 Chron. xxi., in Jerusalem, that he is so circumstantial in his statements as to the tabernacle. The last clause of ver. 13, “and he was king over Israel,” does not belong to the section treating of the sacrifice at Gibeon, but corresponds to the remark in 1 Kings iv. 1, and forms the transition to what follows.

Vers. 14–17. *Solomon’s chariots, horses, and riches.*—In order to prove by facts the fulfilment of the divine promise which Solomon received in answer to his prayer at Gibeon, we have in 1 Kings iii. 16–28 a narrative of Solomon’s wise judgment, then in chap. iv. an account of his public officers; and in chap. v. 1–14 the royal magnificence, glory, and wisdom of his reign is further portrayed. In our Chronicle, on the contrary, we have in vers. 14–17 only a short statement as to his chariots and horses, and

the wealth in silver and gold to be found in the land, merely for the purpose of showing how God had given him riches and possessions. This statement recurs verbally in 1 Kings x. 26–29, in the concluding remarks on the riches and splendour of Solomon's reign; while in the parallel passage, 2 Chron. ix. 13–28, it is repeated in an abridged form, and interwoven with other statements. From this we see in how free and peculiar a manner the author of the Chronicle has made use of his authorities, and how he has arranged the material derived from them according to his own special plan.<sup>1</sup> For the commentary on this section, see on 1 Kings x. 26–28.—Vers. 14, 15, with the exception of one divergence in form and one in matter, correspond word for word to 1 Kings x. 26 and 27. Instead of מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ, he led them (Kings), there stands in ver. 15, as in ix. 25, the more expressive word מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ, “he laid them” in the chariot cities; and in ver. 15 מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ is added to מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ, while it is omitted from both 1 Kings x. 27 and also 2 Chron. ix. 27. It is, however, very suitable in this connection, since the comparison “like stones” has reference to quantity, and Solomon had collected not only silver, but also gold, in quantity.—Vers. 16, 17 coincide with 1 Kings x. 28, 29, except that מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ is used for מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ, and מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ is altered into מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ. For the commentary on these verses, see 1 Kings x. 28 f.

CHAP. I. 18—II. 17. SOLOMON'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE. (CF. 1 KINGS V. 15–32.)

The account of these is introduced by i. 18: “Solomon thought to build.” מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ with an infinitive following does not signify here to command one to do anything, as *e.g.* in 1 Chron. xxi. 17, but to purpose to do something, as *e.g.* in 1 Kings v. 19. For מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ, see on 1 Kings v. 17. מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ, house for his kingdom, *i.e.* the royal palace. The building of this palace is indeed shortly spoken of in ii. 11, vii. 11, and viii. 1, but is not in the Chronicle described in detail as in 1 Kings vii. 1–12.

<sup>1</sup> The assertion of Thenius on 1 Kings x. 26 ff., that he found this section in his authorities in two different places and in different connections, copied them mechanically, and only towards the end of the second passage remarked the repetition and then abridged the statement, is at once refuted by observing, that in the supposed repetition the first half (ix. 25, 26) does not at all agree with 1 Kings x. 26, but coincides with the statement in 1 Kings v. 6, 7.

With chap. ii. 1 begins the account of the preparations which Solomon made for the erection of these buildings, especially of the temple building, accompanied by a statement that the king caused all the workmen of the necessary sort in his kingdom to be numbered. There follows thereafter an account of the negotiations with King Hiram of Tyre in regard to the sending of a skilful architect, and of the necessary materials, such as cedar wood and hewn stones, from Lebanon (vers. 2-15); and, in conclusion, the statements as to the levying of the statute labourers of Israel (ver. 1) are repeated and rendered more complete (vers. 16, 17). If we compare the parallel account in 1 Kings v. 15-32, we find that Solomon's negotiation with Hiram about the proposed buildings is preceded (ver. 15) by a notice, that Hiram, after he had heard of Solomon's accession, had sent him an embassy to congratulate him. This notice is omitted in the Chronicle, because it was of no importance in the negotiations which succeeded. In the account of Solomon's negotiation with Hiram, both narratives (Chron. vers. 2-15 and 1 Kings v. 16-26) agree in the main, but differ in form so considerably, that it is manifest that they are free adaptations of one common original document, quite independent of each other, as has been already remarked on 1 Kings v. 15. On ver. 1 see further on ver. 16 f.

Vers. 2-9. Solomon, through his ambassadors, addressed himself to Hiram king of Tyre, with the request that he would send him an architect and building wood for the temple. On the Tyrian king Hiram or Hiram, the contemporary of David and Solomon, see the discussion on 2 Sam. v. 11. According to the account in 1 Kings v., Solomon asked cedar wood from Lebanon from Hiram; according to our account, which is more exact, he desired an architect, and cedar, cypress, and other wood. In 1 Kings v. the motive of Solomon's request is given in the communication to Hiram, viz. that David could not carry out the building of the proposed temple on account of his wars, but that Jahve had given him (Solomon) rest and peace, so that he now, in accordance with the divine promise to David, desired to carry on the building (vers. 17-19). In the Chron. vers. 2-5, on the contrary, Solomon reminds the Tyrian king of the friendliness with which he had supplied his father David with cedar wood for his palace, and then announces to him his purpose to build a temple to the Lord, at the same time stating that it was designed for the worship of God, whom the heavens and the

earth cannot contain. It is clear, therefore, that both authors have expanded the fundamental thoughts of their authority in somewhat freer fashion. The apodosis of the clause beginning with **כִּנְאִשָּׁר** is wanting, and the sentence is an anacolouthon. The apodosis should be: "do so also for me, and send me cedars." This latter clause follows in vers. 6, 7, while the first can easily be supplied, as is done *e.g.* in the Vulg., by *sic fac mecum*.—Ver. 3. "Behold, I will build." **הִנֵּה** with a participle of that which is imminent, what one intends to do. **לְהַקְדִּישׁ לוֹ**, to sanctify (the house) to Him. The infinitive clause which follows (**לְהַקְטִיר** **וְנִי**) defines more clearly the design of the temple. The temple is to be consecrated by worshipping Him there in the manner prescribed, by burning incense, etc. **קִטְרֵת סַמִּים**, incense of odours, Ex. xxv. 6, which was burnt every morning and evening on the altar of incense, Ex. xxx. 7 f. The clauses which follow are to be connected by zeugma with **לְהַקְטִיר**, *i.e.* the verbs corresponding to the objects are to be supplied from **הַקְטִיר**: "and to spread the continual spreading of bread" (Ex. xxv. 30), and to offer burnt-offerings, as is prescribed in Num. xxviii. and xxix. **לְעוֹלָם זֶאת וְנִי**, for ever is this enjoined upon Israel, cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 31.—Ver. 4. In order properly to worship Jahve by these sacrifices, the temple must be large, because Jahve is greater than all gods; cf. Ex. xviii. 11, Deut. x. 17.—Ver. 5. No one is able (**עָצָר בּוֹהַ** as in 1 Chron. xxix. 14) to build a house in which this God could dwell, for the heaven of heavens cannot contain Him. These words are a reminiscence of Solomon's prayer (1 Kings viii. 27; 2 Chron. vi. 18). How should I (Solomon) be able to build Him a house, *scil.* that He should dwell therein? In connection with this, there then comes the thought: and that is not my purpose, but only to offer incense before Him will I build a temple. **הַקְטִיר** is used as *pars pro toto*, to designate the whole worship of the Lord. After this declaration of the purpose, there follows in ver. 6 the request that he would send him for this end a skilful chief workman, and the necessary material, *viz.* costly woods. The chief workman was to be a man wise to work in gold, silver, etc. According to chap. iv. 11-16 and 1 Kings vii. 13 ff., he prepared the brazen and metal work, and the vessels of the temple; here, on the contrary, and in ver. 13 also, he is described as a man who was skilful also in purple weaving, and in stone and wood work, to denote that he was an artificer who could take charge of all the artistic work connected with

the building of the temple. To indicate this, all the costly materials which were to be employed for the temple and its vessels are enumerated. **אַרְיֵז**, the later form of **אַרְנֵז**, deep-red purple, see on Ex. xxv. 4. **בְּרָמִיל**, occurring only here, vers. 6, 13, and in iii. 14, in the signification of the Heb. **תִּלְעַת שָׁנִי**, crimson or scarlet purple, see on Ex. xxv. 4. It is not originally a Hebrew word, but is probably derived from the Old-Persian, and has been imported, along with the thing itself, from Persia by the Hebrews. **תְּחֵלֶת**, deep-blue purple, hyacinth purple, see on Ex. xxv. 4. **פָּתַח פְּתָחִים**, to make engraved work, and Ex. xxviii. 9, 11, 36, and xxxix. 6, of engraving precious stones, but used here, as **כָּל פְּתָחִים**, ver. 13, shows, in the general signification of engraved work in metal or carved work in wood; cf. 1 Kings vi. 29. **עִם-הַחֲכָמִים** depends upon **לַעֲשׂוֹת**: to work in gold . . . , together with the wise (skilful) men which are with me in Judah. **אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין**, *quos comparavit*, cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 21, xxii. 15.—Ver. 7. The materials Hiram was to send were cedar, cypress, and alummim wood from Lebanon. **אֲלֻנִּים**, ver. 7 and ix. 10, instead of **אֲלֻמִּים**, 1 Kings x. 11, probably means sandal wood, which was employed in the temple, according to 1 Kings x. 12, for stairs and musical instruments, and is therefore mentioned here, although it did not grow in Lebanon, but, according to ix. 10 and 1 Kings x. 11, was procured at Ophir. Here, in our enumeration, it is inexactly grouped along with the cedars and cypresses brought from Lebanon.—Ver. 8. The infinitive **לְהֵכֵן** cannot be regarded as the continuation of **לְבָרֵךְ**, nor is it a continuation of the imperat. **שְׁלַח לִי** (ver. 7), with the signification, “and let there be prepared for me” (Berth.). It is subordinated to the preceding clauses: send me cedars, which thy people who are skilful in the matter hew, and in that my servants will assist, in order, viz. to prepare me building timber in plenty (the *v* is *explic.*). On ver. 8b cf. ver. 4. The infin. abs. **הַפִּילָא** is used adverbially: “wonderfully” (Ew. § 280, c). In return, Solomon promises to supply the Tyrian workmen with grain, wine, and oil for their maintenance,—a circumstance which is omitted in 1 Kings v. 10; see on ver. 14. **לְבָרֵךְ הָעֵצִים** is more closely defined by **לְחַטְּבֵם**, and **לִי** is the introductory **לִי**: “and behold, as to the hewers, the fellers of trees.” **חָטַב**, to hew (wood), and to dress it (Dent. xxix. 10; Josh. ix. 21, 23), would seem to have been supplanted by **הָצַב**, which in vers. 1, 17 is used for it, and it is therefore explained by **כָּבֹת הָעֵצִים**. “I will give wheat **כָּבֹת** to thy servants” (the



hewers of wood). The word **מבוא** gives no suitable sense; for "wheat of the strokes," for threshed wheat, would be a very extraordinary expression, even apart from the facts that wheat, which is always reckoned by measure, is as a matter of course supposed to be threshed, and that no such addition is made use of with the barley. **מבוא** is probably only an orthographical error for **מבלי**, food, as may be seen from 1 Kings v. 25.

Vers. 10-15. *The answer of King Hiram*; cf. 1 Kings v. 21-25.—Hiram answered **בכתב**, in a writing, a letter, which he sent to Solomon. In 1 Kings v. 21 Hiram first expresses his joy at Solomon's request, because it was of importance to him to be on a friendly footing with the king of Israel. In the Chronicle his writing begins with the congratulation: because Jahve loveth His people, hath He made thee king over them. Cf. for the expression, ix. 8 and 1 Kings x. 9. He then, according to both narratives, praises God that He has given David so wise a son. **וַיֹּאמֶר**, ver. 11, means: then he said further. The praise of God is heightened in the Chronicle by Hiram's entering into Solomon's religious ideas, calling Jahve the Creator of heaven and earth. Then, further, **בְּנֵי חָכְמָה** is strengthened by **וַיִּדְעֵם שְׂכָל וְנִימָה**, having understanding and discernment; and this predicate is specially referred to Solomon's resolve to build a temple to the Lord. Then in ver. 12 f. he promises to send Solomon the artificer Hiram-Abi. On the title **אָבִי**, my father, i.e. minister, counsellor, and the descent of this man, cf. the commentary on 1 Kings vii. 13, 14. In ver. 13 of the Chronicle his artistic skill is described in terms coinciding with Solomon's wish in ver. 6, only heightened by small additions. To the metals as materials in which he could work, there are added stone and wood work, and to the woven fabrics **בַּרְזֵל** (byssus), the later word for **שֵׁשׁ**; and finally, to exhaust the whole, he is said to be able **לַחֲשֹׁב כָּל־מְצָאָה**, to devise all manner of devices which shall be put to him, as in Ex. xxxi. 4, he being thus raised to the level of Bezaleel, the chief artificer of the tabernacle. **עַם־הַכְּמִיד** is dependent upon **לַעֲשׂוֹת**, as in ver. 6. The promise to send cedars and cypresses is for the sake of brevity here omitted, and only indirectly indicated in ver. 15. In ver. 14, however, it is mentioned that Hiram accepted the promised supply of grain, wine, and oil for the labourers; and ver. 15 closes with the promise to fell the wood required in Lebanon, and to cause it to be sent in floats to Joppa (Jaffa), whence Solomon could take it up

to Jerusalem. The word צָרָה, "need," is a *ἀνάγκη* in the Old Testament, but is very common in Aramaic writings. רִפְסָרוֹת, "floats," too, occurs only here instead of רִבְרוֹת, 1 Kings v. 23, and its etymology is unknown. If we compare vers. 12-15 with the parallel account in 1 Kings v. 22-25, we find that, besides Hiram's somewhat verbose promise to fell the desired quantity of cedars and cypresses on Lebanon, and to send them in floats by sea to the place appointed by Solomon, the latter contains a request from Hiram that Solomon would give him חֶמֶד, maintenance for his house, and a concluding remark that Hiram sent Solomon cedar wood, while Solomon gave Hiram, year by year, 20,000 kor of wheat as food for his house, *i.e.* the royal household, and twenty kor beaten oil, that is, of the finest oil. In the book of Kings, therefore, the promised wages of grain, wine, and oil, which were sent to the Tyrian woodcutters, is passed over, and only the quantity of wheat and finest oil which Solomon gave to the Tyrian king for his household, year by year, in return for the timber sent, is mentioned. In the Chronicle, on the contrary, only the wages or payment to the woodcutters is mentioned, and the return made for the building timber is not spoken of; but there is no reason for bringing these two passages, which treat of different things, into harmony by alterations of the text. For further discussion of this and of the measures, see on 1 Kings v. 22.

In vers. 16 and 17 the short statement in ver. 1 as to Solomon's statute labourers is again taken up and expanded. Solomon caused all the men to be numbered who dwelt in the land of Israel as strangers, *viz.* the descendants of the Canaanites who were not exterminated, "according to the numbering (סְפָר) occurs only here) as his father David had numbered them." This remark refers to 1 Chron. xxii. 2, where, however, it is only said that David commanded the strangers to be assembled. But as he caused them to be assembled in order to secure labourers for the building of the temple, he doubtless caused them to be numbered; and to this reference is here made. The numbering gave a total of 153,000 men, of whom 70,000 were made bearers of burdens, 80,000 חִצֵּב, *i.e.* probably hewers of stone and wood בְּהָר, *i.e.* on Lebanon, and 3600 foremen or overseers over the workmen, לְהַעֲבִיר אֶת־הָעָם, to cause the people to work, that is, to hold them to their task. With this cf. 1 Kings v. 29 f., where the number of the overseers is stated at 3300. This difference

is explained by the fact that in the Chronicle the total number of overseers, of higher and lower rank, is given, while in the book of Kings only the number of overseers of the lower rank is given without the higher overseers. Solomon had in all 550 higher overseers of the builders (Israelite and Canaanite),—cf. 1 Kings ix. 23; and of these, 250 were Israelites, who alone are mentioned in 2 Chron. viii. 10, while the remaining 300 were Canaanites. The total number of overseers is the same in both accounts—3850; who are divided in the Chronicle into 3600 Canaanitish and 250 Israelitish, in the book of Kings into 3300 lower and 550 higher overseers (see on 1 Kings v. 30). It is, moreover, stated in 1 Kings v. 27 f. that Solomon had levied a force of 30,000 statute labourers from among the people of Israel, with the design that a third part of them, that is, 10,000 men, should labour alternately for a month at a time in Lebanon, looking after their own affairs at home during the two following months. This levy of workmen from among the people of Israel is not mentioned in the Chronicle.

#### CHAP. III.—V. 1. THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

(CF. 1 KINGS VI., VII. 18–51.)

The description of the building begins with a statement of the place where and of the time when the temple was built (iii. 1, 2). Then follows an account of the proportions of the building, a description of the individual parts, commencing on the outside and advancing inwards. First we have the porch (vers. 3, 4), then the house, *i.e.* the interior apartment or the holy place (vers. 5–7), then the holiest of all, and cherubim therein (vers. 8–13), and the veil of partition between the holy place and the most holy (ver. 14). After that we have the furniture of the court, the pillars of the porch (vers. 15–17), the brazen altar (iv. 1), the brazen sea (iv. 2–5), the ten lavers (ver. 6), the furniture of the holy place, candlesticks and tables (vers. 7, 8), and of the two courts (vers. 9, 10), and finally a summary enumeration of the brazen and golden utensils of the temple (vers. 11, 12). The description in 1 Kings vi. and vii. is differently arranged; the divine promise which Solomon received while the building was in progress, and a description of the building of the palace, being inserted: see on 1 Kings vi. and vii.

Chap. iii. *The building of the temple.*—Vers. 1–3. The statements as to the place where the temple was built (ver. 1) are found here only. Mount Moriah is manifestly the mountain in the land of Moriah where Abraham was to have sacrificed his son Isaac (Gen. xxii. 2), which had received the name הַמִּזְבֵּיחַ, i.e. “the appearance of Jahve,” from that event. It is the mountain which lies to the north-east of Zion, now called Haram after the most sacred mosque of the Mohammedans, which is built there; cf. Rosen, *das Haram von Jerusalem*, Gotha 1866. אֲשֶׁר נִרְאָה לְדָוִד is usually translated: “which was pointed out to David his father.” But נִרְאָה has not in Niphal the signification “to be pointed out,” which is peculiar to the Hophal (cf. Ex. xxv. 40, xxvi. 30, Deut. iv. 35, etc.); it means only “to be seen,” “to let oneself be seen,” to appear, especially used of appearances of God. It cannot be shown to be anywhere used of a place which lets itself be seen, or appears to one. We must therefore translate: “on mount Moriah, where He had appeared to David his father.” The unexpressed subject יְהוָה is easily supplied from the context; and with בְּהָרִי אֲשֶׁר, “on the mountain where,” cf. בְּמִקְוֵם אֲשֶׁר, Gen. xxxv. 13 f., and Ew. § 331, c, 3. אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין is separated from what precedes, and connected with what follows, by the Athnach under אֲכִיּוֹ, and is translated, after the LXX., Vulg., and Syr., as a hyperbaton thus: “in the place where David had prepared,” *scil.* the building of the temple by the laying up of the materials there (1 Chron. xxii. 5, xxix. 2). But there are no proper analogies to such a hyperbaton, since Jer. xiv. 1 and xlv. 1 are differently constituted. Berth. therefore is of opinion that our text can only signify, “which temple he prepared on the place of David,” and that this reading cannot be the original, because הֵכִין occurs elsewhere only of David’s activity in preparing for the building of the temple, and “place of David” cannot, without further ceremony, mean the place which David had chosen. He would therefore transpose the words thus: בְּמִקְוֵם אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין דָּוִד. But this conjecture is by no means certain. In the first place, the mere transposition of the words is not sufficient; we must also alter בְּמִקְוֵם into בְּמִקְדָּשׁ, to get the required sense; and, further, Berthieu’s reasons are not conclusive. הֵכִין means not merely to make ready for (*zurüsten*), to prepare, but also to make ready, make (*bereiten*), found *e.g.* 1 Kings vi. 19, Ezra iii. 3; and the frequent use of this word in reference to David’s action in preparing for the building of the temple

does not prove that it has this signification here also. The clause may be quite well translated, with J. J. Rambach: "*quam domum preparavit (Salomo) in loco Davidis.*" The expression "David's place," for "place which David had fixed upon," cannot in this connection be misunderstood, but yet it cannot be denied that the clause is stiff and constrained if we refer it to אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה. We would therefore prefer to give up the Masoretic punctuation, and construe the words otherwise, connecting אֲשֶׁר הָיָן with the preceding thus: where Jahve had appeared to his father David, who had prepared (the house, *i.e.* the building of it), and make בְּמִקוֹם הַזֶּה as a further explanation of the place, to depend upon לְבִנוֹת as a further explanation of the 'בֵּית הַזֶּה, viz. in the place of David, *i.e.* on the place fixed by David on the threshing-floor of the Jebusite Ornan; cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 18.—In ver. 2 הָיָן is repeated in order to fix the time of the building. In 1 Kings vi. 1 the time is fixed by its relation to the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. בִּשְׁנֵי, which the older commentators always understood of the second day of the month, is strange. Elsewhere the day of the month is always designated by the cardinal number with the addition of לַחֹדֶשׁ or יוֹם, the month having been previously given. Berth. therefore considers בִּשְׁנֵי to be a gloss which has come into the text by a repetition of הָיָן, since the LXX. and Vulg. have not expressed it.—Ver. 3. "And this is Solomon's founding, to build the house of God;" *i.e.* this is the foundation which Solomon laid for the building of the house of God. The infin. הוֹסִיף is used here and in Ezra iii. 11 substantively. The measurements only of the length and breadth of the building are given; the height, which is stated in 1 Kings vi. 2, is omitted here. The former, *i.e.* the ancient measurement, is the Mosaic or sacred cubit, which, according to Ezek. xl. 5 and xliii. 13, was a handbreadth longer than the civil cubit of the earlier time; see on 1 Kings vi. 2.

**Vers. 4-7. The porch and the interior of the holy place.**—Ver. 4. The porch which was before (*i.e.* in front of) the length (of the house), was twenty cubits before the breadth of the house, *i.e.* was as broad as the house. So understood, the words give an intelligible sense. הָאֵרוֹן with the article refers back to הָאֵרוֹן in ver. 3 (the length of the house), and עַל־פָּנָיו in the two defining clauses means "in front;" but in the first clause it is "lying in front of the house," *i.e.* built in front; in the second it is "mea-

sured across the front of the breadth of the house."<sup>1</sup> There is certainly either a corruption of the text, or a wrong number in the statement of the height of the porch, 120 cubits; for a front 120 cubits high to a house only thirty cubits high could not be called **אֶרֶץ**; it would have been a **מִגְדָּל**, a tower. It cannot with certainty be determined whether we should read twenty or thirty cubits; see in 1 Kings vi. 3. He overlaid it (the porch) with pure gold; cf. 1 Kings vi. 21.—Vers. 5–7. The interior of the holy place. Ver. 5. The "great house," i.e. the large apartment of the house, the holy place, he wainscotted with cypresses, and overlaid it with good gold, and carved thereon palms and garlands. **הָפָה** from **הָפָה**, to cover, cover over, alternates with the synonymous **צָפָה** in the signification to coat or overlay with wood and gold. **הַפָּרִים** as in Ezek. xli. 18, for **הַפָּרוֹת**, 1 Kings vi. 29, 35, are artificial palms as wall ornaments. **שִׁרְשֵׁרוֹת** are in Ex. xxviii. 14 small scroll-formed chains of gold wire, here spiral chain-like decorations on the walls, garlands of flowers carved on the wainscot, as we learn from 1 Kings vi. 18.—Ver. 6. And he garnished the house with precious stones for ornament (of the inner sides of the walls); cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 2, on which Bähr on 1 Kings vi. 7 appositely remarks, that the ornamenting of the walls with precious stones is very easily credible, since among the things which Solomon brought in quantity from Ophir they are expressly mentioned (1 Kings x. 11), and it was a common custom in the East so to employ them in buildings and in vessels; cf. *Symbolik des mos. Cult.* i. S. 280, 294, 297. The gold was from **פָּרִים**. This, the name of a place rich in gold, does not

<sup>1</sup> There is consequently no need to alter the text according to 1 Kings vi. 3, from which passage Berth. would interpolate the words **הַבֵּית עֶשְׂרִי רִבּוֹעַ** between **בְּאֶמְתָּה רִבּוֹעַ** על פָּנָיו and **הָאֶרֶץ**, and thereby get the signification: "and the porch which is before the house, ten cubits is its breadth before the same, and the length which is before the breadth twenty cubits." But this conjecture is neither necessary nor probable. It is not necessary, for (1) the present text gives an intelligible sense; (2) the assertion that the length and breadth of the porch must be stated cannot be justified, if for no other reason, for this, that even of the main buildings all three dimensions are not given, only two being stated, and that it was not the purpose of the author of the Chronicle to give an architecturally complete statement, his main anxiety being to supply a general idea of the splendour of the temple. It is not probable; because the chronicler, if he had followed 1 Kings vi. 3, would not have written **עַל-פָּנָיו הַבֵּית**, but **עַל-פָּנָיו הַבֵּית**, and instead of **הָאֶרֶץ** would have written **וְאֶרֶץ**, to correspond with **רִבּוֹעַ**.

elsewhere occur, and has not as yet been satisfactorily explained. Gesen. with Wilson compares the Sanscrit *parvam*, the first, foremost, and takes it to be the name of the foremost, *i.e.* eastern regions; others hold the word to be the name of some city in southern or eastern Arabia, whence Indian gold was brought to Palestine.—In ver. 7 the garnishing of the house with gold is more exactly and completely described. He garnished the house, the beams (of the roof), the thresholds (of the doors), and its walls and its doors with gold, and carved cherubs on the walls. For details as to the internal garnishing, decoration, and gilding of the house, see 1 Kings vi. 18, 29, and 30, and for the doors, vers. 32-35.

Vers. 8-14. *The most holy place, with the figures of the cherubim and the veil*; cf. 1 Kings vi. 19-28.—The length of the most holy place in front of the breadth of the house, twenty cubits, consequently measured in the same way as the porch (ver. 4); the breadth, *i.e.* the depth of it, also twenty cubits. The height, which was the same (1 Kings vi. 20), is not stated; but instead of that we have the weight of the gold which was used for the gilding, which is omitted in 1 Kings vi., viz. 600 talents for the overlaying of the walls, and 50 shekels for the nails to fasten the sheet gold on the wainscoting. He covered the upper chambers of the most holy place also with gold; see 1 Chron. xxviii. 11. This is not noticed in 1 Kings vi.—Vers. 10 ff. The figures of the cherubim are called מַעֲשֵׂה זָרָעִים, sculpture work. The ἀπ. λεγ. זָרָעִים comes from צִי, Arab. صاغ, *formavit, finxit*, and signifies sculptures. The plur. צִיצִי, “they overlaid them,” is indefinite. The length of the wings was five cubits, and the four outspread wings extended across the whole width of the most holy place from one wall to the other. The repetition of the clauses הַכְּרִיב הָאֶחָד . . . הַכְּרִיב הָאֶחָד (vers. 11, 12) has a distributive force: the top of one wing of each cherub reached the wall of the house, that of the other wing reached the wing of the other cherub standing by. In the repetition the masc. מִצֵּי alternates with the fem. מִצֵּעַ, being construed in a freer way as the principal gender with the fem. בְּנֵי, and also with דְּבָקָה, *adhærebat*, in the last clause.—In ver. 12 Bertheau would strike out the word בְּנֵי because it does not suit פְּרָשִׁים, which occurs in 1 Chron. xxviii. 18, 2 Chron. v. 8, 1 Kings viii. 7, in the transitive signification, “to stretch out the wings.” But nothing is

gained by that, for we must then supply the erased word after פְּרָשִׁים again. And, moreover, the succeeding clause is introduced by וְהֵם, just because in the first clause the wings, and not the cherubim, were the subject. We hold the text to be correct, and translate: "the wings of these cherubim were, for they stretched them out, twenty cubits." וְהֵם refers to הַכְּרֻבִּים. They stood upon their feet, consequently upright, and were, according to 1 Kings vi. 26, ten cubits high. "And their faces towards the house," i.e. turned towards the holy place, not having their faces turned towards each other, as was the case with the cherubim upon the Caphoreth (Ex. xxv. 20).—Ver. 14. The veil between the holy place and the most holy, not mentioned in 1 Kings vi. 21, was made of the same materials and colours as the veil on the tabernacle, and was inwoven with similar cherub figures; cf. Ex. xxvi. 31. פָּרָמֶל וּבָרָן as in ii. 13. עָלָה עָלָה, to bring upon; an indefinite expression for: to weave into the material.

Vers. 15–17. *The two brazen pillars before the house, i.e. before the porch*, whose form is more accurately described in 1 Kings vii. 15–22. The height of it is here given at thirty-five cubits, while, according to 1 Kings vii. 15, 2 Kings xxv. 17, Jer. lii. 21, it was only eighteen cubits. The number thirty-five has arisen by confounding כ = 18 with ל = 35; see on 1 Kings vii. 16. הַצִּפָּה (ἀπ. λεγ.) from צָפָה, overlay, cover, is the hood of the pillar, i.e. the capital, called in 1 Kings vii. 16 ff. כִּתְרוֹת, crown, capital, five cubits high, as in 1 Kings vii. 16.—Ver. 16. "And he made little chains on the collar (Halsreife), and put it on the top of the pillars, and made 100 pomegranates, and put them on the chains." In the first clause of this verse, בִּפְתִּיחַי, "in (on) the most holy place," has no meaning, for the most holy place is not here being discussed, but the pillars before the porch, or rather an ornament on the capital of these pillars. We must not therefore think of chains in the most holy place, which extended thence out to the pillars, as the Syriac and Arabic seem to have done, paraphrasing as they do: chains of fifty cubits (i.e. the length of the holy place and the porch). According to 1 Kings vii. 17–20 and ver. 41 f., compared with 2 Chron. iv. 12, 13, each capital consisted of two parts. The lower part was a circumvolution (Wulst) covered with chain-like net-work, one cubit high, with a setting of carved pomegranates one row above and one row below. The upper part, or that which formed the crown of the capital, was four cubits high, and carved in the form of an open lily-calyx.



In our verse it is the lower part of the capital, the circumvolution, with the chain net-work and the pomegranates, which is spoken of. From this, Bertheau concludes that *חֲבִיר* must signify the same as the more usual *שֶׁבֶכֶה*, viz. "the lattice-work which was set about the top of the pillars, and served to fasten the pomegranates," and that *בִּרְבִּיר* has arisen out of *חֲבִיר* by a transposition of the letters. *חֲבִיר* (chains) should be read here. This conjecture so decidedly commends itself, that we regard it as certainly correct, since *חֲבִיר* denotes in Gen. xli. 42, Ezek. xvi. 11, a necklace, and so may easily denote also a ring or hoop; but we cannot adopt the translation "chains on a ring," nor the idea that the *שֶׁבֶכֶה*, since it surrounded the head of the pillars as a girdle or broad ring, is called the ring of the pillars. For this idea does not agree with the translation "chains in a ring," even when they are conceived of as "chain-like ornaments, which could scarcely otherwise be made visible on the ring than by open work." Then the chain-like decorations were not, as Bertheau thinks, on the upper and under border of the ring, but formed a net-work which surrounded the lower part of the capital of the pillar like a ring, as though a necklace had been drawn round it. *חֲבִיר* consequently is not the same as *שֶׁבֶכֶה*, but rather corresponds to that part of the capital which is called *הַגִּלְיָה* (גִּלְיָה) in 1 Kings vii. 14; for the *שֶׁבֶכֶה* served to cover the *הַגִּלְיָה*, and were consequently placed on or over the *הַגִּלְיָה*, as the pomegranates were on the chains or woven work. *הַגִּלְיָה* denotes the curve, the circumvolution, which is in 1 Kings vii. 20 called *הַבֶּצֶץ*, a broad-arched band, bulging towards the middle, which formed the lower part of the capital. This arched part of the capital the author of the Chronicle calls *חֲבִיר*, ring or collar, because it may be regarded as the neck ornament of the head of the pillar, in contrast to the upper part of the capital, that consisted in lily-work, i.e. the ball wrought into the form of an open lily-calyx (*כַּתְחִי*).—Ver. 17. As to the position of the pillars, and their names, see on 1 Kings vii. 21.

Chap. iv. 1-11a. *The sacred furniture and the courts of the temple.*—Vers. 1-6. The copper furniture of the court. Ver. 1. *The altar of burnt-offering.* Its preparation is passed over in 1 Kings vi. and vii., so that there it is only mentioned incidentally in connection with the consecration of the temple, viii. 22, 54, and ix. 25. It was twenty cubits square (long and broad) and ten cubits high, and constructed on the model of the Mosaic altar of

burnt-offering, and probably of brass plates, which enclosed the inner core, consisting of earth and unhewn stones; and if we may judge from Ezekiel's description, chap. xliii. 13-17, it rose in steps, as it were, so that at each step its extent was smaller; and the measurement of twenty cubits refers only to the lowest scale, while the space at the top, with the hearth, was only twelve cubits square; cf. my *Bibl. Archæol.* i. S. 127, with the figure, plate iii. fig. 2.—Vers. 2-5. *The brazen sea* described as in 1 Kings vii. 23-26. See the commentary on that passage, and the sketch in my *Archæol.* i. plate iii. fig. 1. The differences in substance, such as the occurrence of *הַבָּקָר* and *הַבָּקָר*, ver. 3, instead of *הַבָּקָר* and *הַבָּקָר*, and 3000 baths instead of 2000, are probably the result of orthographical errors in the Chronicle. *יָבֵל* in ver. 5 appears superfluous after the preceding *בְּהֵיכָל*, and Berth. considers it a gloss which has come from 1 Kings into our text by mistake. But the expression is only pleonastic: "receiving baths, 3000 it held;" and there is no sufficient reason to strike out the words.—Ver. 6. *The ten lavers* which, according to 1 Kings vii. 38, stood upon ten brazen stands, i.e. chests provided with carriage wheels. These stands, the artistic work on which is circumstantially described in 1 Kings vii. 27-37, are omitted in the Chronicle, because they are merely subordinate parts of the lavers. The size or capacity of the lavers is not stated, only their position on both sides of the temple porch, and the purpose for which they were designed, "to wash therein, viz. the work of the burnt-offering (the flesh of the burnt-offering which was to be burnt upon the altar) they rinsed therein," being mentioned. For details, see in 1 Kings vii. 38 f. and the figure in my *Archæol.* i. plate iii. fig. 4. Occasion is here taken to mention in a supplementary way the use of the brazen sea.—Vers. 7-9. *The golden furniture of the holy place and the courts.* These three verses are not found in the parallel narrative 1 Kings vii., where in ver. 39b the statement as to the position of the brazen sea (ver. 10 of Chron.) follows immediately the statement of the position of the stands with the lavers. The candlesticks and the table of the shew-bread are indeed mentioned in the summary enumeration of the temple furniture, 1 Kings vii. 48 and 49, as in the corresponding passage of the Chronicle (vers. 19 and 20) they again occur; and in 1 Kings vi. 36 and vii. 12, in the description of the temple building, the inner court is spoken of, but the outer court is not expressly mentioned. No reason can be given for the

omission of these verses in 1 Kings vii.; but that they have been omitted or have dropped out, may be concluded from the fact that not only do the whole contents of our fourth chapter correspond to the section 1 Kings vii. 23-50, but both passages are rounded off by the same concluding verse (Chron. v. 1 and 1 Kings li.).—Ver. 7. He made ten golden candlesticks במִשְׁפָּטָם, according to their right, *i.e.* as they should be according to the prescript, or corresponding to the prescript as to the golden candlesticks in the Mosaic sanctuary (Ex. xxv. 31 ff.). במִשְׁפָּט is the law established by the Mosaic legislation.—Ver. 8. Ten golden tables, corresponding to the ten candlesticks, and, like these, placed five on the right and five on the left side of the holy place. The tables were not intended to bear the candlesticks (Berth.), but for the shew-bread; cf. on ver. 19 and 1 Chron. xxviii. 16. And a hundred golden basins, not for the catching and sprinkling of the blood (Berth.), but, as their connection with the tables for the shew-bread shows, wine flagons, or sacrificial vessels for wine libations, probably corresponding to the מִנְיָוִית on the table of shew-bread in the tabernacle (Ex. xxv. 29). The signification, wine flagons, for מִנְיָוִית, is placed beyond a doubt by Amos vi. 6.—Ver. 9. The two courts are not further described. For the court of the priests, see on 1 Kings vi. 36 and vii. 12. As to the great or outer court, the only remark made is that it had doors, and its doors, *i.e.* the folds or leaves of the doors, were overlaid with copper. In ver. 10 we have a supplementary statement as to the position of the brazen sea, which coincides with 1 Kings vii. 39; see on the passage. In ver. 11a the heavier brazen (copper) utensils, belonging to the altar of burnt-offering, are mentioned: סִירֹת, pots for the removal of the ashes; יָעִים, shovels, to take the ashes out from the altar; and מִזְרָקִים, basins to catch and sprinkle the sacrificial blood. This half verse belongs to the preceding, notwithstanding that Hiram is mentioned as the maker. This is clear beyond doubt, from the fact that the same utensils are again introduced in the summary catalogue which follows (ver. 16).

Vers. 11b-22. *Summary catalogue of the temple utensils and furniture.*—Vers. 11b-18. The brass work wrought by Hiram.—Ver. 19-22. The golden furniture of the holy place and the gilded doors of the temple. This section is found also in 1 Kings vii. 40b-50. The enumeration of the things wrought in brass coincides to a word, with the exception of trifling linguistic differences and some defects in the text, with 1 Kings vii. 40b-

47. In ver. 12 הַגִּלּוֹת וְהַכְתָּרוֹת is the true reading, and we should so read in 1 Kings vii. 41 also, since the גִּלּוֹת, circumvolutions, are to be distinguished from the כְּתָרוֹת, crowns; see on iii. 16. In ver. 14 the first עֵשָׂה is a mistake for עֶשֶׂר, the second for עֲשֶׂה, Kings ver. 43; for the verb עֵשָׂה is not required nor expected, as the accusative depends upon לַעֲשׂוֹת, ver. 11, while the number cannot be omitted, since it is always given with the other things. In ver. 16 מִזְלָנוֹת is an orthographic error for מִזְרָקוֹת; cf. ver. 11 and 1 Kings vii. 44. וְאֶחָד-כָּל-בֵּייהֶם is surprising, for there is no meaning in speaking of the utensils of the utensils enumerated in ver. 12–16c. According to 1 Kings vii. 45, we should read אֶחָד כָּל-הַבֵּלִים הָאֵלֶּה. As to אֲבִיז, see on ii. 12. נְחֹשֶׁת מְרוֹק is accusative of the material, of polished brass; and so also מְמָרֵם נָח, 1 Kings vii. 45, with a similar signification. In reference to the rest, see the commentary on 1 Kings vii. 40 ff.—Vers. 19–22. In the enumeration of the golden furniture of the holy place, our text diverges somewhat more from 1 Kings vii. 48–50. On the difference in respect to the tables of the shew-bread, see on 1 Kings vii. 48. In ver. 20 the number and position of the candlesticks in the holy place are not stated as they are in 1 Kings vii. 49, both having been already given in ver. 7. Instead of that, their use is emphasized: to light them, according to the right, before the most holy place (בְּפָנֶיכֶם as in ver. 7). As to the decorations and subordinate utensils of the candlesticks, see on 1 Kings vii. 49. To זָהָב, ver. 21 (accus. of the material), is added הוּא מְבִלָּה זָהָב, “that is perfect gold.” מְבִלָּה, which occurs only here, is synonymous with מְבִלָּל, perfection. This addition seems superfluous, because before and afterwards it is remarked of these vessels that they were of precious gold (זָהָב קָדֹר), and it is consequently omitted by the LXX., perhaps also because מְבִלָּה was not intelligible to them. The words, probably, are meant to indicate that even the decorations and the subordinate utensils of the candlesticks (lamps, snuffers, etc.) were of solid gold, and not merely gilded.—Ver. 22. מִזְפָּרוֹת, knives, probably used along with the snuffers for the cleansing and trimming of the candlesticks and lamps, are not met with among the utensils of the tabernacle, but are here mentioned (Chron. and Kings), and in 2 Kings xii. 14 and Jer. lii. 18, among the temple utensils. Along with the מִזְרָקוֹת, sacrificial vessels (see on ver. 8), in 1 Chron. xxviii. 17, מִזְלָנוֹת, forks of gold, are also mentioned, which are not elsewhere spoken of. Among the utensils of the tabernacle we

find only מלכות of brass, flesh-forks, as an appurtenance of the altar of burnt-offering (Ex. xxvii. 3, xxxviii. 3, Num. iv. 14; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 13 f.), which, however, cannot be intended here, because all the utensils here enumerated belonged to the holy place. What purpose the golden forks served cannot be determined, but the mention of golden knives might lead us to presuppose that there would be golden forks as well. That the forks are not mentioned in our verse does not render their existence doubtful, for the enumeration is not complete: *e.g.* the כפות, 1 Kings vii. 50, are also omitted. צפוח, vessels for the incense, and מחתות, extinguishers, as in 1 Kings vii. 50. Instead of ויפתח הבית ודלתותיו, "and as regards the opening (door) of the house, its door-leaves," in 1 Kings vii. 50 we have והפחת לדלתות הבית, "and the hinges of the door-leaves of the house." This suggests that פתח is only an orthographical error for פתח; but then if we take it to be so, we must alter ודלתותיו into לדלתותיו. And, moreover, the expression פתח הבית, door-hinges of the house, is strange, as פתח properly denotes a recess or space between, and which renders the above-mentioned conjecture improbable. The author of the Chronicle seems rather himself to have generalized the expression, and emphasizes merely the fact that even the leaves of the doors in the most holy place and on the holy place were of gold;—of course not of solid gold; but they were, as we learn from iii. 7, overlaid with gold. This interpretation is favoured by the simple ויהי being used without the predicate פניו. To the sing. פתח no objection can be made, for the word in its fundamental signification, "opening," may easily be taken collectively.—Chap. v. 1 contains the conclusion of the account of the preparation of the sacred utensils as in 1 Kings vii. 51, and with it also the whole account of the building of the temple is brought to an end. The ו before אֶת־הַכֶּהֱנִים and אֶת־הַיִּזְבֵּיחַ corresponds to the Lat. *et—et*, both—and also. As to David's offerings, cf. 1 Chron. xviii. 10 and 11; and on the whole matter, compare also the remarks on 1 Kings vii. 51.

CHAP. V. 2-VII. 22.—THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE.

(CF. 1 KINGS VIII. AND IX. 1-9.)

This solemnity, to which Solomon had invited the elders and heads of all Israel to Jerusalem, consisted in four acts: (a) the transfer of the ark into the temple (v. 2-vi. 11); (b) Solomon's

dedicatory prayer (vi. 12–42); (c) the solemn sacrifice (vii. 1–10); and (d) the Lord's answer to Solomon's prayer (vii. 11–22). By the first two acts the temple was dedicated by the king and the congregation of Israel to its holy purpose; by the two last it was consecrated by Jahve to be the dwelling-place of His name. If we compare our account of this solemnity with the account given in the book of Kings, we find that they agree in their main substance, and for the most part even verbally coincide. Only, in the Chronicle the part performed by the priests and Levites is described more in detail; and in treating of the third act, instead of the blessing spoken by Solomon (1 Kings viii. 54–61), we have in Chron. vii. 1–3 a narrative of the devouring of the sacrifices by fire from heaven.

Chap. v. 2–vi. 11. The first part of the celebration was the transfer of the ark from Mount Zion to the temple (v. 2–14), and in connection with this we have the words in which Solomon celebrates the entry of the Lord into the new temple (vi. 1–11). This section has been already commented on in the remarks on 1 Kings viii. 1–21, and we have here, consequently, only to set down briefly those discrepancies between our account and that other, which have any influence upon the meaning.—In ver. 3 the name of the month, **בִּיַּרְחַ הַזֶּה** (Kings ver. 2), with which the supplementary clause, “that is the seventh month,” is there connected, is omitted, so that we must either change **הַחֹדֶשׁ** into **בַּחֹדֶשׁ**, or supply the name of the month; for the festival is not the seventh month, but was held in that month.—Ver. 4. Instead of **הַלְוִיִּם**, we have in 2 Kings **הַכֹּהֲנִים**, the priests bare the ark; and since even according to the Chronicle (ver. 7) the priests bare the ark into the holy place, we must understand by **הַלְוִיִּם** such Levites were also priests.—In ver. 5, too, the words **הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם** are inexact, and are to be corrected by Kings ver. 4, **הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם**. For even if the Levitic priests bare the ark and the sacred utensils of the tabernacle into the temple, yet the tabernacle itself (the planks, hangings, and coverings of it) was borne into the temple, to be preserved as a holy relic, not by priests, but only by Levites. The conj. **ו** before **הַלְוִיִּם** has probably been omitted only by a copyist, who was thinking of **הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם** (Josh. iii. 3, Deut. xvii. 9, 18, etc.).—In ver. 8 **וַיִּכְסֹּוּ** is an orthographical error for **וַיִּכְסֻּהוּ**, 1 Kings viii. 7; cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 18, Ex. xxv. 20.—In ver. 9, too, **מִן־הָאָרֶץ** has probably come into our text only by a copyist's mistake instead of **מִן־הַקֹּדֶשׁ** (Kings ver. 8).—Ver. 10. **אֲשֶׁר נָתַן**, who

had given, *i.e.* laid in, is not so exact as **אֲשֶׁר הָיָה שָׁם** (Kings ver. 9), but may be justified by a reference to Ex. xl. 20.—Vers. 11b-13a describe the part which the priests and Levitical singers and musicians took in the solemn act of transferring the ark to the temple,—a matter entirely passed over in the narrative in Kings viii. 11, which confines itself to the main transaction. The mention of the priests gives occasion for the remark, ver. 11b, “for all the priests present had sanctified themselves, but the courses were not to be observed,” *i.e.* the courses of the priests (1 Chron. xxiv.) could not be observed. The festival was so great, that not merely the course appointed to perform the service of that week, but also all the courses had sanctified themselves and co-operated in the celebration. In reference to the construction **לְשִׁמּוֹר**, cf. Ew. § 321, *b*.—Ver. 12. All the Levitic singers and musicians were also engaged in it, to make the festival glorious by song and instrumental music: “and the Levites, the singers, all of them, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, and their sons and brethren, clad in byssus, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, stood eastward from the altar, and with them priests to 120, blowing trumpets.” The **לְ** before **בָּלָם** and the following noun is the introductory **לְ**: “as regards.” On the form **מַחֲזִירִים**, see on 1 Chron. xv. 24; on these singers and musicians, their clothing, and their instruments, see on 1 Chron. xv. 17-28 and chap. xxv. 1-8.—Ver. 13a runs thus literally: “And it came to pass, as one, regarding the trumpeters and the singers, that they sang with one voice to praise and thank Jahve.” The meaning is: and the trumpeters and singers, together as one man, sang with one voice to praise. **בְּאַחֵד** is placed first for emphasis; stress is laid upon the subject, the trumpeters and singers, by the introductory **לְ**; and **הָיָה** is construed with the following infinitive (**לְהַשְׁמִיעַ**): it was to sound, to cause to hear, for they were causing to hear, where **לְ** *c. infin.* is connected with **הָיָה**, as the participle is elsewhere, to describe the circumstances; cf. Ew. § 237. But in order to express very strongly the idea of the *unisono* of the trumpet-sound, and the singing accompanied by the harp-playing, which lies in **בְּאַחֵד**, **קוֹל אֶחָד** is added to **לְהַשְׁמִיעַ**. By **וּבְהָרִים קוֹל וְאוֹ** all that was to be said of the song and music is drawn together in the form of a protasis, to which is joined **וְהָיָה**, the apodosis both of this latter and also of the protasis which was interrupted by the parenthesis in ver. 11: “When the priests went forth from the holy place, for . . . (ver. 11), and

when they lifted up the voice with trumpets and with cymbals, and the (other) instruments of song, and with the praise of Jahve, that He is good, that His mercy endureth for ever (cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 34), then was the house filled with the cloud of the house of Jahve." The absence of the article before עָנָן requires us thus to connect the עָנָן at the close of the verse with עָנָן (*stat. constr.*), since the indefinite עָנָן (without the article) is not at all suitable here; for it is not any cloud which is here spoken of, but that which overshadowed the glory of the Lord in the most holy place.—Ver. 14, again, agrees with 1 Kings viii. 6, and has been there commented upon, chap. vi. 1–11. The words with which Solomon celebrates this wondrous evidence of divine favour, entirely coincide with the narrative in 1 Kings viii. 12–21, except that in ver. 5 f. the actual words of Solomon's speech are more completely given than in 1 Kings viii. 16, where the words, "and I have not chosen a man to be prince over my people Israel, and I have chosen Jerusalem that my name might be there," are omitted. For the commentary on this address, see on 1 Kings viii. 12–21.

Chap. vi. 12–42. *Solomon's dedicatory prayer* likewise corresponds exactly with the account of it given in 1 Kings viii. 22–53 till near the end (vers. 40–42), where it takes quite a different turn. Besides this, in the introduction (ver. 13) Solomon's position during the prayer is more accurately described, it being there stated that Solomon had caused a high stage (בֵּימָה, a basin-like elevation) to be erected, which he ascended, and kneeling, spoke the prayer which follows. This fact is not stated in 1 Kings viii. 22, and Then. and Berth. conjecture that it has been dropped out of our text only by mistake. Perhaps so, but it may have been passed over by the author of the books of Kings as a point of subordinate importance. On the contents of the prayer, which begins with the joyful confession that the Lord had fulfilled His promise to David in reference to the building of the temple, and proceeds with a request for a further bestowment of the blessing promised to His people, and a supplication that all prayers made to the Lord in the temple may be heard, see the Com. on 1 Kings viii. 22 ff. The conclusion of the prayer in the Chronicle is different from that in 1 Kings viii. There the last supplication, that the prayers might be heard, is followed by the thought: for they (the Israelites) are Thy people and inheritance; and in the further amplification of this thought the prayer



returns to the idea with which it commenced. In the narrative of the Chronicle, on the other hand, the supplications conclude with the general thought (ver. 40): "Now, my God, let, I beseech Thee, Thine eyes be open, and Thine ears attend unto the prayer of this place" (*i.e.* unto the prayer spoken in this place). There follows, then, the conclusion of the whole prayer,—a summons to the Lord (ver. 41 f.): "And now, Lord God, arise into Thy rest, Thou and the ark of Thy strength; let Thy priests, Lord God, clothe themselves in salvation, and Thy saints rejoice in good! Lord God, turn not away the face of Thine anointed: remember the pious deeds of Thy servant David." אֲתָרִים as in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 32, xxxv. 26, and Neh. xiii. 14. On this Thenius remarks, to 1 Kings viii. 53: "This conclusion is probably authentic, for there is in the text of the prayer, 1 Kings viii., no special expression of dedication, and this the summons to enter into possession of the temple very fittingly supplies. The whole contents of the conclusion are in perfect correspondence with the situation, and, as to form, nothing better could be desired. It can scarcely be thought an arbitrary addition made by the chronicler for no other reason than that the summons spoken of, if taken literally, is irreconcilable with the entrance of the cloud into the temple, of which he has already given us an account." Berth. indeed thinks that it does not thence follow that our conclusion is authentic, and considers it more probable that it was introduced because it appeared more suitable, in place of the somewhat obscure words in 1 Kings viii. 51-53, though not by the author of the Chronicle, and scarcely at an earlier time. The decision on this question can only be arrived at in connection with the question as to the origin of the statements peculiar to the Chronicle contained in chap. vii. 1-3. If we consider, in the first place, our verses in themselves, they contain no thought which Solomon might not have spoken, and consequently nothing which would tend to show that they are not authentic. It is true that the phrase אֲתָרִים אֲנִיךָ קָשְׁבוֹת occurs only here and in vii. 15, and again in Ps. cxxx. 2, and the noun נֶחֱם instead of מְנַחֵם is found only in Esth. ix. 16-18 in the form נֶחֱם; but even if these two expressions be peculiar to the later time, no further conclusion can be drawn from that, than that the author of the Chronicle has here, as often elsewhere, given the thoughts of his authority in the language of his own time. Nor is the relation in which vers. 41 and 42 stand to Ps. cxxxii. 8-10 a valid proof of the

later composition of the conclusion of our prayer. For (a) it is still a question whether our verses have been borrowed from Ps. cxxxii., or the verses of the psalm from our passage; and (b) the period when Ps. cxxxviii. was written is so doubtful, that some regard it as a Solomonic psalm, while others place it in the post-exilic period. Neither the one nor the other of these questions can be determined on convincing grounds. The appeal to the fact that the chronicler has compounded the hymn in 1 Chron. xv. also out of post-exilic psalms proves nothing, for even in that case it is at least doubtful if that be a correct account of the matter. But the further assertion, that the conclusion (ver. 42) resembles Isa. lv. 3, and that recollections of this passage may have had some effect also on the conclusion (ver. 41), is undoubtedly erroneous, for *חֶסֶדִּי דָוִד* in ver. 42 has quite a different meaning from that which it has in Isa. lv. 3. There *חֶסֶדִּי דָוִד* are the favours granted to David by the Lord; in ver. 42, on the contrary, they are the pious deeds of David,—all that he had done for the raising and advancement of the public worship (see above). The phrase *קִמָּה וְנָהָה*, “Arise, O Lord God, into Thy rest,” is modelled on the formula which was spoken when the ark was lifted and when it was set down on the journey through the wilderness, which explains both *קִמָּה* and the use of *לְנַחֵךְ*, which is formed after *בְּנַחֵךְ*, Num. x. 36. The call to arise into rest is not inconsistent with the fact that the ark had already been brought into the most holy place, for *קִמָּה* has merely the general signification, “to set oneself to anything.” The idea is, that God would now take the rest to which the throne of His glory had attained, show Himself to His people from this His throne to be the God of salvation, endue His priests, the guardians of His sanctuary, with salvation, and cause the pious to rejoice in His goodness. *יִשְׁמְחוּ* is generalized in Ps. cxxxii. 9 into *יִרְנְנוּ*. *הִשְׁבֵּה פָנֶיךָ מֵי*, to turn away the face of any one, i.e. to deny the request, cf. 1 Kings ii. 16.

Chap. vii. 1–22. *The divine confirmation of the dedication of the temple.*—Vers. 1–10. The consecration of the sacrificial service by fire from heaven (vers. 1–3), and the sacrifices and festival of the people (vers. 4–10).—Vers. 1–3. At the conclusion of Solomon’s prayer there fell fire from heaven, which devoured the burnt-offering and the thank-offering, and the glory of the Lord filled the house, so that the priests could not enter the house of Jahve. The assembled congregation, when they saw

the fire and the glory of the Lord descend, bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, and worshipped God to praise. Now since this narrative is not found in 1 Kings viii. 54 ff., and there a speech of Solomon to the whole congregation, in which he thanks God for the fulfilment of His promise, and expresses the desire that the Lord would hear his prayers at all times, and bestow the promised salvation on the people, is communicated, modern criticism has rejected this narrative of the Chronicle as a later unhistorical embellishment of the temple dedication. "If we turn our attention," says Berth. in agreement with Then., "to chap. v. 11-14, and compare chap. v. 14 with our second verse, we must maintain that our historian found that there existed two different narratives of the proceedings at the dedication of the temple, and received both into his work. According to the one narrative, the clouds filled the house (1 Kings viii. 10, cf. 2 Chron. v. 11-14); and after this was done Solomon uttered the prayer, with the conclusion which we find in 1 Kings viii.; according to the other narrative, Solomon uttered the prayer, with the conclusion which we find in Chron., and God thereafter gave the confirmatory signs. Now we can hardly imagine that the course of events was, that the glory of Jahve filled the house (chap. v. 14); that then Solomon spoke the words and the prayer in chap. vi.; that while he uttered the prayer the glory of Jahve again left the house, and then came down in a way manifest to all the people (chap. vii. 3), in order to fill the house for a second time." Certainly it was not so; but the narrative itself gives no ground for any such representation. Not a word is said in the text of the glory of Jahve having left the temple during Solomon's prayer. The supposed contradiction between chap. v. 14 and the account in chap. vii. 1-3 is founded entirely on a misinterpretation of our verse. The course of events described here was, as the words run, this: Fire came down from heaven upon the sacrifices and devoured them, and the glory of the Lord filled the house; and this is in ver. 3 more exactly and precisely repeated by the statement that the people saw the fire and the glory of Jahve descend upon the house. According to these plain words, the glory of Jahve descended upon the temple in the fire which came down from heaven. In the heavenly fire which devoured the sacrifices, the assembled congregation saw the glory of the Lord descend upon the temple and fill it. But the filling of the

temple by the cloud when the ark was brought in and set in its place (v. 14) can be without difficulty reconciled with this manifestation of the divine glory in the fire. Just as the manifestation of the gracious divine presence in the temple by a cloud, as its visible vehicle, does not exclude the omnipresence of God or His sitting enthroned in heaven, God's essence not being so confined to the visible vehicle of His gracious presence among His people that He ceases thereby to be enthroned in heaven, and to manifest Himself therefrom; so the revelation of the same God from heaven by a descending fire is not excluded or set aside by the presence of the cloud in the holy place of the temple, and in the most holy. We may consequently quite well represent to ourselves the course of events, by supposing, that while the gracious presence of God enthroned above the cherubim on the ark made itself known in the cloud which filled the temple, or while the cloud filled the interior of the temple, God revealed His glory from heaven, before the eyes of the assembled congregation, in the fire which descended upon the sacrifices, so that the temple was covered or overshadowed by His glory. The parts of this double manifestation of the divine glory are clearly distinguished even in our narrative; for in chap. v. 13, 14 the cloud which filled the house, as vehicle of the manifestation of the divine glory, and which hindered the priests from standing and serving (in the house, *i.e.* in the holy place and the most holy), is spoken of; while in our verses, again, it is the glory of God which descended upon the temple in the fire coming down from heaven on the sacrifices, and so filled it that the priests could not enter it, which is noticed.

Since, therefore, the two passages involve no contradiction, the hypothesis of a compounding together of discrepant narratives loses all standing ground; and it only remains to determine the mutual relations of the two narratives, and to answer the question, why the author of the book of Kings has omitted the account of the fire which came down from heaven upon the sacrifices, and the author of the Chronicle the blessing of the congregation (1 Kings viii. 54-61). From the whole plan and character of the two histories, there can be no doubt that in these accounts we have not a perfect enumeration of all the different occurrences, but only a record of the chief things which were done. The authority made use of by both, however, doubtless contained both the blessing of the congregation (1 Kings viii.

55-61) and the account of the fire which devoured the sacrifices (2 Chron. vii. 2, 3); and probably the latter preceded the blessing spoken by Solomon to the congregation (Kings). In all probability, the fire came down from heaven immediately after the conclusion of the dedicatory prayer, and devoured the sacrifices lying upon the altar of burnt-offering; and after this had happened, Solomon turned towards the assembled congregation and praised the Lord, because He had given rest to His people, of which the completion of the temple, and the filling of it with the cloud of the divine glory, was a pledge. To record this speech of Solomon to the congregation, falls wholly in with the plan of the book of Kings, in which the prophetic interest, the realization of the divine purpose of grace by the acts and omissions of the kings, is the prominent one; while it did not lie within the scope of his purpose to enter upon a detailed history of the public worship. We should be justified in expecting the fire which devoured the sacrifices to be mentioned in the book of Kings, only if the temple had been first consecrated by this divine act to be the dwelling-place of the gracious presence of God, or a sanctuary of the Lord; but such significance the devouring of the sacrifices by fire coming forth from God did not possess. Jahve consecrated the temple to be the dwelling-place of His name, and the abode of His gracious presence, in proclaiming His presence by the cloud which filled the sanctuary, when the ark was brought into the most holy place. The devouring of the sacrifices upon the altar by fire from heaven was merely the confirmatory sign that the Lord, enthroned above the ark in the temple, accepted, well pleased, the sacrificial service carried on on the altar of this temple; and since the people could draw near to the Lord only with sacrifices before the altar, it was a confirmatory sign that He from His throne would bestow His covenant grace upon those who appeared before Him with sacrifices; cf. Lev. ix. 23 f. Implicitly, this grace was already secured to the people by God's consecrating the sanctuary to be the throne of His grace by the cloud which filled the temple; and the author of the book of Kings thought it sufficient to mention this sign, and passed over the second, which only served as a confirmation of the first. With the chronicler the case was different; for his plan to portray in detail the glory of the worship of the former time, the divine confirmation of the sacrificial worship, which was to be carried on continually in the temple as the only

legitimate place of worship, by fire from heaven, was so important that he could not leave it unmentioned; while the words of blessing spoken by Solomon to the congregation, as being already implicitly contained in the dedicatory prayer, did not appear important enough to be received into his book. For the rest, the sacrifices which the fire from heaven devoured are the sacrifices mentioned in chap. v. 6, which the king and the congregation had offered when the ark was borne into the temple. As there was an immense number of these sacrifices, they cannot all have been offered on the altar of burnt-offering, but, like the thank-offerings afterwards brought by Solomon and the congregation, must have been offered on the whole space which had been consecrated in the court for this purpose (ver. 7). This is expressly attested by ver. 7, for the *העלות* can only be the sacrifices in v. 6, since the sacrifices in ver. 5 of our chapter were only *שלמים*; cf. 1 Kings viii. 62.

Vers. 4–10. The sacrifices and the festival. After fire from heaven had devoured the sacrifices, and Solomon had praised the Lord for the fulfilment of His word, and sought for the congregation the further bestowal of the divine blessing (1 Kings viii. 54–61), the dedication of the temple was concluded by a great thank-offering, of which we have in vers. 5, 6 an account which completely agrees with 1 Kings viii. 62, 63.—In ver. 6 the author of the Chron. again makes express mention of the singing and playing of the Levites when these offerings were presented. In the performance of this sacrificial act the priests stood *על־מִשְׁכָּרֹתָם*, in their stations; but that does not signify separated according to their divisions (Berth.), but *in officiis suis* (Vulg.), i.e. *ordines suos et functiones suas a Davide 1 Chron. xxiv. 7 sqq. institutas servarunt* (Ramb.); see on Num. viii. 26. The Levites with the instruments of song of Jahve, which David had made, i.e. with the instruments invented and appointed by David for song to the praise of the Lord. *בְּהַלְלֵם בְּיָדָם*, not *hymnos David canentes per manus suas* (Vulg.), taking *הַלֵּל בְּיָד* for the praising appointed by David, which by the hands of the Levites, i.e. was performed by the hands of the Levites (Berth.), but literally: when David sang praise by their hand (i.e. their service). This clause seems to be added to the relative clause, “which king David had made,” for nearer definition, and to signify that the Levites used the same instruments which David had introduced when he praised God by the playing of the Levites. The form *מְחַצְצִים* as in 1 Chron. xv. 24.—

Ver. 7 contains a supplementary remark, and the 1 relat. expresses only the connection of the thought, and the verb is to be translated in English by the pluperfect. For the rest, compare on vers. 4-10 the commentary on 1 Kings viii. 62-66.

Vers. 11-22. The Lord's answer to Solomon's dedicatory prayer. Cf. 1 Kings ix. 1-9. The general contents, and the order of the thoughts in the divine answer in the two texts, agree, but in the Chronicle individual thoughts are further expounded than in the book of Kings, and expressions are here and there made clear. The second clause of ver. 11 is an instance of this, where "and all the desire of Solomon, which he was pleased to do," is represented by "and all that came into Solomon's heart, to make in the house of the Lord and in his own house, he prosperously effected." Everything else is explained in the Com. on 1 Kings ix.

**CHAP. VIII.—SOLOMON'S CITY-BUILDING, STATUTE LABOUR, ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC WORSHIP, AND NAUTICAL UNDERTAKINGS. (CF. 1 KINGS IX. 10-28.)**

The building of the temple was the most important work of Solomon's reign, as compared with which all the other undertakings of the king fall into the background; and these are consequently only summarily enumerated both in the book of Kings and in the Chronicle. In our chapter, in the first place, we have, (a) the building or completion of various cities, which were of importance partly as strongholds, partly as magazines, for the maintenance of the army necessary for the defence of the kingdom against hostile attacks (vers. 1-6); (b) the arrangement of the statute labour for the execution of all his building works (vers. 7-11); (c) the regulation of the sacrificial service and the public worship (vers. 12-16); and (d) the voyage to Ophir (vers. 17, 18). All these undertakings are recounted in the same order and in the same aphoristic way in 1 Kings ix. 10-28, but with the addition of various notes, which are not found in our narrative; while the Chronicle, again, mentions several not unimportant though subordinate circumstances, which are not found in the book of Kings; whence it is clear that in the two narratives we have merely short and mutually supplementary extracts from a more elaborate description of these matters.

Vers. 1-6. *The city-building.*—Ver. 1. The date, “at the end of twenty years, when Solomon . . . had built,” agrees with that in 1 Kings ix. 10. The twenty years are to be reckoned from the commencement of the building of the temple, for he had spent seven years in the building of the temple, and thirteen years in that of his palace (1 Kings vi. 38, vii. 1).—Ver. 2 must be regarded as the apodosis of ver. 1, notwithstanding that the object, the cities which . . . precedes. The unusual position of the words is the result of the aphoristic character of the notice. As to its relation to the statement 1 Kings ix. 10-13, see the discussion on that passage. וַיִּבְנֶה, ver. 2, is not to be understood of the fortification of these cities, but of their completion, for, according to 1 Kings ix. 10, 13, they were in very bad condition. וַיֵּשְׁבוּ, he caused to dwell there, *i.e.* transplanted Israelites thither, cf. 2 Kings xvii. 6. The account of the cities which Solomon built, *i.e.* fortified, is introduced (ver. 3) by the important statement, omitted in 1 Kings ix.: “Solomon went to Hamath-zobah, and prevailed against it.” וַיִּשְׁרָץ, to be strong upon, that is, prevail against, conquer; cf. xxvii. 5. Hamath-zobah is not the city Hamath in Zobah, but, as we learn from ver. 4, the land or kingdom of Hamath. This did not lie, any more than the city Hamath, in Zobah, but bordered on the kingdom of Zobah: cf. 1 Chron. xviii. 3; and as to the position of Zobah, see the Commentary on 2 Sam. viii. 3. In David’s time Hamath and Zobah had their own kings; and David conquered them, and made their kingdoms tributary (1 Chron. xviii. 49). Because they bordered on each other, Hamath and Zobah are here bound together as a *nomen compos.* וַיִּחַזֵּק עֲלֵיהֶן signifies at least this, that these tributary kingdoms had either rebelled against Solomon, or at least had made attempts to do so; which Solomon suppressed, and in order to establish his dominion over them fortified Tadmor, *i.e.* Palmyra, and all the store cities in the land of Hamath (see on 1 Kings ix. 18 f.); for, according to 1 Kings xi. 23 ff., he had Rezon of Zobah as an enemy during his whole reign; see on that passage.—Vers. 5 ff. Besides these, he made Upper and Nether Beth-horon (see on 1 Chron. vii. 24) into fortified cities, with walls, gates, and bars. וַיִּבְנֶה עָרֵי מְצוּרֹת is the second object of וַיִּבְנֶה, and וַיִּבְנֶה is in apposition to that. Further, he fortified Baalah, in the tribe of Dan, to defend the kingdom against the Philistines, and, according to 1 Kings ix. 15-17, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer also,—which are omitted here, while in 1 Kings ix. 17 Upper



Beth-horon is omitted,—and store cities, chariot cities, and cavalry cities; see on 1 Kings ix. 15-19.

Vers. 7-10. *On the arrangement of the statute labour*, see on 1 Kings ix. 20-23.—This note is in Chron. abruptly introduced immediately after the preceding. Ver. 7 is an absolute clause: "as regards the whole people, those." מְדַבְּרֵיהֶם (ver. 8) is not partitive: some of their sons; but is only placed before the אֲשֶׁר: those of their sons (*i.e.* of the descendants of the whole Canaanite people) who had remained in the land, whom the Israelites had not exterminated; Solomon made a levy of these for statute labourers. The מְ is wanting in 1 Kings, but is not to be struck out here on that account. Much more surprising is the אֲשֶׁר after מְדַבְּרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, ver. 9, which is likewise not found in 1 Kings, since the following verb לֹא יָתֵן is not to be taken relatively, but contains the predicate of the subject contained in the words מְדַבְּרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. This אֲשֶׁר cannot be otherwise justified than by supposing that it is placed after מְדַבְּרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, as in Ps. lxi. 27 it is placed after the subject of the relative clause, and so stands for אֲשֶׁר מְדַבְּרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: those who were of the sons of Israel (*i.e.* Israelites) Solomon did not make . . . The preplacing of מְדַבְּרֵיהֶם in ver. 8 would naturally suggest that מְדַבְּרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל should also precede, in order to bring out sharply the contrast between the sons of the Canaanites and the sons of Israel.—Ver. 9. שָׂרֵי וְשִׁלְשִׁי should be altered into שָׂרֵי וְשִׁלְשִׁי as in 1 Kings ix. 22, for שָׂרֵי וְשִׁלְשִׁי are not chariot combatants, but royal adjutants; see on Ex. xiv. 7 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. Over the statute labourers 250 upper overseers were placed. שָׂרֵי וְשִׁלְשִׁי, chief of the superiors, *i.e.* chief overseer. The Keth. נְצִיבִים, *præfecti*, is the true reading; cf. 1 Chron. xviii. 13, 2 Chron. xvii. 2. The Keri has arisen out of 1 Kings ix. 23. These overseers were Israelites, while in the number 550 (1 Kings ix. 23) the Israelite and Canaanite upper overseers are both included; see on ii. 17. בָּעָם refers to בְּלִיָּהֶם, ver. 7, and denotes the Canaanite people who remained.

Ver. 11. The remark that Solomon caused Pharaoh's daughter, whom he had married (1 Kings iii. 1), to remove from the city of David into the house which he had built her, *i.e.* into that part of his newly-built palace which was appointed for the queen, is introduced here, as in 1 Kings ix. 24, because it belongs to the history of Solomon's buildings, although in the Chronicle it comes in very abruptly, the author not having mentioned Solomon's marriage to the daughter of Pharaoh (1 Kings

iii. 1). The reason given for this change of residence on the part of the Egyptian princess is, that Solomon could not allow her, an Egyptian, to dwell in the palace of King David, which had been sanctified by the reception of the ark, and consequently assigned to her a dwelling in the city of David until he should have finished the building of his palace, in which she might dwell along with him. *וְהָיָה* is, as neuter, used instead of the singular; cf. Ew. § 318, *b*. See also on 1 Kings iii. 1 and ix. 24.

Vers. 12–16. *The sacrificial service in the new temple.* Cf. 1 Kings ix. 25, where it is merely briefly recorded that Solomon offered sacrifices three times a year on the altar built by him to the Lord. In our verses we have a detailed account of it. *וְהָיָה*, at that time, *scil.* when the temple building had been finished and the temple dedicated (cf. ver. 1), Solomon offered burnt-offerings upon the altar which he had built before the porch of the temple. He no longer now sacrifices upon the altar of the tabernacle at Gibeon, as in the beginning of his reign (i. 3 ff.).—Ver. 13. “Even sacrificing at the daily rate, according to the direction of Moses.” These words give a supplementary and closer definition of the sacrificing in the form of an explanatory subordinate clause, which is interpolated in the principal sentence. For the following words *לְשַׁבְּתוֹת וְלִבְּרֵי הַיָּרֵךְ* belong to the principal sentence (ver. 12): he offered sacrifices . . . on the sabbaths, the new moons, etc. The *ו* before *בְּיָרֵךְ* is explicative, and that = *viz.*; and the infin. *לְהַעֲלֹת*, according to the later usage, instead of infin. absol.; cf. Ew. § 280, *d*. The preposition *בְּ* (before *יָרֵךְ*) is the so-called *ב* *essentive*: consisting in the daily (rate) to sacrifice (this); cf. Ew. § 299, *b*. The daily rate, *i.e.* that which was prescribed in the law of Moses for each day, cf. Lev. xxiii. 37. *לְמִשְׁמֹרוֹת* is further explained by the succeeding clause: on the three chief festivals of the year.—Ver. 14 ff. He ordered the temple service, also, entirely according to the arrangement introduced by David as to the service of the priests and Levites. He appointed, according to the ordinance of David his father, *i.e.* according to the ordinance established by David, the classes of the priests (see on 1 Chron. xxiv.) to that service, and the Levites to their stations (*מִשְׁמֹרוֹת* as in vii. 6), to praise (cf. 1 Chron. xxv.), and to serve before the priests (1 Chron. xxiii. 28 ff.), according to that which was appointed for every day, and the doorkeepers according to their courses, etc. (see 1 Chron. xxvi. 1–19). With the last words cf. Neh. xii. 24.—Ver. 15. This arrangement was

faithfully observed by the priests and Levites. The verb סור is here construed *c. accus.* in the signification to transgress a command (cf. Ew. § 282, *a*), and it is therefore not necessary to alter מצות into מַצְוֹת. מַצְוֹת עַל-הַכֹּהֲנִים depends upon מַצְוֹת: the king's command concerning the priests and the Levites, *i.e.* that which David commanded them. לְכָל-דָּבָר וְנָ, in regard to all things, and especially also in regard to the treasures; cf. 1 Chron. xxvi. 20-28.—With ver. 16 the account of what Solomon did for the public worship is concluded: "Now all the work of Solomon was prepared until the (this) day, the foundation of the house of Jahve until its completion; the house of Jahve was finished." מִלְאֲכָה is explained by מִיָּסֵד הַיּוֹם. הַיּוֹם is the day on which, after the consecration of the completed temple, the regular public worship was commenced in it, which doubtless was done immediately after the dedication of the temple. Only when the regular worship according to the law of Moses, and with the arrangements as to the service of the priests and Levites established by David, had been commenced, was Solomon's work in connection with the temple completed, and the house of God שָׁלֵם, *integer*, perfect in all its parts, as it should be. The last clause, 'שָׁלֵם בֵּית', is connected rhetorically with what precedes without the conjunction, and is not to be regarded as a subscription, "with which the historian concludes the whole narrative commencing with chap. i. 18" (Berth.); for שָׁלֵם does not signify "ended," or to be at an end, but to be set thoroughly (perfectly) in order.

Vers. 17 and 18. *Voyage to Ophir.* Cf. 1 Kings ix. 26-28, and the commentary on that passage, where we have discussed the divergences of our narrative, and have also come to the conclusion that Ophir is not to be sought in India, but in Southern Arabia. By וְ the date of this voyage is made to fall in the period after the building of the temple and the palace, *i.e.* in the second half of Solomon's reign.

CHAP. IX.—VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA. SOLOMON'S RICHES, AND ROYAL POWER AND GLORY; HIS DEATH. CF. 1 KINGS X. AND XI. 41-43.

Vers. 1-12. *The visit of the queen of Sheba.* Cf. 1 Kings x. 1-13.—This event is narrated as a practical proof of Solomon's extraordinary wisdom. The narrative agrees so exactly in both texts, with the exception of some few quite unimportant differ-

ences, that we must regard them as literal extracts from an original document which they have used in common. For the commentary on this section, see on 1 Kings x. 1-13.

Vers. 13-21. Solomon's revenue in gold, and the use he made of it. Cf. 1 Kings x. 14-22, and the commentary there on this section, which is identical in both narratives, with the exception of some trifling differences. Before **וּמִכָּתְרִים מְבִיאִים** the relative pronoun is to be supplied: "and what the merchants brought." As to the derivation of the word **בְּחֹה**, which comes from the Aramaic form **בְּחָה**, governor (ver. 14), see on Hagg. i. 1. — **אֲנִיּוֹת הַלִּלְכֹּת הַתְּרִשִׁישׁ**, in ver. 21, ships going to Tarshish, is an erroneous paraphrase of **אֲנִיּוֹת תְּרִשִׁישׁ**, Tarshish-ships, i.e. ships built for long sea voyages; for the fleet did not go to Tartessus in Spain, but to Ophir in Southern Arabia (see on 1 Kings ix. 26 ff.). All the rest has been explained in the commentary on 1 Kings x.

In vers. 22-28, all that remained to be said of Solomon's royal glory, his riches, his wisdom, and his revenues, is in conclusion briefly summed up, as in 1 Kings x. 23-29. From ver. 25 onwards, the account given in the Chronicle diverges from that in 1 Kings x. 26 ff., in so far that what is narrated in 1 Kings x. 26-28 concerning Solomon's chariots and horses, and his trade with Egypt in horses, is here partly replaced by statements similar in import to those in 1 Kings v., because the former matters had been already treated of in Chron. i. 14-17. —Ver. 25 does not correspond to the passage 1 Kings x. 26, but in contents and language agrees with 1 Kings v. 6, and ver. 26 with 1 Kings v. 1. Only the general estimate of Solomon's riches in gold and silver, in ver. 27, repeated from chap. i. 15, corresponds to 1 Kings x. 27. Finally, in ver. 28 the whole description is rounded off; all that has already been said in chap. i. 16 and 17 as to the trade in horses with Egypt (1 Kings x. 28, 29) being drawn together into one general statement.

Vers. 29-31. Conclusion of Solomon's history.—Ver. 29. Sources; see the introduction, p. 28 f.—Ver. 30 f. The length of his reign, his death and burial, and his successor, as in 1 Kings xi. 42 f.

IV.—THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH UNTIL ITS  
FALL.—CHAP. X.—XXXVI.

After giving an account of the revolt of the ten tribes of Israel from the divinely chosen royal house of David (chap. x.), the author of the Chronicle narrates the history of the kingdom of Judah—to which he confines himself, to the exclusion of the history of the kingdom of the ten tribes—at much greater length than the author of the books of Kings has done. This latter portrays the development of both kingdoms, but treats only very briefly of the history of the kingdom of Judah, especially under its first rulers, and characterizes the attitude of the kings and people of Judah to the kingdom of Israel and to the Lord only in the most general way. The author of the Chronicle, on the other hand, depicts the development of Judah under Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, and Jehoshaphat much more thoroughly, by communicating a considerable number of events which are omitted in the book of Kings. As we have already proved (p. 19), the purpose of the chronicler was to show, according to the varying attitude of the kings of the house of David to the Lord and to His law, how, on the one hand, God rewarded the fidelity of the kings and of the people to His covenant with prosperity and blessing, and furnished to the kingdom of Judah, in war with its enemies, power which secured the victory; and how, on the other, He took vengeance for every revolt of the kings and people, and for every fall into idolatry and superstition, by humiliations and awful judgments. And more especially from the times of the godless kings Ahaz and Manasseh does our author do this, pointing out how God suffered the people to fall ever deeper into feebleness, and dependence upon the heathen world powers, until finally, when the efforts of the pious kings Hezekiah and Josiah to bring back the people, sunk as they were in idolatry and moral corruption, to the God of their fathers and to His service failed to bring about any permanent repentance and reformation, He cast forth Judah also from His presence, and gave over Jerusalem and the temple to destruction by the Chaldeans, and caused the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judah to be led away into exile to Babylon.

CHAP. X.—REVOLT OF THE TEN TRIBES FROM REHOBAM AND  
THE HOUSE OF DAVID. CF. 1 KINGS XII. 1-19.

This event is narrated in our chapter, except in so far as a few unessential differences in form are concerned, exactly as we have it in 1 Kings xii. 1-19; so that we may refer for the exposition of it to the commentary on 1 Kings xii., where we have both treated the contents of this chapter, and have also discussed the deeper and more latent causes of this event, so important in its consequences.

CHAP. XI. AND XII.—REHOBAM'S REIGN.

When the ten tribes had renounced their allegiance to Rehobam the son of Solomon, and had made Jeroboam their king (1 Kings xii. 20), Rehobam wished to compel them by force of arms again to submit to him, and made for this purpose a levy of all the men capable of bearing arms in Judah and Benjamin. But the prophet Shemaiah commanded him, in the name of the Lord, to desist from making war upon the Israelites, they being brethren, and Rehobam abandoned his purpose (vers. 1-4, cf. 1 Kings xii. 21-24), and began to establish his dominion over Judah and Benjamin. His kingdom, moreover, was increased in power by the immigration of the priests and Levites, whom Jeroboam had expelled from the priesthood, and also of many God-fearing Israelites out of the ten tribes, to Judah (vers. 13-17). Rehobam also set his family affairs in order, by nominating from among his many sons, whom his wives had borne to him, Abijah to be his successor on the throne, and making provision for the others in different parts of the country (vers. 18-23). But when he had established his royal authority, he forsook the law of Jahve, and was punished for it by the inroad of the Egyptian king Shishak, who marched through his land with a numerous host, took Jerusalem, and plundered the palace and the temple (chap. xii. 1-11), but without wholly ruining Judah; and Rehobam was king until his death, and his son succeeded him on the throne (vers. 12-16).

The order in which these events are narrated is not chronological; they are rather grouped together according to their similarities. As Rehobam began even in the third year of his reign to forsake the law of God, and King Shishak made war

upon Judah as early as in his fifth year, the building of the fortresses may have been begun in the first three or four years, but cannot have been ended then; still less can the sons of Rehoboam have been provided for in the time before Shishak's inroad.

Chap. xi. 1-4.—*Rehoboam's attitude to the ten rebel tribes.* Cf. 1 Kings xii. 21-24.—Rehoboam's purpose, to subdue these tribes by force of arms, and bring them again under his dominion, and the abandonment of this purpose in consequence of the command of the prophet Shemaiah, belong in a certain measure to the history of the revolt of the ten tribes from the house of David; for the revolt only became an accomplished fact when the prophet Shemaiah proclaimed in the name of the Lord that the matter was from the Lord. Ver. 3 f. Of Jahve was the thing done; He had ordained the revolt as a chastisement of the seed of David for walking no more in His ways. Solomon had, by allowing himself to be seduced by his many foreign wives into departing from the Lord, exposed himself to the divine displeasure, and his successor Rehoboam increased the guilt by his impolitic treatment of the tribes dissatisfied with Solomon's rule, and had, if not brought about the revolt, yet hastened it; but yet the conduct of these tribes was not thereby justified. Their demand that the burdens laid upon them by Solomon should be lightened, flowed from impure and godless motives, and at bottom had its root in discontent with the theocratic rule of the house of David (see on 1 Kings xii. 21 ff.). The expression, "to all Israel in Judah and Benjamin," is deeper than "the whole house of Judah and Benjamin and the remnant of the people," i.e. those belonging to the other tribes who were dwelling in the tribal domains of Judah and Benjamin (1 Kings xii. 23); for it characterizes all who had remained true to the house of David as Israel, i.e. those who walked in the footsteps of their progenitor Israel (Jacob).

Vers. 5-12.—*Rehoboam's measures for the fortifying of his kingdom.*—To defend his kingdom against hostile attacks, Rehoboam built cities for defence in Judah. The sing. לְמִצְדָּה is used, because the building of cities served for the defence of the kingdom. Judah is the name of the kingdom, for the fifteen fenced cities enumerated in the following verses were situated in the tribal domains of both Benjamin and Judah.—Ver. 6. In Judah lay Bethlehem, a small city mentioned as early as in Jacob's time

(Gen. xxxv. 19), two hours south of Jerusalem, the birthplace of David and of Christ (Mic. v. 1; Matt. ii. 5, 11), now Beit-Lahm; see on Josh. xv. 59. Etam is not the place bearing the same name which is spoken of in 1 Chron. iv. 32 and Judg. xv. 8, and mentioned in the Talmud as the place where, near Solomon's Pools, the aqueduct which supplied Jerusalem with water commenced (cf. Robins. *Pal. sub voce*; Tobler, *Topogr. v. Jerus.* ii. S. 84 ff., 855 ff.);<sup>1</sup> nor is it to be looked for, as Robins. *loc. cit.*, and *New Bibl. Researches*, maintains, in the present village Urtâs (Artâs), for it has been identified by Tobl., *dritte Wand.* S. 89, with Ain Attân, a valley south-west from Artâs. Not only does the name Attân correspond more than Artâs with Etam, but from it the water is conducted to Jerusalem, while according to Tobler's thorough conviction it could not have been brought from Artâs. Tekoa, now Tekua, on the summit of a hill covered with ancient ruins, two hours south of Bethlehem; see on Josh. xv. 59.—Ver. 7. Beth-zur was situated where the ruin Beth-Sur now stands, midway between Urtâs and Hebron; see on Josh. xv. 58. Shoko, the present Shuweike in Wady Sumt, 3½ hours south-west from Jerusalem; see on Josh. xv. 35. Adullam, in Josh. xv. 35 included among the cities of the hill country, reckoned part of the lowland (Shephelah), i.e. the slope of the hills, has not yet been discovered. Tobler, *dritte Wand.* S. 151, conjectures that it is identical with the present Dula, about eight miles to the east of Beit-Jibrin; but this can hardly be correct (see against it, Arnold in Herzog's *Realenc.* xiv. S. 723). It is much more probable that its site was that of the present Deir Dubban, two hours to the north of Beit-Jibrin; see on Josh. xii. 15.—Ver. 8. Gath, a royal city of the Philistines, which was first made subject to the Israelites by David (1 Chron. xviii. 1), and was under Solomon the seat of its own king, who was subject to the Israelite king (1 Kings ii. 39), has not yet been certainly discovered; see on Josh. xiii. 3.<sup>2</sup> Mareshah, the city Marissa, on the road from Hebron to the

<sup>1</sup> For further information as to the commencement of this aqueduct, see the masterly dissertation of Dr. Herm. Zschokke, "Die versiegelte Quelle Salomo's," in the *Tübinger Theol. Quartalschr.* 1867, H. 3, S. 426 ff.

<sup>2</sup> C. Schick, *Reise in das Philisterland* (in "Ausland" 1867, Nr. 7, S. 162), identifies Gath with the present Tel Safieh, "an isolated conical hill in the plain, like a sentinel of a watchtower or fortress, and on that account there was so much struggling for its possession." On the other hand, Konr. Furrer,



land of the Philistines, was at a later time very important, and is not represented by the ruin Marash, twenty-four minutes to the south of Beit-Jibrin (Eleutheropolis); see on Josh. xv. 44, and Tobl. *dritte Wand.* S. 129, 142 f. Ziph is probably the Ziph mentioned in Josh. xv. 55, in the hill country of Judah, of which ruins yet remain on the hill Ziph, about an hour and a quarter south-east of Hebron; see on Josh. xv. 55. C. v. Raumer thinks, on the contrary, *Pal.* S. 222, Anm. 249, that our Ziph, as it is mentioned along with Mareshah and other cities of the lowland, cannot be identified with either of the Ziphs mentioned in Josh. xv. 24 and 55, but is probably Achzib in the lowland mentioned along with Mareshah, Josh. xv. 44; but this is very improbable.—Ver. 9. Adoraim (Ἀδωραῖμ in Joseph. *Antt.* viii. 10. 1), met with in 1 Macc. xiii. 20 as an Idumean city, Ἀδωρα, and so also frequently in Josephus, was taken by Hyrcanus, and rebuilt by Gabinius (Jos. *Antt.* xiii. 15. 4, and xiv. 5. 3) under the name Ἀδωρα, and often spoken of along with Marissa (s. Reland, *Palæst.* p. 547). Robinson (*Pal. sub voce*) has identified it with the present Dûra, a village about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the westward of Hebron. Lachish, situated in the lowland of Judah, as we learn from Josh. xv. 39, is probably the present Um Lakis, on the road from Gaza to Beit-Jibrin and Hebron, to the left hand, seven hours to the west of Beit-Jibrin, on a circular height covered with ancient walls and marble fragments, and overgrown with thistles and bushes; see on Josh. x. 3, and Pressel in Herz.'s *Realenc.* viii. S. 157 f. Azekah, situated in the neighbourhood of Shoco (ver. 7), and, according to 1 Sam. xvii. 1, in an oblique direction near Ephes-Dammim, i.e. Damûm, one hour east to the south of Beit-Nettif,<sup>1</sup> has not been re-discovered; see on Josh. x. 10.—Ver. 10. Zorah, Samson's birthplace, is represented by the ruin Sura, at the south-west end of the ridge, which encloses the Wady es Surar on the north; see on Josh. xv. 33. To the north of that again lay Ajalon, now the village Jâlo, on the verge of the plain *Merj ibn Omeir*, four leagues to the west of Gibeon; see on

*Wanderungen durch Palästina*, Zürich 1865, thinks, S. 133, that he has found the true situation of Gath in the Wady el Gat, northward of the ruins of Askalon.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the interesting note of Breytenbach (*Reybb. des heil. Landes*, i. 134) in Tobler, *dritte Wand.* S. 463: "Thence (from Azekah) three miles is the city Zochot-Jude, not far from Nobah, where David slew Goliath."

Josh. x. 12 and xix. 42. Finally, Hebron, the ancient city of the patriarchs, now called el Khalil (The friend of God, *i.e.* Abraham); see on Gen. xxiii. 2. All these fenced cities lay in the tribal domain of Judah, with the exception of Zorah and Ajalon, which were assigned to the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 41 f.). These two were probably afterwards, in the time of the judges, when a part of the Danites emigrated from Zorah and Eshtaol to the north of Palestine (Judg. xviii. 1), taken possession of by Benjamites, and were afterwards reckoned to the land of Benjamin, and are here named as cities which Rehoboam fortified in Benjamin. If we glance for a moment at the geographical position of the whole fifteen cities, we see that they lay partly to the south of Jerusalem, on the road which went by Hebron to Beersheba and Egypt, partly on the western slopes of the hill country of Judah, on the road by Beit-Jibrin to Gaza, while only a few lay to the north of this road towards the Philistine plain, and there were none to the north to defend the kingdom against invasions from that side. "Rehoboam seems, therefore, to have had much more apprehension of an attack from the south and west, *i.e.* from the Egyptians, than of a war with the northern kingdom" (Berth.). Hence we may conclude that Rehoboam fortified these cities only after the inroad of the Egyptian king Shishak.—Ver. 11 f. "And he made strong the fortresses, and put captains in them," etc.; *i.e.* he increased their strength by placing them in a thoroughly efficient condition to defend themselves against attacks, appointing commandants (נְיָדִים), provisioning them, and (ver. 12) laying up stores of all kinds of arms. In this way he made them exceedingly strong. The last clause, ver. 12, "And there were to him Judah and Benjamin," corresponds to the statement, x. 19, that Israel revolted from the house of David, and forms the conclusion of the account (vers. 1-17a) of that which Rehoboam did to establish his power and consolidate his kingdom. There follows hereupon, in

Vers. 13-17, the account of the internal spiritual strengthening of the kingdom of Judah by the *migration of the priests and Levites, and many pious worshippers of Jahve out of all the tribes, to the kingdom of Judah.*—Ver. 13. The priests and Levites in all Israel went over to him out of their whole domain. הִתְחַבֵּעַ, to present oneself before any one, to await his commands, cf. Zech. vi. 5, Job i. 6, ii. 1; here in the signification to place oneself at another's disposal, *i.e.* to go over to one. The suffix in נִבְרָאָם refers

to "all Israel." For—this was the motive of their migration, ver. 14—the Levites (in the wider signification of the word, including the priests) forsook their territory and their possessions, *i.e.* the cities assigned to them, with the pasture lands for their cattle (Num. xxxv. 1-8), *scil.* in the domain of the ten tribes; "for Jeroboam and his sons had driven them out from the priesthood of Jahve." To prevent his subjects from visiting the temple at Jerusalem, which he feared might ultimately cause the people to return to the house of David, Jeroboam had erected his own places of worship for his kingdom in Bethel and Dan, where Jahve was worshipped in the ox images (the golden calves), and had appointed, not the Levites, but men from the body of the people, to be priests in these so-called sanctuaries (1 Kings xii. 26-31), consecrated by himself. By these innovations not only the priests and Levites, who would not recognise this unlawful image-worship, were compelled to migrate to Judah and Jerusalem, but also the pious worshippers of the Lord, who would not renounce the temple worship which had been consecrated by God Himself. All Jeroboam's successors held firmly by this calf-worship introduced by him, and consequently the driving out of the priests and Levites is here said to have been the act of Jeroboam and his sons. By his sons are meant Jeroboam's successors on the throne, without respect to the fact that of Jeroboam's own sons only Nadab reached the throne, and that his dynasty terminated with him; for in this matter all the kings of Israel walked in the footsteps of Jeroboam.—Ver. 15. And had ordained him priests for the high places. **וַיַּעֲמֵד לוֹ** is a continuation of **בְּי הַנְּחִים**, ver. 14. **בָּמוֹת** are the places of worship which were erected by Jeroboam for the image-worship, called in 1 Kings xii. 31 **בָּיִת בָּמוֹת**; see on that passage. The gods worshipped in these houses in high places the author of the Chronicle calls **שְׁעִירִים** from their nature, and **עֲנָלִים** from their form. The word **שְׁעִירִים** is taken from Lev. xvii. 7, and signifies demons, so named from the Egyptian idolatry, in which the worship of goats, of Pan (Mendes), who was always represented in the form of a goat, occupied a prominent place; see on Lev. xvii. 7. For further details as to the **עֲנָלִים**, see on 1 Kings xii. 28.—Ver. 16. **אַחֲרֵיהֶם**, after them, *i.e.* following after the priests and Levites. With **הַנְּחִים אֲחֵי-לֵבָבָם**, who turned their hearts thereto, cf. 1 Chron. xxii. 19. They went to Jerusalem to sacrifice there; *i.e.*, as we learn from the context, not merely to offer sacrifices, but also to



remain in the kingdom of Judah.—Ver. 17. These immigrants—priests, Levites, and pious worshippers of Jahve—made the kingdom of Judah strong, by strengthening the religious foundation on which the kingdom was founded, and made Rehoboam strong three years, so that they (king and people) walked in the way of David and Solomon. The strengthening lasted only three years—only while the opposition to Jeroboam's action in the matter of religion was kept alive by the emigration of the pious people from the ten tribes. What occurred after these three years is narrated only in chap. xii.—Here there follows, in

Vers. 18–23, information as to *Rehoboam's family relations*.—Ver. 18. Instead of יִרְמֹת we must read, with the Keri, many mss., LXX., and Vulg., מַחֲלַת: Mahalath the daughter of Jerimoth, the son of David. Among the sons of David (1 Chron. iii. 1–8) no Jerimoth is found. If this name be not another form of יִרְמְיָה, 1 Chron. iii. 3, Jerimoth must have been a son of one of David's concubines. Before the name מַחֲלַת, י must have been dropped out, and is to be supplied; so that Mahalath's father and mother are both named: the daughter of Jerimoth the son of David, and Abihail the daughter of Eliab the son of Jesse, i.e. David's eldest brother (1 Chron. ii. 13; 1 Sam. xvii. 13). For Abihail cannot be held to be a second wife of Rehoboam, because ver. 19, "and she bore," and ver. 20, "and after her," show that in ver. 18 only one wife is named. She bare him three sons, whose names occur only here (ver. 19).—Ver. 20. Maachah the daughter, i.e. the granddaughter, of Absalom; for she cannot have been Absalom's daughter, because Absalom, according to 2 Sam. xiv. 27, had only one daughter, Tamar by name, who must have been fifty years old at Solomon's death. According to 2 Sam. xviii. 18, Absalom left no son; Maachah therefore can only be a daughter of Tamar, who, according to 2 Chron. xiii. 2, was married to Uriel of Gibeah: see on 1 Kings xv. 2. Abijah, the oldest son of Maachah, whom his father nominated his successor (ver. 22 and xii. 16), is called in the book of Kings constantly Abijam, the original form of the name, which was afterwards weakened into Abijah.—Ver. 21 f. Only these wives with their children are mentioned by name, though besides these Rehoboam had a number of wives, 18 wives and 60 (according to Josephus, 30) concubines, who bore him twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters. Rehoboam trod in his father's footsteps in this not quite praiseworthy point. The eldest son of Maachah he made head (רִאשׁוֹן),

*i.e.* prince, among his brethren; **בִּי לְהַמְלִיכוֹ**, for to make him king, *scil.* was his intention. The infin. with **לְ** is here used in the swiftness of speech in loose connection to state with what further purpose he had appointed him **נָגִיד**; cf. Ew. § 351, *c*, at the end.—Ver. 23. And he did wisely, and dispersed of all his sons in all the countries of Judah and Benjamin, *i.e.* dispersed all his sons so, that they were placed in all parts of Judah and Benjamin in the fenced cities, and he gave them victual in abundance, and he sought (for them) a multitude of wives. **שָׁאַל**, to ask for, for the father brought about the marriage of his sons. He therefore took care that his sons, by being thus scattered in the fenced cities of the country as their governors, were separated from each other, but also that they received the necessary means for living in a way befitting their princely rank, in the shape of an abundant maintenance and a considerable number of wives. They were thus kept in a state of contentment, so that they might not make any attempt to gain the crown, which he had reserved for Abijah; and in this lay the wisdom of his conduct.

Chap. xii. *Rehoboam's defection from the Lord, and his humiliation by the Egyptian king Shishak.*—Ver. 1. The infinitive **בְּהִקְרֹא**, "at the time of the establishing," with an indefinite subject, may be expressed in English by the passive: when Rehoboam's royal power was established. The words refer back to xi. 17. **בְּהִקְרֹא**, "when he had become strong" (**הִקְרָא** is a *nomen verbale*: the becoming strong; cf. xxvi. 16, Dan. xi. 2), he forsook the Lord, and all Israel with him. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah are here called Israel, to hint at the contrast between the actual conduct of the people in their defection from the Lord, and the destiny of Israel, the people of God. The forsaking of the law of Jahve is in substance the fall into idolatry, as we find it stated more definitely in 1 Kings xiv. 22 ff.—Ver. 2. In punishment of this defection (**בִּי קָטְלִי בִי**, because they had acted faithlessly to Jahve), Shishak, the king of Egypt, marched with a great host against Jerusalem. This hostile invasion is also briefly narrated in 1 Kings xiv. 25–28. Shishak (Sisak) is, as we have remarked on 1 Kings xiv., Sesonchis or Sechonchosis, the first king of the 22d dynasty, who has celebrated his victory in a relief at Karnak. In this sculpture the names of the cities captured are recorded on shields, and a considerable number have been deciphered with some certainty, and by them our account is completely confirmed. According to

ver. 3, Shishak's host consisted of 1200 chariots, 60,000 horsemen—numbers which, of course, are founded only upon a rough estimate—and an innumerable multitude of footmen, among whom were לִיבִיִּים, Libyans, probably the Libyægyptii of the ancients (see on Gen. x. 13); תְּרוֹגְלוֹדִיטִים, according to the LXX. and Vulg. Troglodytes, probably the Ethiopian Troglodytes, who dwelt in the mountains on the west coast of the Arabian Gulf; and Cushites, *i.e.* Ethiopians. The Libyans and Cushites are mentioned in Nahum iii. 9 also as auxiliaries of the Egyptians.—Ver. 4. After the capture of the fenced cities of Judah, he marched against Jerusalem.—Ver. 5. Then the prophet Shemaiah announced to the king and the princes, who had retired to Jerusalem before Shishak, that the Lord had given them into the power of Shishak because they had forsaken Him. עָזַב בְּיָד, forsaken and given over into the hand of Shishak. When the king and the priests immediately humbled themselves before God, acknowledging the righteousness of the Lord, the prophet announced to them further that the Lord would not destroy them since they had humbled themselves, but would give them deliverance in a little space. בְּמֵעָט, according to a little, *i.e.* in a short time. מִלֵּיטָה is accusative after וַתִּתְחַנֵּן. My anger shall not pour itself out upon Jerusalem. The pouring out of anger is the designation of an exterminating judgment; cf. xxxiv. 25.—Ver. 8. But (וְ) after a negative clause) they shall be his servants, *sc.* for a short time (see ver. 7), “that they may know my service, and the service of the kingdoms of the countries” (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 30); *i.e.* that they may learn to know by experience the difference between the rule of God and that of the heathen kings, and that God's rule was not so oppressive as that of the rulers of the world.

With ver. 9 the account of the war is taken up again and continued by the repetition of the words, “Then marched Shishak . . . against Jerusalem” (ver. 4). Shishak plundered the treasures of the temple and the palace; he had consequently captured Jerusalem. The golden shields also which had been placed in the house of the forest of Lebanon, *i.e.* the palace built by Solomon in Jerusalem, which Solomon had caused to be made (cf. ix. 16), Shishak took away, and in their place Rehoboam caused brazen shields to be prepared; see on 1 Kings xiv. 26–28.—In ver. 12 the author of the Chronicle concludes the account of this event with the didactic remark, “Because he

(Rehoboam) humbled himself, the anger of Jahve was turned away from him." **וְלֹא לְהַשְׁחִית**, and it was not to extermination utterly (**לְכַלֵּה**), properly to destruction, *i.e.* completely; cf. Ezek. xiii. 13). And also in Judah were good things. This is the other motive which caused the Lord to turn away His wrath. Good things are proofs of piety and fear of God, cf. xix. 3.—Ver. 13 f. The length of Rehoboam's reign, his mother, and the judgment about him. Cf. 1 Kings xiv. 21 and 22a. **וַיִּתְחַזַּק** here, as in xiii. 21, can, in its connection with what precedes, be only understood to mean that Rehoboam, after his humiliation at the hands of Shishak, by which his kingdom was utterly weakened and almost destroyed, again gained strength and power. Cf. also i. 1, where **וַיִּתְחַזַּק** is used of Solomon in the beginning of his reign, after he overcame Adonijah, the pretender to the crown, and his party.—As to the age of Rehoboam, etc., see on 1 Kings xiv. 21. **וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע**, ver. 14, is defined by the addition, "for he prepared not his heart to seek the Lord." For the expression cf. xix. 3, xxx. 19, Ezra vii. 10.—Vers. 15 and 16. Close of his reign. On the authorities, see the Introduction, p. 34; and in reference to the other statements, the commentary on 1 Kings xiv. 29–31. **מִלְחָמוֹת**, wars, *i.e.* a state of hostility, was between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all days, can only be understood of the hostile attitude of the two rulers to each other, like **מִלְחָמָה** in Kings; for we have no narrative of wars between them after Rehoboam had abandoned, at the instance of the prophet, his proposed war with the Israelites at the commencement of his reign.

CHAP. XIII.—THE REIGN OF ABIJAH. CF. 1 KINGS XV. 1–8.

In the book of Kings it is merely remarked in general, that the hostile relationship between Jeroboam and Rehoboam continued during his whole life, and that between Abijah and Jeroboam there was war (vers. 6 and 7); but not one of his enterprises is recounted, and only his attitude towards the Lord is exactly characterized. In our chapter, on the contrary, we have a vivid and circumstantial narrative of the commencement, course, and results of a great war against Jeroboam, in which Abijah, with the help of the Lord, inflicted a crushing defeat on the great army of the Israelites, and conquered several cities.

Vers. 1 and 2. The commencement and duration of the reign, as in 1 Kings xv. 1, 2. Abijah's mother is here (ver. 2)

called Michaiah instead of Maachah, as in xi. 20 and 1 Kings xv. 2, but it can hardly be a second name which Maachah had received for some unknown reason; probably מִיכָיָהוּ is a mere orthographical error for מַעֲכָה. She is here called, not the daughter = granddaughter of Abishalom, but after her father, the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah; see on xi. 20.<sup>1</sup>

Vers. 2b-21. *The War between Abijah and Jeroboam.*—מִלְחָמָה הָיְתָה, war arose, broke out.—Ver. 3. Abijah began the war with an army of 400,000 valiant warriors. אִישׁ בְּחֹרֶר, chosen men. אָסַר אֶת כֹּ, to bind on war, i.e. to open the war. Jeroboam

<sup>1</sup> Against this Bertheau remarks, after the example of Thenius: "When we consider that the wife of Abijah and mother of Asa was also called Maachah, 1 Kings xv. 13, 2 Chron. xv. 16, and that in 1 Kings xv. 2 this Maachah is again called the daughter of Abishalom, and that this latter statement is not met with in the Chronicle, we are led to conjecture that Maachah, the mother of Abijah, the daughter of Abishalom, has been confounded with Maachah the mother of Asa, the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah, and that in our passage Asa's mother is erroneously named instead of the mother of Abijah." This conjecture is a strange fabric of perverted facts and inconsequential reasoning. In 1 Kings xv. 2 Abijam's mother is called Maachah the daughter of Abishalom, exactly as in 2 Chron. xi. 20 and 21; and in 1 Kings xv. 13, in perfect agreement with 2 Chron. xv. 16, it is stated that Asa removed Maachah from the dignity of Gebira because she had made herself a statue of Asherah. This Maachah, deposed by Asa, is called in 1 Kings xv. 10 the daughter of Abishalom, and only this latter remark is omitted from the Chronicle. How from these statements we must conclude that the mother of Abijah, Maachah the daughter of Abishalom, has been confounded with Maachah the mother of Asa, the daughter of Uriel, we cannot see. The author of the book of Kings knows only one Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom, whom in xv. 2 he calls mother, i.e. בְּרִירָה, i.e. Sultana Walide of Abijah, and in xv. 10 makes to stand in the same relationship of mother to Asa. From this, however, the only natural and logically sound conclusion which can be drawn is that Abijam's mother, Rehoboam's wife, occupied the position of queen-mother, not merely during the three years' reign of Abijam, but also during the first years of the reign of his son Asa, as his grandmother, until Asa had deprived her of this dignity because of her idolatry. It is nowhere said in Scripture that this woman was Abijam's wife, but that is a conclusion drawn by Thenius and Bertheau only from her being called אִמִּי, his (Asa's) mother, as if אִמִּי could denote merely the actual mother, and not the grandmother. Finally, the omission in the Chronicle of the statement in 1 Kings xv. 10, "The name of his mother was Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom," does not favour in the very least the conjecture that Asa's mother has been confounded with the mother of Abijah; for it is easily explained by the fact that at the accession of Asa no change was made in reference to the dignity of queen-mother, Abijah's mother still holding that position even under Asa.



prepared for the war with 800,000 warriors. The number of Jeroboam's warriors is exactly that which Joab returned as the result, as to Israel, of the numbering of the people commanded by David, while that of Abijah's army is less by 100,000 men than Joab numbered in Judah (2 Sam. xxiv. 9).—Ver. 4 ff. When the two armies lay over against each other, ready for the combat, Abijah addressed the enemy, King Jeroboam and all Israel, in a speech from Mount Zemaraim. The mountain זְמַרַיִם is met with only here; but a city of this name is mentioned in Josh. xviii. 22, whence we would incline to the conclusion that the mountain near or upon which this city lay was intended. But if this city was situated to the east, not only of Bethel, but also of Jerusalem, on the road to Jericho (see on Josh. xviii. 22), as we may conclude from its enumeration between Beth-Arabah and Bethel in Josh. *loc. cit.*, it will not suit our passage, at least if Zemaraim be really represented by the ruin el Sumra to the east of Khan Hadur on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho. Robinson (*Phys. Geog.* S. 38) conjectures Mount Zemaraim to the east of Bethel, near the border of the two kingdoms, to which Mount Ephraim also extends. Abijah represented first of all (vers. 5-7) to Jeroboam and the Israelites that their kingdom was the result of a revolt against Jahve, who had given the kingship over Israel to David and his sons for ever.—Ver. 5. "Is it not to you to know?" *i.e.* can it be unknown to you? בְּרִית סָלַח, accus. of nearer definition: after the fashion of a covenant of salt, *i.e.* of an irrevocable covenant; cf. on Lev. ii. 13 and Num. xviii. 19. "And Jeroboam, the servant of Solomon the son of David (cf. 1 Kings xi. 11), rebelled against his lord," with the help of frivolous, worthless men (רָקִים as in Judg. ix. 4, xi. 3; בְּנֵי בָלִיעַל as in 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13,—not recurring elsewhere in the Chronicle), who gathered around him, and rose against Rehoboam with power. הִתְגַּדֵּשׁ עַל, to show oneself powerful, to show power against any one. Against this rising Rehoboam showed himself not strong enough, because he was an inexperienced man and soft of heart. נֶעַר denotes not "a boy," for Rehoboam was forty-one years old when he entered upon his reign, but "an inexperienced young man," as in 1 Chron. xxix. 1. רַךְ לֵב, soft of heart, *i.e.* faint-hearted, inclined to give way, without energy to make a stand against those rising insolently against him. לֹא הִתְחַזַּק לָם, and showed himself not strong before them, proved to be too weak in opposition to them. This representation does not

conform to the state of the case as narrated in chap. x. Rehoboam did not appear soft-hearted and compliant in the negotiation with the rebellious tribes at Sichem; on the contrary, he was hard and defiant, and showed himself youthfully inconsiderate only in throwing to the winds the wise advice of the older men, and in pursuance of the rash counsel of the young men who had grown up with him, brought about the rupture by his domineering manner. But Abijah wishes to justify his father as much as possible in his speech, and shifts all the guilt of the rebellion of the ten tribes from the house of David on to Jeroboam and his worthless following.—Vers. 8 and 9. Abijah then points out to his opponents the vanity of their trust in the great multitude of their warriors and their gods, while yet they had driven out the priests of Jahve. “And now ye say,” *scil.* in your heart, *i.e.* you think to show yourself strong before the kingdom of Jahve in the hands of the sons of David, *i.e.* against the kingdom of Jahve ruled over by the sons of David, by raising a great army in order to make war upon and to destroy this kingdom. וְאַתֶּם הַמֶּלֶךְ רַב, and truly ye are a great multitude, and with you are the golden calves, which Jeroboam hath made to you for gods; but trust not unto them, for Jahve, the true God, have ye not for you as a helper.—Ver. 9. “Yea, ye have cast out the priests of Jahve, the sons of Aaron, and made you priests after the manner of the nations of the lands. Every one who has come, to fill his hand with a young bullock and . . . . he has become a priest to the no-god.” מָלֵא יָדוֹ, to fill his hand, denotes, in the language of the law, to invest one with the priesthood, and connected with לִיהוָה it signifies to provide oneself with that which is to be offered to Jahve. To fill his hand with a young bullock, etc., therefore denotes to come with sacrificial beasts, to cause oneself to be consecrated priest. The animals mentioned also, a young bullock and seven rams, point to the consecration to the priesthood. In Ex. xxix. a young bullock as a sin-offering, a ram as a burnt-offering, and a ram as a consecratory-offering, are prescribed for this purpose. These sacrifices were to be repeated during seven days, so that in all seven rams were required for consecratory-sacrifices. Abijah mentions only one young bullock along with these, because it was not of any importance for him to enumerate perfectly the sacrifices which were necessary. But by offering these sacrifices no one becomes a priest of Jahve, and consequently the priests of Jeroboam also are only priests for

Not-Elohim, *i.e.* only for the golden calves made Elohim by Jeroboam, to whom the attributes of the Godhead did not belong.—Vers. 10 and 11. While, therefore, the Israelites have no-gods in their golden calves, Judah has Jahve for its God, whom it worships in His temple in the manner prescribed by Moses. “But in Jahve is our God, and we have not forsaken Him,” in so far, *viz.*, as they observed the legal Jahve-worship. So Abijah himself explains his words, “as priests serve Him the sons of Aaron (who were chosen by Jahve), and the Levites are בְּסִלְמָתָם, in service,” *i.e.* performing the service prescribed to them. As essential parts of that service of God, the offering of the daily burnt-offering and the daily incense-offering (Ex. xxix. 38 ff., xxx. 7), the laying out of the shew-bread (Ex. xxv. 30; Lev. xxiv. 5 ff.), the lighting of the lamps of the golden candlesticks (Ex. xxv. 37, xxvii. 20 f.), are mentioned. In this respect they keep the מִשְׁמֶרֶת יְהוָה (cf. Lev. viii. 35).—Ver. 12. Abijah draws from all this the conclusion: “Behold, with us at our head are (not the two calves of gold, but) God (הָאֱלֹהִים with the article, the true God) and His priests, and the alarm-trumpets to sound against you.” He mentions the trumpets as being the divinely appointed pledges that God would remember them in war, and would deliver them from their enemies, Num. x. 9. Then he closes with a warning to the Israelites not to strive with Jahve, the God of their fathers.

Vers. 13-17. The war; Judah's victory, and the defeat of Jeroboam and the Israelites.—Ver. 13. Jeroboam caused the ambush (the troops appointed to be an ambush) to go round about, so as to come upon their rear (*i.e.* of the men of Judah); and so they (the main division of Jeroboam's troops) were before Judah, and the ambush in their rear (*i.e.* of the men of Judah); and the men of Judah, when they turned themselves (*scil.* to attack), saw war before and behind them, *i.e.* perceived that they were attacked in front and rear. In this dangerous position the men of Judah cried to the Lord, and the priests blew the trumpets (ver. 15); and as they raised this war-cry, God smote their enemies so that they took to flight. In הִרְעִי and בְּהִרְעִי the loud shout of the warriors and the clangour of the trumpets in the hands of the priests are comprehended; and הִרְעִי is neither to be taken to refer only to the war-cry raised by the warriors in making the attack, nor, with Bertheau, to be referred only to the blowing of the trumpets.—Ver. 16 f. So Abijah and his people

inflicted a great blow (defeat) on the Israelites, so that 500,000 of them, *i.e.* more than the half of Jeroboam's whole army, fell.

Ver. 18 f. The results of this victory. The Israelites were bowed down, their power weakened; the men of Judah became strong, mighty, because they relied upon Jahve their God. Following up his victory, Abijah took from Jeroboam several cities with their surrounding domains: Bethel, the present Beitin, see on Josh. vii. 2; Jeshanah, occurring only here, and the position of which has not yet been ascertained; and Ephron (עֲפְרוֹן, Keth.; the Keri, on the contrary, עֲפֵרָן). This city cannot well be identified with Mount Ephron, Josh. xv. 9; for that mountain was situated on the southern frontier of Benjamin, not far from Jerusalem, while the city Ephron is to be sought much farther north, in the neighbourhood of Bethel. C. v. Raumer and others identify Ephron or Ephraim both with Ophrah of Benjamin, which, it is conjectured, was situated near or in Tayibeh, to the east of Bethel, and with the *Ἐφραῖμ*, John xi. 54, whither Jesus withdrew into the wilderness, which, according to Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 9, lay in the neighbourhood of Bethel. See on Josh. xviii. 23.<sup>1</sup>—Ver. 20. Jeroboam could not afterwards gain power

<sup>1</sup> The account of this war, which is peculiar to the Chronicle, and which de Wette declared, on utterly insufficient grounds, to be an invention of the chronicler (cf. against him my *apol. Vers. über die Chron.* S. 444 ff.), is thus regarded by Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. S. 466, der 2 Aufl.): "The chronicler must certainly have found among his ancient authorities an account of this conclusion of the war, and we cannot but believe that we have here, in so far, authentic tradition;" and only the details of the description are the results of free expansion by the chronicler, but in the speech vers. 4–13 every word and every thought is marked by the peculiar colouring of the Chronicle. But this last assertion is contradicted by Ewald's own remark, i. S. 203, that "in 2 Chron. xiii. 4–7, 19–21, an antiquated manner of speech and representation appears, while in the other verses, on the contrary, those usual with the chronicler are found,"—in support of which he adduces the words בְּנֵי לֵלֵךְ, ver. 7, and בְּרִית מִלָּה, ver. 5. According to this view, Abijah's speech cannot have been freely draughted by the chronicler, but must have been derived, at least so far as the fundamental thoughts are concerned, from an ancient authority, doubtless the Midrash of the prophet Iddo, cited in ver. 22. But Ewald's further remark (iii. S. 466), that the author of the Chronicle, because he regarded the heathenized Samaria of his time as the true representative of the old kingdom of the ten tribes, seized this opportunity to put into King Abijah's mouth a long denunciatory and didactic speech, addressed at the commencement of the battle to the enemy as rebels not merely against the house of David, but also against the true religion, is founded upon the unscriptural idea that the calf-worship of the Israelites was merely a some-

(עָצַר בָּמֹת, as in 1 Chron. xxix. 14): "And Jahve smote him, and he died." The meaning of this remark is not clear, since we know nothing further of the end of Jeroboam's life than that he died two years after Abijah. יָנִיחָהּ can hardly refer to the unfortunate result of the war (ver. 15 ff.), for Jeroboam outlived the war by several years. We would be more inclined to understand it of the blow mentioned in 1 Kings xiv. 1-8, when God announced to him by Ahijah the extermination of his house, and took away his son Abijah, who was mourned by all Israel.

Vers. 21-23. *Wives and children of Abijah. His death.*—Ver. 21. While Jeroboam was not able to recover from the defeat he had suffered, Abijah established himself in his kingdom (יָחִיד), cf. xii. 13), and took to himself fourteen wives. The taking of these wives is not to be regarded as later in time than his establishment of his rule after the victory over Jeroboam. Since Abijah reigned only three years, he must have already had the greater number of his wives and children when he ascended the throne, as we may gather also from chap. xi. 21-23. The , consec. with מִצֵּי serves only to connect logically the information as to his

what sensuous form of the true Jahve-worship, and was fundamentally distinct from the heathen idolatry, and also from the idolatry of the later Samaritans. In the judgment of all the prophets, not only of Hosea and Amos, but also of the prophetic author of the book of Kings, the calf-worship was a defection from Jahve, the God of the fathers,—a forsaking of the commands of Jahve, and a serving of the Baals; cf. e.g. 1 Kings xiii., 2 Kings xvii. 7-23. What Abijah says of the calf-worship of the Israelites, and of Judah's attitude to Jahve and His worship in the temple, is founded on the truth, and is also reconcilable with the statement in 1 Kings xv. 3, that Abijah's heart was not wholly devoted to the Lord, like David's heart. Abijah had promoted the legal temple-worship even by consecratory gifts (1 Kings xv. 15), and could consequently quite well bring forward the worship of God in Judah as the true worship, in contrast to the Israelitic calf-worship, for the discouragement of his enemies, and for the encouragement of his own army; and we may consequently regard the kernel, or the essential contents of the speech, as being historically well-founded. The account of the war, moreover, is also shown to be historical by the exact statement as to the conquered cities in ver. 19, which evidently has been derived from ancient authorities. Only in the statements about the number of warriors, and of the slain Israelites, the numbers are not to be estimated according to the literal value of the figures; for they are, as has been already hinted in the commentary, only an expression in figures of the opinion of contemporaries of the war, that both kings had made a levy of all the men in their respective kingdoms capable of bearing arms, and that Jeroboam was defeated with such slaughter that he lost more than the half of his warriors.

wives and children with the preceding, as the great increase of his family was a sign of Abijah's increase in strength, while Jeroboam's dynasty was soon extirpated.—Ver. 22. As to the מִדְּרָשׁ of the prophet Iddo, see the Introduction, p. 34.—Ver. 23. Under his son and successor Asa the land had a ten-years' rest. This is remarked here, because this rest was also a result of Abijah's great victory over Jeroboam.

#### CHAP. XIV.—XVI.—ASA'S REIGN.

In 1 Kings xv. 9–24 it is merely recorded of Asa, that he reigned forty-one years, did that which was right as David did, removed from the land all the idols which his fathers had made, and, although the high places were not removed, was devoted to the Lord during his whole life, and laid up in the temple treasury all that had been consecrated by his father and himself. Then it is related that when Baasha marched against him, and began to fortify Ramah, he induced the Syrian king Benhadad, by sending to him the treasures of the temple and of his palace, to break faith with Baasha, and to make an inroad upon and smite the northern portion of the land; that Baasha was thereby compelled to abandon the building of Ramah, and to fall back to Tirzah, and that thereupon Asa caused the fortifications of Ramah to be pulled down, and the cities Geba in Benjamin and Mizpah to be fortified with the materials; and, finally, it is recorded that Asa in his old age became diseased in his feet, and died. The Chronicle also characterizes Asa as a pious king, who did that which was right, and removed the high places and sun-pillars in the land; but gives, as to other matters, a much more detailed account of his reign of forty-one years. It states that in the first years, as the land had rest, he built fortified cities in Judah, and had an army fit for war (xiv. 1–7); that thereupon he marched against the Cushite Zerah, who was then advancing upon Judah with an innumerable host, prayed for help to the Lord, who then smote the Cushites, so that they fled; and that Asa pursued them to Gerar, and returned with great booty (vers. 8–14). Then we learn that the prophet Azariah, the son of Oded, came to meet him, who, pointing to the victory which the Lord had granted them, called upon the king and the people to remain steadfast in their fidelity to the Lord; that Asa thereupon took courage, extirpated all the still remaining idola-

trous abominations from the land, and in the fifteenth year of his reign held with the people a great sacrificial feast in Jerusalem, renewed the covenant with the Lord, crushed out all the remains of former idolatry, although the high places were not destroyed, and also deposited in the temple treasury all that had been consecrated by his father and himself (chap. xv.). Thereafter Baasha's inroad upon Judah and the alliance with Benhadad of Syria are narrated (xvi. 1-6), as in the book of Kings; but it is also added that the prophet Hanani censured his seeking help from the king of Syria, and was thereupon put into the prison-house by Asa (vers. 7-10); and then we have an account of the end of his reign, in which several additions to the account in 1 Kings are communicated (vers. 11-14).

Chap. xiv. 1-7.—*Asa's efforts for the abolition of idolatry and the establishment of the kingdom.*—Vers. 1-4. The good and right in God's eyes which Asa did is further defined in vers. 2-4. He abolished all the objects of the idolatrous worship. The "altars of the strangers" are altars consecrated to foreign gods; from them the *בָּמֹת*, high places, are distinguished,—these latter being illegal places of sacrifice connected with the worship of Jahve (see on 1 Kings xv. 14). The *מַצֵּבֹת* are the statues or monumental columns consecrated to Baal, and *אֲשֵׁרִים* the wooden idols, tree-trunks, or trees, which were consecrated to Astarte (see on 1 Kings xiv. 23 and Deut. xvi. 21). Asa at the same time commanded the people to worship Jahve, the God of the fathers, and to follow the law.—Ver. 4. He removed from all the cities of Judah the altars of the high places, and the *הַמָּצֵבֹת*, sun-pillars, pillars or statues consecrated to Baal as sun-god, which were erected near or upon the altars of Baal (2 Chron. xxxiv. 4; see on Lev. xxvi. 30). In consequence of this the kingdom had rest *לפניו*, before him, i.e. under his oversight (cf. Num. viii. 22). This ten-years' quiet (xiii. 23) which God granted him, Asa employed in building fortresses in Judah (ver. 5). "We will build these cities, and surround them with walls and towers, gates and bolts." It is not said what the cities were, but they were at any rate others than Geba and Mizpah, which he caused to be built after the war with Baasha (xvi. 6). "The land is still before us," i.e. open, free from enemies, so that we may freely move about, and build therein according to our pleasure. For the phraseology, cf. Gen. xiii. 9. The repetition of *וַיִּבְנוּ*, ver. 6, is impassioned speech. "They built and had

success;" they built with effect, without meeting with any hindrances.—Ver. 7. Asa had also a well-equipped, well-armed army. The men of Judah were armed with a large shield and lance (cf. 1 Chron. xii. 24), the Benjamites with a small shield and bow (cf. 1 Chron. viii. 40). The numbers are great; of Judah 300,000, of Benjamin 280,000 men. Since in these numbers the whole population capable of bearing arms is included, 300,000 men does not appear too large for Judah, but 280,000 is a very large number for Benjamin, and is founded probably on an overestimate.

Vers. 8–14. *The victory over the Cushite Zerah.*—Ver. 8. "And there went forth against them Zerah." זֶרַח for אֶלֶיָּהֶם refers to Asa's warriors mentioned in ver. 7. The number of the men in Judah capable of bearing arms is mentioned only to show that Asa set his hope of victory over the innumerable host of the Cushites not on the strength of his army, but on the all-powerful help of the Lord (ver. 10). The Cushite זֶרַח is usually identified with the second king of the 22d (Bubastitic) dynasty, Osorchon I.; while Brugsch, *hist. de l'Eg.* i. p. 298, on the contrary, has raised objections, and holds Zerah to be an Ethiopian and not an Egyptian prince, who in the reign of Takeloth I., about 944 B.C., probably marched through Egypt as a conqueror (cf. G. Röscher in Herz's *Realenc.* xviii. S. 460). The statement as to Zerah's army, that it numbered 1,000,000 warriors and 300 war-chariots, rests upon a rough estimate, in which 1000 times 1000 expresses the idea of the greatest possible number. The Cushites pressed forward to Mareshah, i.e. Marissa, between Hebron and Ashdod (see on xi. 8).—Ver. 9. Thither Asa marched to meet them, and drew up his army in battle array in the valley Zephathah, near Mareshah. The valley Zephathah is not, as Robins., *Pal. sub voce*, thinks, to be identified with Tel es Safieh, but must lie nearer Mareshah, to the west or north-west of Maräscher.—Ver. 10. Then he called upon the Lord his God for help. אֲנִי עִמָּךָ וְנִי we translate, with Berth., "None is with Thee (on עִמָּךָ, cf. xx. 6, Ps. lxxiii. 25) to help between a mighty one and a weak," i.e. no other than Thou can help in an unequal battle, i.e. help the weaker side; while the Vulg., on the contrary, after the analogy of 1 Sam. xiv. 6, translates, "*non est apud te ulla distantia, utrum in paucis auxili-eris an in pluribus*;" and the older commentators (Schmidt, Ramb.) give the meaning thus: "*perinde est tibi potentiori vel imbecilliori*



*opem ferre.*" But in 1 Sam. xiv. 16 the wording is different, so that that passage cannot be a standard for us here. "In Thy name (*i.e.* trusting in Thy help) are we come against this multitude" (not "have we fallen upon this multitude"). אֵל יִעֲזֹר וְנִי, "Let not a mortal retain strength with Thee" (עֲזָרָה = עֲזָרָה), xiii. 20, 1 Chron. xxix. 14), *i.e.* let not weak men accomplish anything with Thee, show Thy power or omnipotence over weak men.—Ver. 11. God heard this prayer. Jahve drove the Cushites into flight before Asa, *scil.* by His mighty help.—Ver. 12. Asa, with his people, pursued to Gerar, the old ancient Philistine city, whose ruins Rowlands has discovered in the Khirbet el Gerar, in the Wady Jorf el Gerar (the torrent of Gerar), three leagues south-south-east of Gaza (see on Gen. xx. 1). "And there fell of the Cushites, so that to them was not revival," *i.e.* so many that they could not make a stand and again collect themselves, *ut eis vivificatio i. e. copias restaurandi ratio non esset*, as older commentators, in *Annot. uberior. ad h. l.*, have already rightly interpreted it. The words are expressions for complete defeat. Berth. translates incorrectly: "until to them was nothing living;" for לֹא־חַיָּים does not stand for לֹא־חַיָּים, but לֹא serves to subordinate the clause, "so that no one," where in the older language לֹא alone would have been sufficient, as in xx. 25, 1 Chron. xxii. 4, cf. Ew. § 315, c; and חַיָּים denotes, not "a living thing," but only "preservation of life, vivification, revival, maintenance." For they were broken before Jahve and before His host. מִחֵיבֵי, *i.e.* Asa's army is called Jahve's, because Jahve fought in and with it against the enemy. There is no reason to suppose, with some older commentators, that there is any reference to an angelic host or heavenly camp (Gen. xxxii. 2 f.). And they (Asa and his people) brought back very much booty.—Ver. 13. "They smote all the cities round about Gerar," which, as we must conclude from this, had made common cause with the Cushites, being inhabited by Philistines; for the fear of Jahve had fallen upon them. פֶּחַד יִהוָה here, and in xvii. 10, xx. 29, as in 1 Sam. xi. 7, the fear of the omnipotence displayed by Jahve in the annihilation of the innumerable hostile army. In these cities Judah found much booty.—Ver. 14. They also smote the tents of the herds of the wandering tribes of that district, and carried away many sheep and camels as booty.

Chap. xv. *The prophet Azariah's exhortation to faithful cleaving to the Lord, and the solemn renewal of the covenant.—*

Vers. 1-7. The prophet's speech. The prophet Azariah, the son of Oded, is mentioned only here. The conjecture of some of the older theologians, that אֶזְרִיָּה was the same person as אֶזְרָא (xii. 15, ix. 29), has no tenable foundation. Azariah went to meet the king and people returning from the war (וַיֵּצֵא, he went forth in the presence of Asa, *i.e.* coming before him; cf. xxviii. 9, 1 Chron. xii. 17, xiv. 8). "Jahve was with you (has given you the victory), because ye were with Him (held to Him)." Hence the general lesson is drawn: If ye seek Him, He will be found of you (cf. Jer. xxix. 13); and if ye forsake Him, He will forsake you (cf. xxiv. 20, xii. 5). To impress the people deeply with this truth, Azariah draws a powerful picture of the times when a people is forsaken by God, when peace and security in social intercourse disappear, and the terrors of civil war prevail. Opinions as to the reference intended in this portrayal of the dreadful results of defection from God have been from antiquity very much divided. Tremell. and Grot., following the Targ., take the words to refer to the condition of the kingdom of the ten tribes at that time; others think they refer to the past, either to the immediately preceding period of the kingdom of Judah, to the times of the defection under Rehoboam and Abijah, before Asa had suppressed idolatry (Syr., Arab., Raschi), or to the more distant past, the anarchic period of the judges, from Joshua's death, and that of the high priest Phinehas, until Eli and Samuel's reformation (so especially Vitringa, *de synag. vet.* p. 335 sqq.). Finally, still others (Luther, Clericus, Budd., etc.) interpret the words as prophetic, as descriptive of the future, and make them refer either to the unquiet times under the later idolatrous kings, to the times of the Assyrian or Chaldean exile (Kimchi), or to the condition of the Jews since the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans up till the present day. Of these three views, the first, that which takes the reference to be to the present, *i.e.* the state of the kingdom of the ten tribes at that time, is decidedly erroneous; for during the first thirty years of the existence of that kingdom no such anarchic state of things existed as is portrayed in vers. 5 and 6, and still less could a return of the ten tribes to the Lord at that time be spoken of (ver. 4). It is more difficult to decide between the two other main views. The grounds which Vitr., Ramb., Berth. adduce in support of the reference to the times of the judges are not convincing; for the contents and form (ver. 4) do not prove

that here something is asserted which has been confirmed by history, and still less is it manifest (ver. 5) that past times are pointed to. Whether the statement about the return to Jahve in the times of trouble (ver. 4) refers to the past or to the future, depends upon whether the past or future is spoken of in ver. 3. But the unquiet condition of things portrayed in ver. 5 corresponds partly to various times in the period of the judges; and if, with Vittr., we compare the general characteristics of the religious condition of the times of the judges (Judg. ii. 10 ff.), we might certainly say that Israel in those times was without אלהים אֱלֹהִים, as it again and again forsook Jahve and served the Baals. And moreover, several examples of the oppression of Israel portrayed in vers. 5 and 6 may be adduced from the time of the judges. Yet the words in ver. 6, even when their rhetorical character is taken into account, are too strong for the anarchic state of things during the period of the judges, and the internal struggles of that time (Judg. xii. 1-6 and chap. xx. f.). And consequently, although Vittr. and Ramb. think that a reference to experiences already past, and oppressions already lived through, would have made a much deeper impression than pointing forward to future periods of oppression, yet Ramb. himself remarks, *nihilominus tamen in sæculis Asæ imperium antegressis vix ullum tempus post ingressum in terram Canaan et constitutam rempubl. Israel. posse ostendi, cui omnia criteria hujus orationis propheticae omni ex parte et secundum omnia pondera verbis insita convenient.* But, without doubt, the omission of any definite statement of the time in ver. 3 is decisive against the exclusive reference of this speech to the past, and to the period of the judges. The verse contains no verb, so that the words may just as well refer to the past as to the future. The prophet has not stated the time definitely, because he was giving utterance to truths which have force at all times,<sup>1</sup> and which Israel had had experience of already in the time of the judges, but would have much deeper experience of in the future.

We must take the words in this general sense, and supply neither a preterite nor a future in ver. 3, neither *fuertant* nor *erunt*, but must express the first clause by the present in English:

<sup>1</sup> As Ramb. therefore rightly remarks, "*Vatem videri consulto abstinuisse a determinatione temporis, ut vela sensui quam amplissime panderentur, verbaque omnibus temporum periodis adplicari possent, in quibus criteria hic recensita adpareant.*"

"Many days are for Israel (*i.e.* Israel lives many days) without the true God, and without teaching priests, and without law."  $\text{יָמִים רַבִּים}$  is not accus. of time (Berth.), but the subject of the sentence; and  $\text{לֹא אֱלֹהִים}$  is not subject—"during many days there was to the people Israel no true God" (Berth.)—but predicate, while  $\text{לֵ$  expresses the condition into which anything comes, and  $\text{לֵ$  forms part of the following noun: Days for Israel for having not a true God.  $\text{לֵ$  differs from  $\text{בִּלְ$ , "without," just as  $\text{לֵ$  differs from  $\text{בְּ}$ ; the latter expressing the being in a condition, the former the coming into it. On  $\text{אֱלֹהֵי אֲמָת}$ , cf. Jer. x. 10.  $\text{בְּנֵי מֹרֶה}$  is not to be limited to the high priest, for it refers to the priests in general, whose office it was to teach the people law and justice (Lev. x. 10; Deut. xxxiii. 10). The accent is upon the predicates  $\text{אֲמָת}$  and  $\text{מֹרֶה}$ . Israel had indeed Elohim, but not the true God, and also priests, but not priests who attended to their office, who watched over the fulfilment of the law; and so they had no  $\text{חֹהֵם}$ , notwithstanding the book of the law composed by Moses.—Ver. 5. "And in these times is no peace to those going out or to those coming in." Free peaceful intercommunication is interfered with (cf. Judg. v. 6, vi. 2), but great terrors upon all inhabitants of the lands ( $\text{הָאֲרָצוֹת}$  are, according to the usage of the chronicler, the various districts of the land of Israel).—Ver. 6. "And one people is dashed in pieces by the other, and one city by the other; for God confounds them by all manner of adversity."  $\text{הִקְמָה}$  denotes confusion, which God brings about in order to destroy His enemies (Ex. xiv. 24; Josh. x. 10; Judg. iv. 15). Days when they were without the true God, without teaching prophets, and without law, Israel had already experienced in the times of defection after Joshua (cf. Judg. ii. 11 ff.), but will experience them in the future still oftener and more enduringly under the idolatrous kings in the Assyrian and Babylonian exile, and still even now in its dispersion among all nations. That this saying refers to the future is also suggested by the fact that Hosea (chap. iii. and iv.) utters, with a manifest reference to ver. 3 of our speech, a threat that the ten tribes will be brought into a similar condition (cf. Hos. ix. 3, 4); and even Moses proclaimed to the people that the punishment of defection from the Lord would be dispersion among the heathen, where Israel would be compelled to serve idols of wood and stone (Deut. iv. 27 ff., xxviii. 36, 64), *i.e.* would be without the true God. That Israel would, in such oppression, turn to its God, would seek Him, and

that the Lord would be found of them, is a thought also expressed by Moses, the truth of which Israel had not only had repeated experience of during the time of the judges, but also would again often experience in the future (cf. Hos. iii. 5; Jer. xxxi. 1; Ezek. xxxvi. 24 ff.; Rom. xi. 25 ff.). **יָצָא** refers back to Deut. iv. 30; the expression in ver. 4b is founded upon Deut. iv. 29 (cf. Isa. lv. 6).—Of the oppression in the times of defection portrayed in ver. 5 f., Israel had also had in the time of the judges repeated experience (cf. Judg. v. 6), most of all under the Midianite yoke (Judg. vi. 2); but such times often returned, as the employment of the very words of the first hemistich of ver. 5 in Zech. viii. 10, in reference to the events of the post-exilic time, shows; and not only the prophet Amos (iii. 9) sees **מְהוֹמֹת רַבּוֹת**, great confusions, where all is in an indistinguishable whirl in the Samaria of his time, but they repeated themselves at all times when the defection prevailed, and godlessness degenerated into revolution and civil war. Azariah portrays the terrors of such times in strong colours (ver. 6): “Dashed to pieces is people by people, and city by city.” The war of the tribes of Israel against Benjamin (Judg. xx. f.), and the struggle of the Gileadites under Jephthah with Ephraim (Judg. xii. 4 ff.), were civil wars; but they were only mild preludes of the *bellum omnium contra omnes* depicted by Azariah, which only commenced with the dissolution of both kingdoms, and was announced by the later prophets as the beginning of the judgment upon rebellious Israel (e.g. Isa. ix. 17-20), and upon all peoples and kingdoms hostile to God (Zech. xiv. 13; Matt. xxiv. 7). With **בְּיָמֵי אֱלֹהִים** cf. **יָרָה** **מְהוֹמֹת** **יָרָה**, Zech. xiv. 13. To this portrayal of the dread results of defection from the Lord, Azariah adds (ver. 7) the exhortation, “Be ye strong (vigorous), and show yourselves not slack, languid” (cf. Zeph. iii. 16; Neh. vi. 9); i.e., in this connection, proceed courageously and vigorously to keep yourselves true to the Lord, to exterminate all idolatry; then you shall obtain a great reward: cf. on these words, Jer. xxxi. 16.

Vers. 8-18. *Completion of the reform in worship, and the renewal of the covenant.*—Ver. 8. The speech and prophecy of the prophet strengthened the king to carry out the work he had begun, viz. the extirpation of idolatry from the whole land. In ver. 8 the words **עָלֶיךָ הִנְבִּיֵא** are surprising, not only because the prophet is called in ver. 1, not Oded, but Azariah the son of Oded, but also on account of the preceding **הִנְבִּיֵא** in the absolute state, which

cannot stand, without more ado, for the *stat. constr.* נְבוֹאִת (cf. ix. 29). The view of Cler. and Ew., that by an orthographical error נְבוֹאִת has been dropped out, does not remove the difficulty, for it leaves the *stat. absol.* הַנְּבוֹאִת unexplained. This is also the case with the attempt to explain the name Oded in ver. 8 by transposing the words Azariah ben Oded, ver. 1, so as to obtain Oded ben Azariah (Movers); and there seems to be no other solution of the difficulty than to strike out the words Oded the prophet from the text as a gloss which has crept into it (Berth.), or to suppose that there is a considerable hiatus in the text caused by the dropping out of the words אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר עֲזַרְיָה בֶּן־נְבוֹאִת corresponds to הָעֵבֶר. Asa complied with the exhortation, and removed (הָעֵבֶר), as in 1 Kings xv. 12) all abominations (idols) from the whole land, and from the cities which he had taken from Mount Ephraim: these are the cities which Asa's father Abijah had conquered, xiii. 19. "And he renewed the altar before the porch," i.e. the altar of burnt-offering, which might stand in need of repairs sixty years after the building of the temple. The Vulg. is incorrect in translating *dedicavit*, and Berth. in supposing that the renovation refers only to a purification of it from defilement by idolatry. הָיָה is everywhere to renew, repair, *restaurare*; cf. xxiv. 4.—But in order to give internal stability to the reform he had begun, Asa prepared a great sacrificial festival, to which he invited the people out of all the kingdom, and induced them to renew the covenant with the Lord. Ver. 9. He gathered together the whole of Judah and Benjamin, and the strangers out of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon, who dwelt among them. Strangers, i.e. Israelites from the ten tribes, had come over as early as Rehoboam's reign to the kingdom of Judah (xi. 16); these immigrations increased under Asa when it was seen that Jahve was with him, and had given him a great victory over the Cushites. It is surprising that Simeon should be mentioned among the tribes from which Israelites went over to the kingdom of Judah, since Simeon had received his heritage in the southern district of the tribal domain of Judah, so that at the division of the kingdom it could not well separate itself from

<sup>1</sup> C. P. Caspari, *der Syrisch-ephraimitische Krieg*, Christian. 1849, S. 51, explains the *absol.* הַנְּבוֹאִת by an ellipse, as in Isa. iii. 14, viii. 11, "the prophecy (that) of Oded," but answers the question why Oded is used in ver. 8 instead of Azarjahu ben Oded by various conjectures, none of which can be looked upon as probable.

Judah, and join with the tribes who had revolted from the house of David. The grouping together of Simeon, Ephraim, and Manasseh, both in our verse and in xxxiv. 6, can consequently scarcely be otherwise explained than by the supposition, either that a part of the Simeonites had in course of time emigrated from the cities assigned to them under Joshua into districts in the northern kingdom (Berth.), or that the Simeonites, though politically united with Judah, yet in religious matters were not so, but abstained from taking part in the Jahve-worship in Jerusalem, and had set up in Beersheba a worship of their own similar to that in Bethel and Dan. In such a case, the more earnest and thoughtful people from Simeon, as well as from Ephraim and Manasseh, may have gone to Jerusalem to the sacrificial festival prepared by Asa. In favour of this last supposition we may adduce the fact that the prophet Amos, chap. v. 5, iv. 4, viii. 14, mentions Beersheba, along with Bethel and Gilgal, as a place to which pilgrimages were made by the idolatrous Israelites.—Ver. 10 f. At this festival, which was held on the third month of the fifteenth year of Asa's reign, they offered of the booty, *i.e.* of the cattle captured in the war against the Cushites (xiv. 14), 700 oxen and 7000 sheep. מִן־הַשָּׁלַל הָבִיאוּ defines the זִבְחֵהוּ more closely: they sacrificed, *viz.* from the booty they offered. From this it seems to follow that the sacrificial festival was held soon after the return from the war against the Cushites. The attack of the Cushite Zerah upon Judah can only have occurred in the eleventh year of Asa, according to xiii. 23; but it is not stated how long the war lasted, nor when Asa returned to Jerusalem (xiv. 14) after conquering the enemy and plundering the towns of the south land. But Asa may quite well have remained longer in the south after the Cushites had been driven back, in order again firmly to establish his rule there; and on his return to Jerusalem, in consequence of the exhortation of the prophet Azariah, may have straightway determined to hold a sacrificial festival at which the whole people should renew the covenant with the Lord, and have set apart and reserved a portion of the captured cattle for this purpose.—Ver. 12. And they entered into the covenant, *i.e.* they renewed the covenant, bound themselves by a promise on oath (שָׁבְעוּהָ, ver. 14) to hold the covenant, *viz.* to worship Jahve the God of the fathers with their whole heart and soul; cf. Deut. iv. 29. With בְּבִרְתָּהּ בּוֹא, cf. Jer. xxxiv. 10.—Ver. 13 f. To attest the sincerity of their return to the Lord, they determined at the

same time to punish defection from Jahve on the part of any one, without respect to age or sex, with death, according to the command in Deut. xvii. 2-6. *לֹא דָרַשׁ לַיהוָה*, not to worship Jahve, is substantially the same as to serve other gods, Deut. xvii. 3. This they swore aloud and solemnly, *בְּתִרְעָה*, with joyful shouting and the sound of trumpets and horns.—Ver. 15. This return to the Lord brought joy to all Judah, *i.e.* to the whole kingdom, because they had sworn with all their heart, and sought the Lord *בְּכָל־רִצּוֹן*, with perfect willingness and alacrity. Therefore Jahve was found of them, and gave them rest round about.—In vers. 16-18, in conclusion, everything which still remained to be said of Asa's efforts to promote the Jahve-worship is gathered up. Even the queen-mother Maachah was deposed by him from the dignity of ruler because she had made herself an image of Asherah; yet he did not succeed in wholly removing the altars on the high places from the land, etc. These statements are also to be found in 1 Kings xv. 13-16, and are commented upon at that place. Only in the Chronicle we have *אִם אִם* instead of *אִם* (Kings), because there Maachah had just been named (ver. 10); and to the statement as to the abolition of idolatry, *וְיָדָה*, crushed, is added, and in ver. 17 *כִּי־שָׁמַר*; while, on the other hand, after *עַם יְהוָה*, *שָׁלֵם* is omitted, as not being necessary to the expression of the meaning.

Ver. 19 is different from 1 Kings xv. 16. In the latter passage it is said: war was between Asa and Baasha the king of Israel *בְּלִי־יָמֵיהֶם*, *i.e.* so long as both reigned contemporaneously; while in the Chronicle it is said: war was not until the thirty-fifth year of Asa's reign. This discrepancy is partly got rid of by taking *מִלְחָמָה* in the book of Kings to denote the latent hostility or inimical attitude of the two kingdoms towards each other, and in the Chronicle to denote a war openly declared. The date, until the thirty-fifth year, causes a greater difficulty; but this has been explained in chap. xvi. 1 by the supposition that in the thirty-sixth year of Asa's reign war broke out between Asa and Baasha, when the meaning of our 16th verse would be: It did not come to war with Baasha until the thirty-sixth year of Asa's rule. For further remarks on this, see on xvi. 1.

Chap. xvi. *War with Baasha, and the weakness of Asa's faith. The end of his reign.*—Vers. 1-6. Baasha's invasion of Judah, and Asa's prayer for help to the king of Syria. The statement, "In the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Asa, Baasha the king of Israel came up against Judah," is inaccurate, or rather cannot possibly



be correct; for, according to 1 Kings xvi. 8, 10, Baasha died in the twenty-sixth year of Asa's reign, and his successor Elah was murdered by Zimri in the second year of his reign, *i.e.* in the twenty-seventh year of Asa. The older commentators, for the most part, accepted the conjecture that the thirty-fifth year (in xv. 19) is to be reckoned from the commencement of the kingdom of Judah; and consequently, since Asa became king in the twentieth year of the kingdom of Judah, that Baasha's invasion occurred in the sixteenth year of his reign, and that the land had enjoyed peace till his fifteenth year; cf. Ramb. *ad h. l.*; des Vignoles, *Chronol.* i. p. 299. This is in substance correct; but the statement, "in the thirty-sixth year of Asa's kingship," cannot be reconciled with it. For even if we suppose that the author of the Chronicle derived his information from an authority which reckoned from the rise of the kingdom of Judah, yet it could not have been said on that authority, למלכות אסא. This only the author of the Chronicle can have written; but then he cannot also have taken over the statement, "in the thirty-sixth year," unaltered from his authority into his book. There remains therefore no alternative but to regard the text as erroneous, —the letters ל (30) and ו (10), which are somewhat similar in the ancient Hebrew characters, having been interchanged by a copyist; and hence the numbers 35 and 36 have arisen out of the original 15 and 16. By this alteration all difficulties are removed, and all the statements of the Chronicle as to Asa's reign are harmonized. During the first ten years there was peace (xiii. 23); thereafter, in the eleventh year, the inroad of the Cushites; and after the victory over them there was the continuation of the Cultus reform, and rest until the fifteenth year, in which the renewal of the covenant took place (xv. 19, cf. with ver. 10); and in the sixteenth year the war with Baasha arose.<sup>1</sup> The account of this war in vers. 1-6 agrees with that in 1 Kings xv. 17-22 almost literally, and has been commented upon in the remarks on 1 Kings xv. In ver. 2 the author of the Chronicle has mentioned only the main things. Abel-Maim, *i.e.* Abel in the Water (ver. 4), is only another name for Abel-Beth-Maachah (Kings); see on 2 Sam. xx. 14. In the same verse

<sup>1</sup> Movers, S. 255 ff., and Then. on 1 Kings xv., launch out into arbitrary hypotheses, founded in both cases upon the erroneous presumption that the author of the Chronicle copied our canonical books of Kings—they being his authority—partly misunderstanding and partly altering them.

וְאֵת כָּל־מִסְכְּנוֹת עָרֵי נַפְתָּלִי is surprising, "and all magazines (or stores) of the cities of Naphtali," instead of כָּל־אֶרֶץ נַפְתָּלִי, "all Kinneroth, together with all the land of Naphtali" (Kings). Then. and Berth. think מִסְכְּנוֹת עָרֵי has arisen out of אֶרֶץ and כְּנֶרֶת by a misconception of the reading; while Gesen., Dietr. in *Lex. sub voce* כְּנֶרֶת, conjecture that in 1 Kings xv. 20 מִסְכְּנוֹת should be read instead of כְּנֶרֶת. Should the difference actually be the result only of a misconception, then the latter conjecture would have much more in its favour than the first. But it is a more probable solution of the difficulty that the text of the Chronicle is a translation of the unusual and, especially on account of the כָּל־אֶרֶץ נ', scarcely intelligible כָּל־כְּנֶרֶת. כְּנֶרֶת is the designation of the very fertile district on the west side of the Sea of Kinnereth, i.e. Gennesaret, after which a city also was called כְּנֶרֶת (see on Josh. xix. 35), and which, on account of its fertility, might be called the granary of the tribal domain of Naphtali. But the smiting of a district can only be a devastation of it,—a plundering and destruction of its produce, both in stores and elsewhere. With this idea the author of the Chronicle, instead of the district Kinnereth, the name of which had perhaps become obsolete in his time, speaks of the מִסְכְּנוֹת, the magazines or stores, of the cities of Naphtali. In ver. 5, too, we cannot hold the addition וַיָּשֶׁבֶת אֶת־מְלָאכְתּוֹ, "he caused his work to rest," as Berth. does, for an interpretation of the original reading, וַיִּשָּׁב בְּתוֹרָעָה (Kings), it having become illegible: it is rather a free rendering of the thought that Baasha abandoned his attempt upon Judah.—Ver. 6. In regard to the building of Mizpah, it is casually remarked in Jer. xli. 9 that Asa had there built a cistern.

Vers. 7–10. *The rebuke of the prophet Hanani, and Asa's crime.*—Ver. 7. The prophet Hanani is met with only here. Jehu, the son of Hanani, who announced to Baasha the ruin of his house (1 Kings xvi. 1), and who reappears under Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xix. 2), was without doubt his son. Hanani said to King Asa, "Because thou hast relied on the king of Aram, and not upon Jahve thy God, therefore is the host of the king of Aram escaped out of thy hand." Berth. has correctly given the meaning thus: "that Asa, if he had relied upon God, would have conquered not only the host of Baasha, but also the host of the king of Damascus, if he had, as was to be feared, in accordance with his league with Baasha (ver. 3), in common with Israel,

made an attack upon the kingdom of Judah." To confirm this statement, the prophet points to the victory over the great army of the Cushites, which Asa had won by his trust in God the Lord. With the Cushites Hanani names also לִיְבָיִם, Libyans (cf. xii. 3), and besides רֶכֶב, the war-chariots, also פָּרָשִׁים, horsemen, in order to portray the enemy rhetorically, while in the historical narrative only the immense number of warriors and the multitude of the chariots is spoken of.—Ver. 9. "For Jahve, His eyes run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to show Himself strong with those whose heart is devoted to Him;" i.e., for Jahve, who looks forth over all the earth, uses every opportunity wonderfully to succour those who are piously devoted to Him. עִם הַתְּחִיָּצָה, to help mightily, as in 1 Chron. xi. 10. עִם לְבָבָם שָׁלֵם אֱלֹהֵי is a relative sentence without the relative אֲשֶׁר with עִם; cf. 1 Chron. xv. 12. "Thou hast done foolishly, therefore," *scil.* because thou hast set thy trust upon men instead of upon Jahve, "for from henceforth there shall be wars to thee" (thou shalt have war). In these words the prophet does not announce to Asa definite wars, but only expresses the general idea that Asa by his godless policy would bring only wars (מִלְחָמוֹת in indefinite universality), not peace, to the kingdom. History confirms the truth of this announcement, although we have no record of any other wars which broke out under Asa.—Ver. 10. This sharp speech so angered the king, that he caused the seer to be set in the stock-house. בֵּית הַמִּסְפָּכָה, properly, house of stocks. מִסְפָּכָה, twisting, is an instrument of torture, a stock, by which the body was forced into an unnatural twisted position, the victim perhaps being bent double, with the hands and feet fastened together: cf. Jer. xx. 2, xxix. 26; and Acts xvi. 24, ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἡσφαλίσατο αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ξύλον. "For in wrath against him (*scil.* he did it) because of this thing, and Asa crushed some of the people at this time." Clearly Hanani's speech, and still more Asa's harsh treatment of the seer, caused great discontent among the people, at least in the upper classes, so that the king felt himself compelled to use force against them. רָצַץ, to break or crush, is frequently used along with רָשָׁע (Deut. xxviii. 33; 1 Sam. xii. 3, etc.), and signifies to suppress with violence. Asa had indeed well deserved the censure, Thou hast dealt foolishly. His folly consisted in this, that in order to get help against Baasha's attack, he had had recourse to a means which must become dangerous to him and to his kingdom; for

it was not difficult to foresee that the Syrian king Benhadad would turn the superiority to Israel which he had gained against Judah itself. But in order to estimate rightly Asa's conduct, we must consider that it was perhaps an easier thing, in human estimation, to conquer the innumerable multitudes of the Ethiopian hordes than the united forces of the kings of Israel and Syria; and that, notwithstanding the victory over the Ethiopians, yet Asa's army may have been very considerably weakened by that war. But these circumstances are not sufficient to justify Asa. Since he had so manifestly had the help of the Lord in the war against the Cushites, it was at bottom mainly weakness of faith, or want of full trust in the omnipotence of the Lord, which caused him to seek the help of the enemy of God's people, the king of Syria, instead of that of the Almighty God, and to make flesh his arm; and for this he was justly censured by the prophet.

Vers. 11-14. *The end of Asa's reign*; cf. 1 Kings xv. 23, 24. —On ver. 11, cf. the Introduction.—Ver. 12. In the thirty-ninth year of his reign Asa became diseased in his feet, and that in a high degree. The words *וְלִמְעַלְלָהּ חָלָה* are a circumstantial clause: to a high degree was his sickness. "And also in his sickness (as in the war against Baasha) he sought not Jahve, but turned to the physicians." *וַיִּשְׁאָל* is primarily construed with the accus., as usually in connection with *יָרָא* or *אֱלֹהִים*, to seek God, to come before Him with prayer and supplication; then with *יְיָ*, as usually of an oracle, or seeking help of idols (cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 7; 2 Kings i. 2 ff.; 1 Chron. x. 14), and so here of superstitious trust in the physicians. Consequently it is not the mere inquiring of the physicians which is here censured, but only the godless manner in which Asa trusted in the physicians.—Ver. 14. The Chronicle gives a more exact account of Asa's burial than 1 Kings xv. 24. He was buried in the city of David; not in the general tomb of the kings, however, but in a tomb which he had caused to be prepared for himself in that place. And they laid him upon the bed, which had been filled with spices (*בְּשִׁמְשִׁים*, see Ex. xxx. 23), and those of various kinds, mixed for an anointing mixture, prepared. *וּמִיָּדִים* from *יָד*, kind, species; *וּמִיָּדִים*, *et varia quidem*. *מִרְחָח* in Piel only here, properly spiced, from *רָחַח*, to spice, usually to compound an unguent of various spices. *מִרְחָח*, the compounding of ointment; so also 1 Chron. ix. 30, where it is usually translated by unguent. *מַעֲשֵׂה*, work, manufacture, is a

shortened *terminus technicus* for מַעֲשֵׂה רוֹקֶחַ, manufacture of the ointment-compounder (cf. Ex. xxx. 25, 35), and the conjecture that רוֹקֶחַ has been dropped out of the text by mistake is unnecessary. "And they kindled for him a great, very great burning," cf. xxi. 19 and Jer. xxxiv. 5, whence we gather that the kindling of a burning, i.e. the burning of odorous spices, was customary at the burials of kings. Here it is only remarked that at Asa's funeral an extraordinary quantity of spices was burnt. A burning of the corpse, or of the bed or clothes of the dead, is not to be thought of here: the Israelites were in the habit of burying their dead, not of burning them. That occurred only in extraordinary circumstances,—as, for example, in the case of the bodies of Saul and his sons; see on 1 Sam. xxxi. 12. The kindling and burning of spices at the solemn funerals of persons of princely rank, on the other hand, occurred also among other nations, e.g. among the Romans; cf. Plinii *hist. nat.* xii. 18, and M. Geier, *de luctu Hebr.* c. 6.

## CHAP. XVII.—XX.—JEHOSHAPHAT'S REIGN.

Jehoshaphat laboured to strengthen the kingdom both within and without. Not only did he place soldiers in the fenced cities, and removed the high places and the Astartes, but sought also to diffuse the knowledge of the law among the people, and by building castles and the possession of a well-equipped army, firmly to establish his power (chap. xvii.). In the course of years he married into the family of Ahab king of Israel, and, while on a visit in Samaria, allowed himself to be persuaded by Ahab to enter upon a joint war against the Syrians at Ramoth in Gilead, in which he all but lost his life, while King Ahab was mortally wounded in the battle (chap. xviii.). Censured on his return to Jerusalem by the prophet Jehu for this alliance with the godless Ahab, he sought still more earnestly to lead back his people to Jahve, the God of their fathers, bestirring himself to bring the administration of justice into a form in accordance with the law of God, and establishing a supreme tribunal in Jerusalem (chap. xix.). Thereafter, when the Moabites and Ammonites, with the Edomites and other desert tribes, made an inroad into Judah, the Lord gave him a wonderful victory over these enemies. At a later time he yet again allied himself with the Israelitish king Ahaziah for the restoration of the commerce

with Ophir; but the ships built for this purpose were broken in the harbour, so that the voyage was abandoned (chap. xx.). Of all these enterprises of Jehoshaphat, none are mentioned in the book of Kings except the campaign entered upon with Ahab against Ramoth in Gilead, which is found in the history of Ahab, 1 Kings xxii. 2-35. Jehoshaphat's reign itself is only characterized generally, but in such a way as to agree with the account in the Chronicle; and, in conclusion, the alliance with Ahaz for the purpose of making the voyage to Ophir is shortly narrated in 1 Kings xxii. 41-57, but in a form which differs considerably from that in which it is communicated in the Chronicle.

Chap. xvii. *Jehoshaphat's efforts to strengthen the kingdom, internally and externally.*—Ver. 1, or rather the first half of this verse, belongs properly to the preceding chapter, since, when the son immediately follows the father on the throne, the successor is mentioned immediately: cf. ix. 31, xii. 16, xxiv. 27, xxvii. 9, etc. Here, however, the account of the accession to the throne is combined with a general remark on the reign of the successor, and therefore it is placed at the commencement of the account of the reign; while in the case of Asa (chap. xiii. 23) both come in immediately at the conclusion of the reign of his predecessor. Asa had shown himself weak against Israel, as he had sought help against Baasha's attack from the Syrians (xvi. 1 ff.), but it was otherwise with Jehoshaphat. He indeed put the fenced cities of his kingdom in a thoroughly good condition for defence, to protect his kingdom against hostile attacks from without (ver. 2); but he walked at the same time in the ways of the Lord, so that the Lord made his kingdom strong and mighty (vers. 3-5). This general characterization of his reign is in ver. 6 illustrated by facts: first by the communication of what Jehoshaphat did for the inner spiritual strengthening of the kingdom, by raising the standard of religion and morals among the people (vers. 6-11), and then by what he did for the external increase of his power (vers. 12-19).

Vers. 2-5. He placed forces (חיל) in all the fenced cities of Judah, and garrisons (נִצְיָדִים, military posts; cf. 1 Chron. xi. 16) in the land of Judah, and in the cities of Ephraim, which his father Asa had taken; cf. xv. 8. God blessed these undertakings. Jahve was with him, because he walked in the ways of David his ancestor, the former ways, and sought not the Baals. The *former* ways of David are his ways in the earlier years of his reign, in contrast to the later years, in which his adultery with

Bathsheba (2 Sam. xi. ff.) and the sin of numbering the people (1 Chron. xxi.) fall. הַבְּעִלִּים are all false gods, in contrast to Jahve, the one God of Israel; and here the word designates not only the Baal-worship properly so called, but also the worship of Jahve by means of images, by which Jahve is brought down to the level of the Baals; cf. Judg. ii. 11. The ל before בְּעִלִּים stands, according to the later usage, as a sign of the accusative. In the last clause of ver. 4, "and not after the doings of Israel" (of the ten tribes), הֵלֵךְ, "he walked," is to be repeated. The doing of Israel is the worship of Jahve through the images of the golden calves, which the author of the Chronicle includes in the הַבְּעִלִּים. Ver. 5. Therefore Jahve established the kingdom in his hand, i.e. under his rule; cf. 2 Kings xiv. 5. All Judah brought him presents. מִנְחָה, often used of tribute of subject peoples, e.g. in ver. 11 of the Philistines, cannot here have that signification; nor can it denote the regular imposts of subjects, for these are not called מִנְחָה; but must denote voluntary gifts which his subjects brought him as a token of their reverence and love. The last clause, "and there was to him (he attained) riches and honour in abundance," which is repeated xviii. 1, recalls 1 Chron. xxix. 28, 2 Chron. i. 12, and signifies that Jehoshaphat, like his ancestors David and Solomon, was blessed for walking in the pious ways of these his forefathers.

Vers. 6-9. This blessing encouraged Jehoshaphat to extirpate from the land all idolatrous worship, and to teach the people the law of the Lord. גָּבַהּ לֵב, usually *sensu malo*, to be haughty, proud, cf. e.g. xxvi. 16, xxxii. 25; here *sensu bono*, of rising courage to advance in ways pleasing to God: and he removed the high places also, etc. עוֹר points back to ver. 3: not only did he himself keep far from the Baals, but he removed, besides, all memorials of the Baal-worship from Judah. On בָּמֹת and אֲשֵׁרִים, see on xiv. 2.—Ver. 7 ff. In the third year of his reign he sent five princes, i.e. laymen of high position, with nine Levites and two priests, into the cities of Judah, with the book of the law, to teach the law everywhere to the people. בְּרַחֲלֵל is *nom. prop.*, like בְּרַחֲמִים, 1 Kings iv. 10, בְּרַחֲמִים, 1 Kings iv. 9, and is not to be translated as an adjective, as in LXX. and Syr., partly on account of the ל *præf.*, and still more on account of the singular, for the plural בְּנֵי חַלִּיל must be used when it is in apposition to אֲשֵׁרִים. Nothing further is known of the men named; the designation of them as אֲשֵׁרִים suggests the idea that they were heads of

families or fathers'-houses. כִּטּוֹב אֲדוֹנֵיהֶּ, too (ver. 8), is one name. The "book of the law of Jahve" is the Pentateuch, not merely a collection of Mosaic laws, since in Jehoshaphat's time the Mosaic book of the law (the Pentateuch) had been long in existence. בָּעָרִי יְהוּדָה signifies to go through the cities of Judah in different directions; לְמַד בָּעָם, to teach among the people (not the people). The mission of these men is called by the older theologians a solemn *ecclesiarum visitatio*, *quam Josaphat laudabili exemplo per universum regnum suum instituit*, and they differ in opinion only as to the part played by the princes in it. Vitringa, *de synagoga vet.* p. 389, in agreement with Rashi, thinks that only the Levites and priests were deputed *ut docerent*; the princes, *ut auctoritate imperioque suo populum erudiendum in officio continerent eumque de seria regis voluntate certiores facerent*; while others, e.g. Buddæus, refer to ver. 9, *ubi principes pariter ac Levitæ populum docuisse dicuntur*, or believe with Grotius, *docere et explicare legem non tantum sacerdotum erat et Levitarum, sed omnium eruditorum*. Both views contain elements of truth, and do not mutually exclude each other, but may be harmonized. We can hardly confine לְמַד to religious teaching. The Mosaic law contains a number of merely civil precepts, as to which laymen learned in the law might impart instruction; and consequently the teaching probably consisted not merely in making the people acquainted with the contents of the law, but at the same time of direction and guidance in keeping the law, and generally in restoring and confirming the authority of the law among the people. In connection with this there were many abuses and illegalities which had to be broken down and removed; so that in this respect the task of the commission sent round the country by Jehoshaphat may be compared to a church inspection, if only we understand thereby not an inspection of churches in the Christian sense of the words, but an inspection of the religious and moral life of the communities of Israel under the old covenant.

Vers. 10 and 11. This attempt of Jehoshaphat brought him this blessing, that the terror of Jahve fell upon all the surrounding kingdoms; and not only did none of the neighbouring peoples venture to make war upon him, but also various tribes did homage to him by presents. Ramb. has already so understood the connection of these verses (*erat hoc præmium pietatis Josaphati, quod vicini satisque potentes hostes non auderent aduersus*



*ipsum hiscere*); while Berth. fails to apprehend it, saying that Jehoshaphat had time to care for the instruction of his people, because at that time the neighbouring peoples did not venture to undertake war against Judah. The words "terror of Jahve," cf. xiv. 13, xx. 29, and "all the kingdoms of the lands," cf. xii. 8, 1 Chron. xxix. 30, are expressions peculiar to the author of the Chronicle, which show that by these remarks he is preparing the way for a transition to a more detailed portrayal of Jehoshaphat's political power. מִן פְּלִשְׁתִּים is subject, מִן partitive: some of the Philistines brought him presents (for מִנְחָה see on ver. 5), "and silver a burden," i.e. in great quantity. מִנְחָה does not signify tribute, *vectigal argento* (Vulg.), for the word has not that signification, but denotes burden, that which can be carried, as in לֵאמֹן מִנְחָה, xx. 25.—עֲרֵבִיִּים or עֲרֵבִיִּים, xxvi. 7, and more usually עֲרֵבִים, xxi. 16, xxii. 1, are Arabian nomadic tribes (Bedâwin), perhaps those whom Asa, after his victory over the Cushite Zerah, had brought under the kingdom of Judah, xiv. 14. These paid their tribute in small cattle, rams, and he-goats. (חֲזִירִים, Gen. xxx. 35, xxxii. 15, Prov. xxx. 31.)

Vers. 12-19. *Description of Jehoshaphat's power.*—Ver. 12. And Jehoshaphat became ever greater, *sc.* in power. The partic. הֹלֵךְ expresses the continuous advance in greatness, cf. Ew. § 280, b, as the *infin. absol.* does elsewhere, e.g. Gen. viii. 3. עַד לְמַעְלָה as in xvi. 12.—He built castles in Judah. בְּיִרְיָנוֹ, only here and in xxvii. 4, from בְּיִרְיָה, derivative formed from בִּירָה by the Syriac termination יָה, *fem.* of יָ: castle, fortress. On עֲרֵבִים מִסְכְּנוֹת cf. viii. 4.—Ver. 13. וְיָמְלֵאכָה רֶבֶה וְנִי is rightly translated by Luther, "und hatte viel Vorraths" (and had much store). מְלָאכָה denotes here, as in Ex. xxii. 7-10, property, that which has been gained by work or business. The signification, much work, *opera magna* (Vulg., Cler., etc.), as also Bertheau's translation, "the works for equipping and provisioning the fortresses," correspond neither to the context nor to the parallel (synonymous) second member of the verse. The work and trouble necessary to equip the cities of Judah does not correspond to "the valiant warriors in Jerusalem;" the only parallel is the goods and property which were in these cities, the provision of victuals and war material there stored up.—Vers. 14-19. The men fit for war passed in review according to their fathers'-houses. The male population of Judah fell into three divisions, that of Benjamin into two. The prince Adnah held the first place among the generals, with 300,000 men of

Judah. עַל יָדוֹ, at his hand, *i.e.* with and under him, Jehohanan had the command of 280,000 men, and Amasiah over 200,000. הָיָא is a contraction for שָׂר אֲלֵמִים. For what special reason it is so honourably recorded of Amasiah that he had willingly offered himself to the Lord (cf. for הִתְנַחֵב, Judg. v. 9) has not been communicated.—Ver. 17 f. The Benjamites fell into two detachments: archers with shields (cf. 1 Chron. viii. 40) 200,000 men, under the chief command of Eliada, and “equipped of the army,” *i.e.* not heavy armed (Berth.), but provided with the usual weapons, sword, spear, and shield (cf. 1 Chron. xii. 24), 180,000 under the command of Jehozabad. According to this statement, Judah had 780,000 warriors capable of bearing arms. These numbers are clearly too large, and bear no proportion to the result of the numbering of the people capable of bearing arms under David, when there were in Judah only 500,000 or 470,000 men (cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 5 with 2 Sam. xxiv. 5); yet the sums of the single divisions appear duly proportioned,—a fact which renders it more difficult to believe that these exaggerated numbers are the result of orthographical errors.—Ver. 19. These were serving the king. אֵלָה refers not to the above-mentioned men capable of bearing arms, for שָׂרִית is not used of service in war, but to the commanders whom he had placed in the fortified cities of all Judah, “in which probably bodies of the above-mentioned troops lay as garrisons” (Berth.).

Chap. xviii. *Jehoshaphat's marriage alliance with Ahab, and his campaign with Ahab against the Syrians at Ramoth in Gilead.*—Ver. 1. Jehoshaphat came into connection by marriage with Ahab through his son Joram taking Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab, to wife (xxi. 6); an event which did not take place on the visit made by Jehoshaphat to Ahab in his palace at Samaria, and recorded in ver. 2, but which had preceded that by about nine years. That visit falls in the beginning of the year in which Ahab was mortally wounded at Ramoth, and died, *i.e.* the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat's reign. But at that time Ahaziah, the son of Joram and Athaliah, was already from eight to nine years old, since thirteen years later he became king at the age of twenty-two; 2 Kings viii. 26, cf. with the chronol. table to 1 Kings xii. The marriage connection is mentioned in order to account for Jehoshaphat's visit to Samaria (ver. 2), and his alliance with Ahab in the war against the Syrians; but it is also introduced by a reference to Jehoshaphat's riches and his

royal splendour, repeated from chap. xvii. 5. In the opinion of many commentators, this is stated to account for Ahab's willingness to connect his family by marriage with that of Jehoshaphat. This opinion might be tenable were it Ahab's entering upon a marriage connection with Jehoshaphat which is spoken of; but for Jehoshaphat, of whom it is related that he entered into a marriage connection with Ahab, his own great wealth could not be a motive for his action in that matter. If we consider, first, that this marriage connection was very hurtful to the kingdom of Judah and the royal house of David, since Athaliah not only introduced the Phœnician idolatry into the kingdom, but also at the death of Ahaziah extirpated all the royal seed of the house of David, only the infant Joash of all the royal children being saved by the princess, a sister of Ahaziah, who was married to the high priest Jehoiada (xxii. 10-12); and, second, that Jehoshaphat was sharply censured by the prophet for his alliance with the criminal Ahab (xix. 2 ff.), and had, moreover, all but forfeited his life in the war (xviii. 34 f.),—we see that the author of the Chronicle can only have regarded the marriage connection between Jehoshaphat and Ahab as a mistake. By introducing this account of it by a second reference to Jehoshaphat's riches and power, he must therefore have intended to hint that Jehoshaphat had no need to enter into this relationship with the idolatrous house of Ahab, but had acted very inconsiderately in doing so. Schmidt has correctly stated the contents of the verse thus: *Josaphatus cetera dives et gloriosus infelicem adfinitatem cum Achabo, rege Israelis, contrahit.* With which side the proposals for thus connecting the two royal houses originated we are not anywhere informed. Even if the conjecture of Ramb., that Ahab proposed it to Jehoshaphat, be not well founded, yet so much is beyond doubt, namely, that Ahab not only desired the alliance, but also promoted it by every means in his power, since it must have been of great importance to him to gain in Jehoshaphat a strong ally against the hostile pressure of the Syrians. Jehoshaphat probably entered upon the alliance *bono animo et spe firmandæ inter duo regna pacis* (Ramb.), without much thought of the dangers which a connection of this sort with the idolatrous Ahab and with Jezebel might bring upon his kingdom.

Vers. 2-34. *The campaign undertaken along with Ahab against the Syrians at Ramoth in Gilead, with its origin, course, and results for Ahab, is narrated in 1 Kings xxii. (in the history of*

Ahab) in agreement with our narrative, only the introduction to the war being different here. In 1 Kings xxii. 1-3 it is remarked, in connection with the preceding wars of Ahab with the Syrians, that after there had been no war for three years between Aram and Israel, in the third year Jehoshaphat king of Judah came up to the king of Israel; and the latter, when he and his servants had determined to snatch away from the Syrians the city Ramoth in Gilead, which belonged to Israel, called upon Jehoshaphat to march with him to the war against Ramoth. In the Chronicle the more exact statement, "in the third year," which is intelligible only in connection with the earlier history of Ahab, is exchanged for the indefinite שָׁנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה, "at the end of years;" and mention is made of the festal entertainment which Ahab bestowed upon his guest and his train (הָעָם אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ), to show the pains which Ahab took to induce King Jehoshaphat to take part in the proposed campaign. He killed sheep and oxen for him in abundance, וַיַּסִּיתֵהוּ, and enticed, seduced him to go up with him to Ramoth. הָסִיתָ, to incite, entice to anything (Judg. i. 14), frequently to evil; cf. Deut. xiii. 7, etc. עָלָה, to advance upon a land or a city in a warlike sense. The account which follows of the preparations for the campaign by inquiring of prophets, and of the war itself, vers. 4-34, is in almost verbal agreement with 1 Kings xxii. 5-35. Referring to 1 Kings xxii. for the commentary on the substance of the narrative, we will here only group together briefly the divergences. Instead of 400 men who were prophets, ver. 5, in 1 Kings xxii. 6 we have about 400 men. It is a statement in round numbers, founded not upon exact enumeration, but upon an approximate estimate. Instead of אִם אֶחָדָם . . . הִלָּךְ, ver. 5, in Kings, ver. 6, we have אִם אֶחָדָם . . . הִיאָלַךְ, both verbs being in the same number; and so too in ver. 14, where in Kings, ver. 15, both verbs stand in the plural, notwithstanding that the answer which follows, עָלָה הָעָלָה, is addressed to Ahab alone, not to both the kings, while in the Chronicle the answer is given in the plural to both the kings, עָלָה הָעָלָה. In ver. 7a, "he prophesies me nothing good, but all his days (i.e. so long as he has been a prophet) evil," the meaning is intensified by the בְּלִי יָמָיו, which is not found in 1 Kings ver. 8. In ver. 9, the וַיֵּשְׁבִים, which is introduced before the בָּנָה, "and sitting upon the threshing-floor," is due to difference of style, for it is quite superfluous for the signification. In ver. 14, the ambiguous words of Micah, "and Jahve will give into the hand of

the king" (Kings, ver. 15), are given in a more definite form: "and they (the enemy) shall be given into your hand." In ver. 19, in the first **אִמָּר בְּכֵה**, the **אִמָּר** after the preceding **וַיֹּאמֶר** is not only superfluous, but improper, and has probably come into the text by a copyist's error. We should therefore read only **בְּכֵה**, corresponding to the **וְכֵה** of Kings, ver. 20: "Then spake one after this manner, and the other spake after another manner." In ver. 23, the indefinite **אִי־יָה** of Kings, ver. 24, is elucidated by **אֵלֶּה הַדְרָה**, "is that the manner" (cf. 1 Kings xiii. 12; 2 Kings iii. 8), and the *verb* **עָבַר** follows without the relative pronoun, as in the passages cited. In ver. 30, only **שָׂרֵי הָרֶכֶב** of the king are mentioned, without any statement of the number, which is given in Kings, ver. 31, with a backward reference to the former war (1 Kings xx. 24). In ver. 31, after the words, "and Jehoshaphat cried out," the higher cause of Jehoshaphat's rescue is pointed out in the words, "and Jahve helped him, and God drove them from him," which are not found in Kings, ver. 32; but by this religious reflection the actual course of the event is in no way altered. Bertheau's remark, therefore, that "the words disturb the clear connection of the events," is quite unwarrantable. Finally, in ver. 34, **הָיָה מַעֲמִיד**, he was holding his position, i.e. he held himself standing upright, the Hiph. is more expressive than the Hoph. **מַעֲמִיד** (Kings, ver. 35), since it expresses more definitely the fact that he held himself upright by his own strength. With Ahab's death, which took place in the evening at the time of the going down of the sun, the author of the Chronicle concludes his account of this war, and proceeds in chap. xix. to narrate the further course of Jehoshaphat's reign. In 1 Kings xxii. 36-39, the return of the defeated army, and the details as to Ahab's death and burial, are recorded; but these did not fit into the plan of the Chronicle.

Chap. xix. *The prophet Jehu's declaration as to Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahab, and Jehoshaphat's further efforts to promote the fear of God and the administration of justice in Judah.*—Vers. 1-3. Jehu's declaration. Jehoshaphat returned from the war in which Ahab had lost his life, **בְּשָׁלוֹם**, i.e. safe, uninjured, to his house in Jerusalem; so that the promise of Micah in xviii. 16b was fulfilled also as regards him. But on his return, the seer Jehu, the son of Hanani, who had been thrown into the stocks by Asa (xvi. 7 ff.), met him with the reproving word, "Should one help the wicked, and lovest thou the haters

of Jahve!" (the inf. with ל, as in 1 Chron. v. 1, ix. 25, etc.). Of these sins Jehoshaphat had been guilty. "And therefore is anger from Jahve upon thee" (אֵלָּךְ עַל as in 1 Chron. xxvii. 24). Jehoshaphat had already had experience of this wrath, when in the battle of Ramoth the enemy pressed upon him (xviii. 31), and was at a later time to have still further experience of it, partly during his own life, when the enemy invaded his land (chap. xx.), and when he attempted to re-establish the sea trade with Ophir (xx. 35 ff.), partly after his death in his family (chap. xxi. and xxii.). "But," continues Jehu, to console him, "yet there are good things found in thee (cf. xii. 12), for thou hast destroyed the Asheroth . . ." אֲשֵׁרִים = אֲשֵׁרֹתָ, xvii. 6. On these last words, comp. xii. 14 and xvii. 4.

Vers. 4-11.—*Jehoshaphat's further arrangements for the revival of the Jahve-worship, and the establishment of a proper administration of justice.*—The first two clauses in ver. 4 are logically connected thus: When Jehoshaphat (after his return from the war) sat (dwelt) in Jerusalem, he again went forth (וַיֵּצֵא יִצְחָק) are to be taken together) among the people, from Beersheba, the southern frontier (see 1 Chron. xxi. 2), to Mount Ephraim, the northern frontier of the kingdom of Judah, and brought them back to Jahve, the God of the fathers. The "again" (עֲדָנָה) can refer only to the former provision for the instruction of the people, recorded in chap. xvii. 7 ff.; all that was effected by the commission which Jehoshaphat had sent throughout the land being regarded as his work. The instruction of the people in the law was intended to lead them back to the Lord. Jehoshaphat now again took up his work of reformation, in order to complete the work he had begun, by ordering and improving the administration of justice.—Ver. 5 ff. He set judges in the land, in all the fenced cities of Judah; they, as larger cities, being centres of communication for their respective neighbourhoods, and so best suited to be the seats of judges. לְעִיר וָעִיר, in reference to every city, as the law (Deut. xvi. 18) prescribed. He laid it upon the consciences of these judges to administer justice conscientiously. "Not for men are ye to judge, but for Jahve;" i.e. not on the appointment and according to the will of men, but in the name and according to the will of the Lord (cf. Prov. xvi. 11). In the last clause of ver. 6, Jahve is to be supplied from the preceding context: "and Jahve is with you in judgment," i.e. in giving your decisions (cf. the conclusion

of ver. 11); whence this clause, of course, only serves to strengthen the foregoing, only contains the thoughts already expressed in the law, that judgment belongs to God (cf. Deut. i. 17 with Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 7 f.). Therefore the fear of the Lord should keep the judges from unrighteousness, so that they should neither allow themselves to be influenced by respect of persons, nor to be bribed by gifts, against which Deut. xvi. 19 and i. 17 also warns. שִׁקְרֵי נֶפֶשׁ is rightly paraphrased by the Vulgate, *cum diligentia cuncta facite*. The clause, "With God there is no respect of persons," etc., recalls Deut. x. 17.—Vers. 8-11. Besides this, Jehoshaphat established at Jerusalem a supreme tribunal for the decision of difficult cases, which the judges of the individual cities could not decide. Ver. 8. "Moreover, in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set certain of the Levites, and of the priests, and of the chiefs of the fathers'-houses of Israel, for the judgment of the Lord, and for controversies (לְרִיב)." From this clause Berth. correctly draws the conclusion, that as in Jerusalem, so also in the fenced cities (ver. 5), it was Levites, priests, and heads of the fathers'-houses who were made judges. This conclusion is not inconsistent with the fact that David appointed 6000 of the Levites to be shoterim and judges; for it does not follow from that that none but Levites were appointed judges, but only that the Levites were to perform an essential part in the administration of the law. The foundation of the judicial body in Israel was the appointment of judges chosen from the elders of the people (Ex. xviii. 21 ff.; Deut. i. 15 ff.) by Moses, at Jethro's instigation, and under the divine sanction. David had no intention, by his appointment of some thousands of Levites to be officials (writers) and judges, to set aside the Mosaic arrangement; on the contrary, he thereby gave it the expansion which the advanced development of the kingdom required. For the simple relationships of the Mosaic time, the appointment of elders to be judges might have been sufficient; but when in the course of time, especially after the introduction of the kingship, the social and political relations became more complicated, it is probable that the need of appointing men with special skill in law, to co-operate with the judges chosen from among the elders, in order that justice might be administered in a right way, and in a manner corresponding to the law, made itself increasingly felt; that consequently David had felt himself called upon to appoint a greater number of Levites to this office,

and that from that time forward the courts in the larger cities were composed of Levites and elders. The supreme court which Jehoshaphat set up in Jerusalem was established on a similar basis. For *לְכָל דְּבַר-יְהוָה* we have in ver. 11 *לְכָל דְּבַר-יְהוָה*, *i.e.* for all matters connected with religion and the worship; and instead of *קָרִיב* we have *לְכָל דְּבַר הַמֶּלֶךְ*, for every matter of the king, *i.e.* for all civil causes. The last clause, ver. 8, *וַיָּשְׁבוּ יְרוּשָׁלַם*, cannot signify that the men called to this supreme tribunal went to Jerusalem to dwell there thenceforth (Ramb., etc.), or that the suitors went thither; for *שָׁב* does not denote to betake oneself to a place, but to return, which cannot be said of the persons above named, since it is not said that they had left Jerusalem. With Kimchi and others, we must refer the words to the previous statement in ver. 4, *וַיָּצֵא בָּעָם וְנָוִי*, and understand them as a supplementary statement, that Jehoshaphat and those who had gone forth with him among the people returned to Jerusalem, which would have come in more fittingly at the close of ver. 7, and is to be rendered: "when they had returned to Jerusalem." The bringing in of this remark at so late a stage of the narrative, only after the establishment of the supreme tribunal has been mentioned, is explained by supposing that the historian was induced by the essential connection between the institution of the supreme court and the arrangement of the judicatories in the provincial cities, to leave out of consideration the order of time in describing the arrangements made by Jehoshaphat.—Ver. 9 f. To the members of the superior tribunal also, Jehoshaphat gave orders to exercise their office in the fear of the Lord, with fidelity and with upright heart (*בְּלֵב טָהוֹר*, *corde s. animo integro*, cf. xv. 17, xvi. 9). *כֵּן תַּעֲשׂוּ*, thus shall ye do; what they are to do being stated only in ver. 10. The *ו* before *בְּלֵב טָהוֹר* is explicative, namely, and is omitted by the LXX. and Vulg. as superfluous. "Every cause which comes to you from your brethren who dwell in their cities" (and bring causes before the superior court in the following cases): between blood and blood (*בֵּין דָּם* with *ל* following, as in Gen. i. 6, etc.), *i.e.* in criminal cases of murder and manslaughter, and between law and between command, statutes, and judgments, *i.e.* in cases where the matter concerns the interpretation and application of the law, and its individual commands, statutes, and judgments, to particular crimes; wherever, in short, there is any doubt by what particular provision of the law the case in hand should be decided. With *וְהִחֲרַתֶּם* the



apodosis commences, but it is an *anacolouthon*. Instead of "ye shall give them instruction therein," we have, "ye shall teach them (those who bring the cause before you), that they incur not guilt, and an anger (*i.e.* God's anger and punishment) come upon you and your brethren" (cf. ver. 2). הִחַיִּיר, properly to illuminate, metaphorically to teach, with the additional idea of exhortation or warning. The word is taken from Ex. xviii. 20, and there is construed *c. accus. pers. et rei*. This construction is here also the underlying one, since the object which precedes in the absolute is to be taken as *accus.*: thus, and as regards every cause, ye shall teach them concerning it. After the enumeration of the matters falling within the jurisdiction of this court, כִּי הִנֵּשְׁטֶה is repeated, and this precept is then pressed home upon the judges by the words, "that ye incur not guilt." Thereafter (in ver. 11) Jehoshaphat nominates the spiritual and civil presidents of this tribunal: for spiritual causes the high priest Amariah, who is not the same as the Amariah mentioned after Zadok as the fifth high priest (1 Chron. v. 37) (see p. 116 and 120); in civil causes Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, the prince of the house of Judah, *i.e.* tribal prince of Judah. These shall be עֲלֵיכֶם over you, *i.e.* presidents of the judges; and שֹׁטְרֵיכֶם, writers, shall the Levites be לְפָנֵיכֶם, before you, *i.e.* as your assistants and servants. Jehoshaphat concludes the nomination of the judicial staff with the encouraging words, "Be strong (courageous) and do," *i.e.* go to work with good heart, "and the Lord be with the good," *i.e.* with him who discharges the duties of his office well.

The establishment of this superior court was in form, indeed, the commencement of a new institution; but in reality it was only the expansion or firmer organization of a court of final appeal already provided by Moses, the duties of which had been until then performed partly by the high priest, partly by the existing civil heads of the people (the judges and kings). When Moses, at Horeb, set judges over the people, he commanded them to bring to him the matters which were too difficult for them to decide, that he might settle them according to decisions obtained of God (Ex. xviii. 26 and 19). At a later time he ordained (Deut. xvii. 8 ff.) that for the future the judges in the various districts and cities should bring the more difficult cases to the Levitic priests and the judge at the place where the central sanctuary was, and let them be decided by them. In

thus arranging, he presupposes that Israel would have at all times not only a high priest who might ascertain the will of God by means of the Urim and Thummim, but also a supreme director of its civil affairs at the place of the central sanctuary, who, in common with the priests, i.e. the high priest, would give decisions in cases of final appeal (see the commentary on Deut. xvii. 8-13). On the basis of these Mosaic arrangements, Jehoshaphat set up a supreme court in Jerusalem, with the high priest and a lay president at its head, for the decision of causes which up till that time the king, either alone or with the co-operation of the high priest, had decided. For further information as to this supreme court, see in my *bibl. Archäol.* ii. S. 250 f.

Chap. xx. *Jehoshaphat's victory over the Moabites, Ammonites, and other nations; and the remaining items of information as to his reign.*—Vers. 1-30. The victory over the hostile peoples who invaded Judah. In the succeeding time, the Moabites and Ammonites, in alliance with other tribes of Mount Seir, invaded Judah with the purpose of driving the people of God out of their country, and extirpating them (ver. 1). On being informed of this invasion, Jehoshaphat sought help of the Lord, while he proclaimed a fast in the land, and in the temple before the assembled people prayed God for His help (vers. 2-12); and received by the mouth of the prophet Jahaziel the promise that God would fight for Judah, and that king and people would next day behold the help the Lord would give (vers. 13-18). And so it happened. On the following day, when the Judæan army, with the Levitic singers and players at their head, came into the wilderness Jeruel, their enemies had by the dispensation of God mutually destroyed each other (vers. 19-24), so that Jehoshaphat and his people found the proposed battle-field full of corpses, and gathered spoil for three days, and then on the fourth day, in the Valley of Blessing, they praised the Lord for the wonderful deliverance; thereafter returning to Jerusalem with joy, again to thank the Lord in the house of God for His help (vers. 25-30).

Ver. 1 f. By אַחֲרָיִם, *postea*, the war which follows is made to fall in the latter part of Jehoshaphat's reign, but certainly not in the last year in which he reigned alone, two years before his death, but only somewhat later than the events in chap. xviii. and xix., which occurred six or seven years before his death. Along with the Moabites and Ammonites there marched against Jehoshaphat

also מְהַעֲמוֹנִים. This statement is obscure. Since מֶן has unquestionably a partitive or local signification, we might take the word to signify, enemies who dwelt aside from the Ammonites (מֶן as in 1 Sam. xx. 22, 37), which might possibly be the designation of tribes in the Syro-Arabic desert bordering upon the country of the Ammonites on the north and east; and מֵאֲרָם in ver. 2 would seem to favour this idea. But vers. 10 and 22 f. are scarcely reconcilable with this interpretation, since there, besides or along with the sons of Ammon and Moab, inhabitants of Mount Seir are named as enemies who had invaded Judah. Now the Edomites dwelt on Mount Seir; but had the Edomites only been allies of the Ammonites and Moabites, we should expect simply בְּנֵי אֲדָם or אֲדוֹמִים, or בְּנֵי שִׁעִיר (cf. xxv. 11, 14). Nor can it be denied that the interpretation which makes מְהַעֲמוֹנִים to denote peoples dwelling beyond the Ammonites is somewhat artificial and far-fetched. Under these circumstances, the alteration proposed by Hiller in *Onomast.* p. 285 commends itself, viz. the change of מְהַעֲמוֹנִים into מְהַאֲמֹנִים, Maunites or Maonites,—a tribe whose headquarters were the city Maan in the neighbourhood of Petra, to the east of the Wady Musa; see on 1 Chron. iv. 41. Maan lay upon Mount Seir, i.e. in the mountainous district to the west of the Arabah, which stretches upwards from the head of the Dead Sea to the Elanitic Gulf, now called Jebâl (Gabalene) in its northern part, and es-Sherah in the south. The Maunites were consequently inhabitants of Mount Seir, and are here mentioned instead of the Edomites, as being a people dwelling on the southern side of the mountain, and probably of non-Edomitic origin, in order to express the idea that not merely the Edomites took part in the campaign of the Ammonites and Moabites, but also tribes from all parts of Mount Seir. In chap. xxvi. 7 the מְעַנִּים are mentioned along with Arabs and Philistines as enemies of Israel, who had been conquered by Uzziah. These circumstances favour the proposed alteration; while, on the contrary, the fact that the LXX. have here ἐκ τῶν Μιναιῶν for מְהַעֲמוֹנִים proves little, since these translators have rendered מְהַעֲמוֹנִים in xxvi. 8 also by οἱ Μιναιοί, there erroneously making the Ammonites Minaiites.—Ver. 2. Then they came and announced to Jehoshaphat, sc. messengers or fugitives; the subject is indefinite, and is to be supplied from the context. “Against thee there cometh a great multitude from beyond the (Dead) sea.” מֵאֲרָם also has no suitable sense here, since in the whole narrative nothing is said of enemies coming

out of Syria; we should read מִצָּרִים with Calmet and others. As the enemy made their attack from the south end of the Dead Sea, the messengers announce that they were come from Edom. "Behold, they are in Hazazon-Tamar," i.e. Engedi, the present Ain Jidy, midway along the west coast of the Dead Sea (see on Josh. xv. 62 and Gen. xiv. 7), about fifteen hours from Jerusalem.

Vers. 3-13. This report filled Jehoshaphat with fear, and he resolved to seek help of the Lord. שָׁם פָּנֵי = פָּנֵי, cf. 2 Kings xii. 18, Jer. xlii. 15, to direct the face to anything, i.e. to purpose something, come to a determination. He proclaimed a fast in all Judah, that the people might bow themselves before God, and supplicate His help, as was wont to be done in great misfortunes; cf. Judg. xx. 26, 1 Sam. vii. 6, Isa. ii. 15. In consequence of the royal appeal, Judah came together to seek of the Lord, i.e. to pray for help, by fasting and prayer in the temple; and it was not only the inhabitants of Jerusalem who thus assembled, for they came out of all the cities of the kingdom. בָּקַשׁ מִיְהוָה, to seek of the Lord, *sc.* help, is expressed in the last clause by בָּקַשׁ אֶת־יְהוָה, to seek the Lord.—Ver. 5. When the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem had assembled themselves in the house of God, Jehoshaphat came forth before the new court and made supplication in fervent prayer to the Lord. The new court is the outer or great court of the temple, which Solomon had built (iv. 9). It is here called the *new* court, probably because it had been restored or extended under Jehoshaphat or Asa. This court was the place where the congregation assembled before God in the sanctuary. Jehoshaphat placed himself before it, i.e. at the entrance into the court of the priests, so that the congregation stood opposite to him.—Ver. 6 ff. The prayer which Jehoshaphat directed to Jahve the God of the fathers, as the almighty Ruler over all kingdoms, consists of a short representation of the circumstances of the case. Jahve had given the land to His people Israel for an everlasting possession, and Israel had built a sanctuary to His name therein (vers. 7 and 8); but they had in no way provoked the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites to fall upon them, and to drive them out of their land (vers. 10 and 11). On these two facts Jehoshaphat founds his prayer for help, in a twofold manner: in respect to the first, calling to mind the divine promise to hear the prayers offered up to God in the temple (ver. 9); and in reference to the second, laying emphasis upon the inability

of Israel to fight against so numerous an enemy (ver. 12). In his manner of addressing Jahve, "God of our fathers," there is contained a reason why God should protect His people in their present distress. Upon Him, who had given the land to the fathers for a possession, it was incumbent to maintain the children in the enjoyment of it, if they had not forfeited it by their sins. Now Jahve as a covenant God was bound to do this, and also as God and ruler of heaven and earth He had the requisite power and might; cf. Ps. cxv. 3. **אֵין עִמָּךְ לְהִתְחַבֵּר**, there is none with Thee who could set himself, *i.e.* could withstand Thee: cf. the similar phrase, xiv. 10; and for the thought, see 1 Chron. xxix. 12.—On ver. 7a, cf. Josh. xxiii. 9, xxiv. 12, Ex. xxiii. 20 ff., etc.; on 7b, cf. Gen. xiii. 15 f., xv. 18, etc.; on **אֶתְחַבֵּר**, Isa. xli. 8.—Ver. 8. In this land they dwelt, and built Thee therein a sanctuary for Thy name; cf. vi. 5, 8. **לְאֵמֶר**, saying, *i.e.* at the consecration of this house, having expressed the confident hope contained in the following words (ver. 9). In this verse, the cases enumerated in Solomon's dedicatory prayer, in which supplication is made that God would hear in the temple, are briefly summed up. By referring to that prayer, Jehoshaphat presupposes that Jahve had promised that He would answer prayer offered there, since He had filled the temple with His glory; see vii. 1-3. The name **שָׁמוֹם**, which occurs only here, between **דָּבַר** and **חָרַב**, denotes in this connection a punitive judgment.—Ver. 10. **וְעַתָּה**, and now, the contrary of this has occurred. Peoples into whose midst (**לְבוֹא בָהֶם** . . . **אֲשֶׁר**) Thou didst not allow Israel to come, *i.e.* into whose land Thou didst not allow Israel to enter when they came out of the land of Egypt, for they (the Israelites under Moses) turned from them and destroyed them not (cf. as to the fact, Num. xx. 14 ff.; Deut. ii. 4, ix. 19); behold, these peoples recompense us by coming to cast us out of our possession which Thou hast given us (**הוֹרִישׁ**, to give as a possession, as in Judg. xi. 24). There follows hereupon in ver. 12 the prayer: "Our God, wilt Thou not judge," *i.e.* do right upon them, for we have not strength before (to withstand) this multitude? We know not what to do, *sc.* against so many enemies; but our eyes are turned to Thee, *i.e.* to Thee we look for help; cf. Ps. cxlii. 2, cxli. 8.—Ver. 13. Thus all Judah, with their king, stood praying before the Lord. They had, moreover, brought with them their little ones, their wives, and their sons, to pray for deliverance for them from the enemy; cf. Judith iv. 9.

Vers. 14–19. The Lord's answer by the prophet Jahaziel.—  
 Ver. 14. In the midst of the assembly the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jahaziel, a Levite of the sons of Asaph, and promised miraculous assistance to king and people. Jahaziel's descent is traced back for five generations to the Levite Mattaniah of the sons of Asaph. This Mattaniah is not the same person as the Mattaniah in 1 Chron. xxv. 4, 16, who lived in David's time, for he belonged to the sons of Heman; but perhaps (as Movers conjectures, S. 112) he is identical with the Asaphite Nethaniah, 1 Chron. xxv. 2, 12, since נ and י might easily be confounded.—  
 Ver. 15. Jahaziel announced to the king and people that they need not fear before the great multitude of their foes; "for the war is not yours, but Jahve's," i.e. you have not to make war upon them, for the Lord will do it; cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 47.—Ver. 16. "To-morrow go ye down against them: behold, they come up by the height Hazziz; and ye will find them at the end of the valley, before the desert Jeruel." The wilderness Jeruel was, without doubt, the name of a part of the great stretch of flat country, bounded on the south by the Wady el Ghâr, and extending from the Dead Sea to the neighbourhood of Tekoa, which is now called el Hasasah, after a wady on its northern side. The whole country along the west side of the Dead Sea, "where it does not consist of mountain ridges or deep valleys, is a high table-land, sloping gradually towards the east, wholly waste, merely covered here and there with a few bushes, and without the slightest trace of having ever been cultivated" (Robinson's *Pal. sub voce*). The name חַזְזִיז הַרְעֵל, ascent or height of Hazziz, has perhaps remained attached to the Wady el Hasasah. LXX. have rendered חַזְזִיז by Ἀσσεῖς; Josephus (*Antt.* ix. 1. 2) has ἀναβάσεως λεγομένης ἐξοχῆς, in accordance with which Robinson (*loc. cit.*) takes the way "upwards from Ziz" to be the pass which at present leads from Ain Jidy to the table-land. Yet it is described by him as a "fearful pass,"<sup>1</sup> and it can hardly be thought of here, even if the enemy, like the Bedouins now when on their forays, may be

<sup>1</sup> He remarks: "The path winds up in zig-zags, often at the steepest gradient which horses could ascend, and runs partly along projecting walls of rock on the perpendicular face of the cliff, and then down the heaps of *débris*, which are almost as steep. When one looks back at this part from below, it seems quite impossible that there could be any pathway; but by skilful windings the path has been carried down without any unconquerable difficulties, so that even loaded camels often go up and down."

supposed to have marched along the shore of the sea, and ascended to the table-land only at Engedi; for the Israelites did not meet the enemy in this ascent, but above upon the table-land. Josephus' translation of  $\text{רָחַץ}$  by  $\epsilon\lambda\chi\eta$  is also very questionable, for it is not necessary that the  $\text{ר}$  should be the article (Ew. *Gesch.* iii. S. 475, der 2 Aufl.).—Ver. 17. Ye have not to fight therein ( $\text{בְּזִמְתָּה}$ ); only come hither, stand and see the help of the Lord (who is) with you. You need do nothing more, and therefore need not fear.—Ver. 18. For this comforting assurance the king and people thanked the Lord, falling down in worship before Him, whereupon the Levites stood up to praise God with a loud voice. Levites "of the sons of Kohath, yea, of the Korahites," for they were descended from Kohath (1 Chron. vi. 22).

Vers. 20-30. The fulfilment of the divine promise.—Ver. 20. On the next morning the assembled men of Judah marched, in accordance with the words of the prophet, to the wilderness of Tekoa. As they marched forth, Jehoshaphat stood, probably in the gate of Jerusalem, where those about to march forth were assembled, and called upon them to trust firmly in the Lord and His prophets ( $\text{הַנְּאֻמִּים}$  and  $\text{הַנְּאֻמִּי}$ , as in Isa. vii. 9). After he had thus counselled the people ( $\text{יָתֵץ אֶל}$ ), shown himself a counsellor; cf. 2 Kings vi. 8), he ordered them to march, not for battle, but to assure themselves of the wonderful help of the Lord. He placed singers of the Lord ( $\text{לְפָנֵי יְהוָה}$  as a periphrasis for the genitive), singing praise in holy ornaments, in the marching forth before the army, and saying; i.e. he commanded the Levitic singers to march out before the army, singing and playing in holy ornaments ( $\text{לְהַדְרִיטִים}$ , clad in holy ornaments, =  $\text{בְּהַדְרִיטִים}$  in 1 Chron. xvi. 29; cf. Ew. § 217, a), to praise the Lord for the help He had vouchsafed.—Ver. 22. And at the time when they (having come into the neighbourhood of the hostile camp) began with singing and praising, Jahve directed liers in wait against the sons of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir, who were come against Judah, and they were smitten.  $\text{פְּאֻרְיִים}$  denotes liers in wait, men hidden in ambush and lying in wait (Judg. ix. 25). Who are here meant cannot be ascertained with certainty. Some of the older commentators, Ew. and Berth., think it refers to powers, angels sent by God, who are called *insidiatores*, because of the work they had to do in the army of the hostile peoples. But the passages where the interposition of heavenly powers is spoken of are different (cf. 2 Kings vi. 17, xix. 35), and it is not

probable that heavenly powers would be called **מַאֲרִיכִים**. Most probably earthly liers in wait are meant, who unexpectedly rushed forth from their ambush upon the hostile army, and raised a panic terror among them; so that, as is narrated in ver. 23 f., the Ammonites and Moabites first turned their weapons against the inhabitants of Mount Seir, and after they had exterminated them, began to exterminate each other. But the ambush cannot have been composed of men of Judah, because they were, according to vers. 15 and 17, not to fight, but only to behold the deliverance wrought by the Lord. Probably it was liers in wait of the Seirites, greedy of spoil, who from an ambush made an attack upon the Ammonites and Moabites, and by the divine leading put the attacked in such fear and confusion, that they turned furiously upon the inhabitants of Mount Seir, who marched with them, and then fell to fighting with each other; just as, in Judg. vii. 22 f., the Midianites were, under divine influence, so terrified by the unexpected attack of the small band led by Gideon, that they turned their swords against and mutually destroyed each other. **וַיִּכְבְּלוּם בַּיּוֹשֶׁבִי שׁ**, and when they had come to an end (were finished) among the inhabitants of Seir, when they had massacred these, they helped the one against the other to destruction (**מִשְׁחִית** is a substantive, as xxii. 4, Ezek. v. 16, etc.).—Ver. 24. Now, when Judah came to the height in the wilderness (**מִצְפֶּה**, *specula*, watch-tower, here a height in the wilderness of Tekoa, whence one might look out over the wilderness Jeruel, ver. 16), and turned, or was about to turn, against the multitude of the enemy (**הָרְבֹּחַ** referring back to ver. 12), behold, they saw “corpses lying upon the earth, and none had escaped,” i.e. they saw corpses in such multitude lying there, that to all appearance none had escaped.—Ver. 25. So Jehoshaphat, with his people, came (as Jahaziel had announced, not to fight, but only to make booty) and found among them (**בָּרֶם**, among or by the fallen) in abundance both wealth and corpses and precious vessels. The mention of **פְּנִינִים** as part of the booty, between **רֶכֶשׁ** and the precious vessels, is somewhat surprising. Some Codd. (4 Kennic. and 3 de Rossi) and various ancient editions (Complut., the Brixenian used by Luther, the Bomberg. of date 1518 and 21, and the Münster) have, instead of it, **בְּגָדִים**; but it is very questionable if the LXX. and Vulg. have it (cf. de Rossi *variae lectt. ad h. l.*). **בְּגָדִים**, garments, along with **רֶכֶשׁ**, moveable property (cattle, tents, etc.), seems to suit better, and is



therefore held by Dathe and Berth. to be the correct and original reading. Yet the proofs of this are not decisive, for פָּנִים is much better attested, and we need not necessarily take רָכָשׁ to mean living and dead cattle; but just as רָכָשׁ denotes property of any kind, which, among nomadic tribes, consists principally in cattle, we may also take פָּנִים in the signification of slain men and beasts—the clothes of the men and the accoutrements and ornaments of the beasts (cf. Judg. viii. 26) being a by no means worthless booty. Garments as such are not elsewhere met with in enumerations of things taken as booty, in Judg. viii. 26 only the purple robes of the Midianite princes being spoken of; and to the remark that the before-mentioned פָּנִים has given rise to the changing of פָּנִים into פָּנִים, we may oppose the equally well-supported conjecture, that the apparently unsuitable meaning of the word פָּנִים may have given rise to the alteration of it into בְּגָדִים. בְּגָדִים חֲמָוֹת are probably in the main gold and silver ornaments, such as are enumerated in Judg. viii. 25 f. And they spoiled for themselves לֹאֵן כֶּסֶף, “there was not carrying,” i.e. in such abundance that it could not be carried away, removed, and plundered in three days, because the booty was so great. The unusually large quantity of booty is accounted for by the fact that these peoples had gone forth with all their property to drive the Israelites out of their inheritance, and to take possession of their land for themselves; so that this invasion of Judah was a kind of migration of the peoples, such as those which, at a later time, have been repeated on a gigantic scale, and have poured forth from Central Asia over the whole of Europe. In this, the purpose of the hostile hordes, we must seek the reason for their destruction by a miracle wrought of God. Because they intended to drive the people of Israel out of the land given them by God, and to destroy them, the Lord was compelled to come to the help of His people, and to destroy their enemies.—Ver. 26. On the fourth day the men of Judah gathered themselves together, to give thanks to God the Lord for this blessing, in a valley which thence received the name עֵמֶק בְּרָכָה (valley of blessing), and which cannot have been far from the battle-field. Thence they joyfully returned, with Jehoshaphat at their head, to Jerusalem, and went up, the Levites and priests performing solemn music, to the house of God, to render further thanks to the Lord for His wondrous help (ver. 27 f.). The ancient name בְּרָכָה still exists in the Wady Bereikut, to the west of Tekoa, near

the road which leads from Hebron to Jerusalem. "A wide, open valley, and upon its west side, on a small rising ground, are the ruins of Bereikut, which cover from three to four acres" (Robinson's *New Biblical Researches*, and *Phys. Geogr.* S. 106 ; cf. v. de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 292). Jerome makes mention of the place in *Vita Paulæ*, where he narrates that Paula, standing in *supercilio Caphar baruca*, looked out thence upon the wide desert, and the former land of Sodom and Gomorrah (cf. Reland, *Pal. illustr.* pp. 356 and 685). There is no ground, on the other hand, for the identification of the valley of blessing with the upper part of the valley of Kidron, which, according to Joel iv. 2, 12, received the name of Valley of Jehoshaphat (see on Joel iv. 2).—On ver. 27b, cf. Ezra vi. 22, Neh. xii. 43.—Ver. 29. The fame of this victory of the Lord over the enemies of Israel caused the terror of God to be spread abroad over all the kingdoms of the surrounding lands, in consequence of which the kingdom of Judah had rest (cf. xvii. 10). On the last clause of ver. 30, cf. xv. 15. This wonderful act of the Lord is made the subject of praise to God in the Korahite Psalms, xlvii., xlviii., and xlviii., and perhaps also in Ps. lxxxiii., composed by an Asaphite, perhaps Jahaziel (see Del. Introduction to these Psalms).

Vers. 31–37. Concluding notes on Jehoshaphat's reign, which are found also in 1 Kings xxii. 41–51, where they, supplemented by some notes (vers. 45, 48, and 49) which are wanting in the Chronicle, form the whole account of his reign. In the statements as to Jehoshaphat's age at his accession, and the length and character of his reign, both accounts agree, except that the author of the Chronicle has, instead of the stereotyped formula, "and the people still sacrificed and offered incense upon the high places," a remark more significant of the state of affairs: "and the people had not yet determinedly turned their heart to the God of their fathers" (ver. 33). The notice that Jehoshaphat made peace with the king of Israel (Kings, ver. 45) is not found in the Chronicle, because that would, as a matter of course, follow from Jehoshaphat's having joined affinity with the royal house of Ahab, and had been already sufficiently attested by the narrative in chap. xviii., and is so still further by the undertaking spoken of in ver. 35 ff. For the same reason, the clause introduced in 1 Kings xxii. 46 about the valiant acts and the wars of Jehoshaphat is omitted in the Chronicle, as these acts have been

specially narrated here. As to Jehu's speeches, which were put into the book of Kings, see the Introduction, p. 34. Further, the remark on the driving out of the remaining Sodomites (שְׂדֹמִי) from the land, 1 Kings xxii. 47, which refers back to 1 Kings xv. 12, is wanting here, because this speciality is not mentioned in the case of Asa. Finally, the remark that Edom had no king, but only a viceroy or deputy, serves in 1 Kings xxii. 48 only as an introduction to the succeeding account of Jehoshaphat's attempt to open up anew the sea traffic with Ophir. But on that subject the author of the Chronicle only recounts in vers. 35-37 that Jehoshaphat allied himself with the godless Ahaziah the king of Israel to build in Ezion-gaber ships to go to Tarshish, was censured for it by the prophet Eliezer, who announced to him that Jahve would destroy his work, and that thereupon the ships were broken, doubtless by a storm, and so could not go upon the voyage. אֶחָזִיָּהּ does not definitely fix the time (cf. xx. 1), but only states that the alliance with Ahaziah took place after the victory over the Ammonites and Moabites. Ahaziah ascended the throne in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, and reigned scarcely two years, and the enterprise under discussion falls in that period. אֶחָזִיָּהּ is an Aramaic form for הֶחָזִיָּהּ. The last clause of ver. 38, "he did wickedly," Bertheau refers to Jehoshaphat: he did wrong; because the context shows that these words are intended to contain a censure on Jehoshaphat for his connection with the king of the northern kingdom. But this remark, though substantially correct, by no means proves that הוּא refers to Jehoshaphat. The words contain a censure on Jehoshaphat on account of his alliance with Ahaziah, even if they describe Ahaziah's conduct. We must, with the older commentators, take the words to refer to Ahaziah, for הָרָשָׁעִי is much too strong a word for Jehoshaphat's fault in the matter. The author of the Chronicle does indeed use the word הָרָשָׁעִי of Jehoshaphat's grandson Ahaziah, xxii. 3, in the clause, "his mother, a daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, was for הָרָשָׁעִי his counsellor," but only that he may characterize the acts of the Ahabic house. Jehoshaphat allied himself with the wicked Ahaziah to build ships לִלְכֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ, to go to Tarshish; and they built ships at Ezion-gaber, i.e. on the Red Sea. Instead of this, we have in 1 Kings xxii. 49: Jehoshaphat built Tarshish ships to go to Ophir for gold. Hence it is manifest that in both passages the same undertaking is spoken of, and the expression

"Tarshish ships" is paraphrased in the Chronicle by "ships to go to Tarshish." This periphrasis is, however, a mistake; for Tarshish ships are merely ships which, like those going to Tarshish, were built for long sea voyages, for Jehoshaphat merely desired to renew the voyages to Ophir. With the exception of this erroneous interpretation of the words, Tarshish ships, the two narratives agree, if we only keep in mind the fact that both are incomplete extracts from a more detailed account of this enterprise. The Chronicle supplies us with an explanatory commentary on the short account in 1 Kings xxii. 49, both in the statement that Jehoshaphat allied himself with Ahaziah of Israel for the preparation of the ships, and also in communicating the word of the prophet Eliezer as to the enterprise, which makes clear to us the reason for the destruction of the ships; while in 1 Kings xxii. 49 merely the fact of their destruction is recorded. Of the prophet Eliezer nothing further is known than the saying here communicated. His father's name, Dodavahu, is analogous in form to Hodavya, Joshavya (see on 1 Chron. iii. 24), so that there is no good ground to alter it into יְהוֹרִי, friend of Jahve, after the *Δωδία* of the LXX. As to Mareshah, see on xi. 8. The perfect מָרַץ is prophetic: Jahve will rend thy work asunder. The words which follow record the fulfilment. מָרַץ as in xiii. 20, xiv. 10. With this the chronicler's account of this enterprise concludes; while in 1 Kings xxii. 50 it is further stated that, after the destruction of the ships first built, Ahaziah called upon Jehoshaphat still to undertake the Ophir voyage in common with him, and to build new ships for the purpose, but Jehoshaphat would not. The ground of his refusal may easily be gathered from ver. 37 of the Chronicle.

CHAP. XXI.—JEHOSHAPHAT'S DEATH, AND THE REIGN OF HIS SON JORAM.

The account of the death and burial of Jehoshaphat is carried over to chap. xxi., because Joram's first act after Jehoshaphat's death, ver. 2 ff., stands in essential connection with that event, since Joram began his reign with the murder of all his brothers, the sons of Jehoshaphat (vers. 2-4). The further account of Joram (vers. 5-10) agrees almost verbally with the account in 2 Kings viii. 17-22; then in vers. 12-19 there follows further information as to the divine chastisements inflicted upon Joram

for his crime, which is not found in 2 Kings; and in ver. 20 we have remarks on his end, which correspond to the statements in 2 Kings viii. 24.

Vers. 1-4. *Jehoshaphat's death, and the slaughter of his sons by Joram.*—Vers. 2, 3. Joram had six brothers, whom their father had plentifully supplied with means of subsistence—presents in silver, gold, and precious things—"in the fenced cities of Judah;" i.e. he had made them, as Rehoboam also had made his sons, commandants of fortresses, with ample revenues; but the kingdom he gave to Joram as the first-born. Among the six names two Azariahs occur,—the one written Azariah, the other Azarjahu. Jehoshaphat is called king of Israel instead of king of Judah, because he as king walked in the footsteps of Israel, Jacob the wrestler with God, and was a true king of God's people.—Ver. 4. Now when Joram ascended (raised himself to) the throne of his father, and attained to power (מָלָךְ as in i. 1), he slew all his brethren with the sword, and also some of the princes of Israel, i.e. the tribal princes of his kingdom. It could hardly be from avarice that he slew his brothers, merely to get possession of their property; probably it was because they did not sympathize with the political course which he was entering upon, and disapproved of the idolatrous conduct of Joram and his wife Athaliah. This may be gathered from the fact that in ver. 13 they are called better than Joram. The princes probably drew down upon themselves the wrath of Joram, or of his heathen consort, by disapproving of the slaughter of the royal princes, or by giving other signs of discontent with the spirit of their reign.

Vers. 5-10. *Duration and spirit of Joram's reign.*—These verses agree with 2 Kings viii. 17-22, with the exception of some immaterial divergences, and have been commented upon in the remarks on that passage.—In ver. 7 the thought is somewhat otherwise expressed than in ver. 19 (Kings): "Jahve would not destroy the house of David, because of the covenant that He had made with David;" instead of, "He would not destroy Judah because of David His servant, as He had said." Instead of לָחֵם לֵי יְהוָה we have in the Chronicle לֵי יְהוָה לָחֵם, to give him a lamp, and that in respect of his sons, being inserted before לָבְנוּ to bring the idea more prominently forward. In regard to שָׁרִי, ver. 9, instead of מַעֲרִיב, Kings ver. 21, see on 2 Kings *loc. cit.* At the end of ver. 9 the words, "and the people fled to their

tents" (ver. 21, Kings), whereby the notice of Joram's attempt to bring Edom again under his sway, which is in itself obscure enough, becomes yet more obscure.—Ver. 10 f. The chronicler concludes the account of the revolt of Edom and of the city of Libnah against Judah's dominion with the reflection: "For he (Joram) had forsaken Jahve the God of the fathers," and consequently had brought this revolt upon himself, the Lord punishing him thereby for his sin. "Yea, even high places did he make." The בָּמֹת placed at the beginning may be connected with בָּמֹת (cf. Isa. xxx. 33), while the subject is emphasized by אֵלֹהִים: The same who had forsaken the God of the fathers, made also high places, which Asa and Jehoshaphat had removed, xiv. 2, 4, xvii. 6. "And he caused the inhabitants of Jerusalem to commit fornication," i.e. seduced them into the idolatrous worship of Baal. That the Hiph. הִפְחִיחַ is to be understood of the spiritual whoredom of Baal-worship we learn from ver. 13: "as the house of Ahab caused to commit fornication." וַיִּפְחִיחַ, "and misled Judah," i.e. drew them away by violence from the right way. וַיִּפְחִיחַ is to be interpreted in accordance with Deut. xiii. 6, 11.

Vers. 12–19. The prophet Elijah's letter against Joram, and the infliction of the punishments as announced.—Ver. 12. There came to him a writing from the prophet Elijah to this effect: "Thus saith Jahve, the God of thy father David, Because thou hast not walked in the ways of Jehoshaphat, . . . but hast walked in the way of the kings of Israel, . . . and also hast slain thy brethren, the house of thy father, who were better than thyself; behold, Jahve will send a great plague upon thy people, and upon thy sons, and thy wives, and upon all thy goods; and thou shalt have great sickness, by disease of thy bowels, until thy bowels fall out by reason of the sickness day by day." כְּתָב, writing, is a written prophetic threatening, in which his sins are pointed out to Joram, and the divine punishment for them announced. In regard to this statement, we need not be surprised that nothing is elsewhere told us of any written prophecies of Elijah; for we have no circumstantial accounts of his prophetic activity, by which we might estimate the circumstances which may have induced him in this particular instance to commit his prophecy to writing. But, on the other hand, it is very questionable if Elijah was still alive in the reign of Joram of Judah. His translation to heaven is narrated in 2 Kings ii., between the reign of Ahaziah and Joram of Israel, but the year of the event

is nowhere stated in Scripture. In the Jewish Chronicle *Seder olam*, chap. xvii. 45, it is indeed placed in the second year of Ahaziah of Israel; but this statement is not founded upon historical tradition, but is a mere deduction from the fact that his translation is narrated in 2 Kings ii. immediately after Ahaziah's death; and the last act of Elijah of which we have any record (2 Kings i.) falls in the second year of that king. Lightfoot, indeed (*Opp.* i. p. 85), Ramb., and Dereser have concluded from 2 Kings iii. 11 that Elijah was taken away from the earth in the reign of Jehoshaphat, because according to that passage, in the campaign against the Moabites, undertaken in company with Joram of Israel, Jehoshaphat inquired for a prophet, and received the answer that Elisha was there, who had poured water upon the hands of Elijah. But the only conclusion to be drawn from that is, that in the camp, or near it, was Elisha, Elijah's servant, not that Elijah was no longer upon earth. The perfect *אֵלֶּיךָ אֲשֶׁר* seems indeed to imply this; but it is questionable if we may so press the perfect, i.e. whether the speaker made use of it, or whether it was employed only by the later historian. The words are merely a periphrasis to express the relationship of master and servant in which Elijah stood to Elisha, and tell us only that the latter was Elijah's attendant. But Elisha had entered upon this relationship to Elijah long before Elijah's departure from the earth (1 Kings xix. 19 ff.). Elijah may therefore have still been alive under Joram of Judah; and Berth. accordingly thinks it "antecedently probable that he spoke of Joram's sins, and threatened him with punishment. But the letter," so he further says, "is couched in quite general terms, and gives, moreover, merely a prophetic explanation of the misfortunes with which Joram was visited;" whence we may conclude that in its present form it is the work of a historian living at a later time, who describes the relation of Elijah to Joram in few words, and according to his conception of it as a whole. This judgment rests on dogmatic grounds, and flows from a principle which refuses to recognise any supernatural prediction in the prophetic utterances. The contents of the letter can be regarded as a prophetic exposition of the misfortunes which broke in, as it were, upon Joram, only by those who deny *à priori* that there is any special prediction in the speeches of the prophets, and hold all prophecies which contain such to be *vaticinia post eventum*. Somewhat more weighty is the objection raised against the

view that Elijah was still upon earth, to the effect that the divine threatenings would make a much deeper impression upon Joram by the very fact that the letter came from a prophet who was no longer in life, and would thus more easily bring him to the knowledge that the Lord is the living God, who had in His hand his breath and all his ways, and who knew all his acts. Thus the writing would smite the conscience of Joram like a voice from the other world (Dächsel). But this whole remark is founded only upon subjective conjectures and presumptions, for which actual analogies are wanting. For the same reason we cannot regard the remark of Menken as very much to the point, when he says: "If a man like Elias were to speak again upon earth, after he had been taken from it, he must do it from the clouds: this would harmonize with the whole splendour of his course in life; and, in my opinion, that is what actually occurred." For although we do not venture "to mark the limits to which the power and sphere of activity of the perfected saints is extended," yet we are not only justified, but also bound in duty, to judge of those facts of revelation which are susceptible of different interpretations, according to the analogy of the whole Scripture. But the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments know nothing of any communications by writing between the perfected saints in heaven and men; indeed, they rather teach the contrary in the parable of the rich man<sup>1</sup> (Luke xvi. 31). There are consequently no sufficient grounds for believing that the glorified Elijah either sent a letter to Joram from heaven by an angel, or commissioned any living person to write the letter. The statement of the narrative, "there came to him a writing from Elijah the prophet," cannot well be understood to mean anything else than that Elijah wrote the threatening prophecy which follows; but we have no certain proof that Elijah was then no longer alive, but had been already received into heaven. The time of his translation cannot be exactly fixed. He was still alive in the second year of Ahaziah of Israel; for he an-

<sup>1</sup> "*Neque enim,*" says Ramb., "*ulla ratione credibile est, Deum in gratiam impij regis ejusmodi quid fecisse, cujus nullum alias exemplum exstat; immo quod nec necessarium erat, quum plures aliæ essent rationes, quibus Deus voluntatem suam ei manifestare poterat; coll. Luc. xvi. 27, 29.*" And, still more conclusively, Calov. declares: "*Non enim triumphantium in cælis est erudire aut ad pœnitentiam revocare mortales in terra. Habent Mosen et prophetas, si illos non audiant, neque si quis ex mortuis resurrexerit, nedum si quis ex cælis literas perscripserit, credent Luc. xvi. 31.*"



nounced to this king upon his sick-bed that he would die of his fall (2 Kings i.). Most probably he was still alive also at the commencement of the reign of Joram of Israel, who ascended the throne twenty-three years after Ahab. Jehoshaphat died six or seven years later; and after his death, his successor Joram slew his brothers, the other sons of Jehoshaphat. Elijah may have lived to see the perpetration of this crime, and may consequently also have sent the threatening prophecy which is under discussion to Joram. As he first appeared under Ahab, on the above supposition, he would have filled the office of prophet for about thirty years; while his servant Elisha, whom he chose to be his successor as early as in the reign of Ahab (1 Kings xix. 16), died only under Joash of Israel (2 Kings xiii. 14 f.), who became king fifty-seven years after Ahab's death, and must consequently have discharged the prophetic functions for at least sixty years. But even if we suppose that Elijah had been taken away from the earth before Jehoshaphat's death, we may, with Buddæus, Ramb., and other commentators, accept this explanation: that the Lord had revealed to him Joram's wickedness before his translation, and had commissioned him to announce to Joram in writing the divine punishment which would follow, and to send this writing to him at the proper time. This would entirely harmonize with the mode of action of this great man of God. To him God had revealed the elevation of Jehu to the throne of Israel, and the extirpation of the house of Ahab by him, together with the accession of Hazael, and the great oppressions which he would inflict upon Israel,—all events which took place only after the death of Joram of Judah. Him, too, God had commissioned even under Ahab to anoint Jehu to be king over Israel (1 Kings xix. 16), which Elisha caused to be accomplished by a prophetic scholar fourteen years later (2 Kings ix. 1 ff.); and to him the Lord may also have revealed the iniquity of Joram, Jehoshaphat's successor, even as early as the second year of Ahaziah of Israel, when he announced to this king his death seven years before Jehoshaphat's death, and may have then commissioned him to announce the divine punishment of his sin. But if Elijah committed the anointing of both Hazael and Jehu to his servant Elisha, why may he not also have committed to him the delivery of this threatening prophecy which he had drawn up in writing? Without bringing forward in support of this such hypotheses as that the contents of the letter would have all the

greater effect, since it would seem as if the man of God were speaking to him from beyond the grave (O. v. Gerlach), we have yet a perfect right to suppose that a written word from the terrible man whom the Lord had accredited as His prophet by fire from heaven, in his struggle against Baal-worship under Ahab and Ahaziah, would be much better fitted to make an impression upon Joram and his consort Athaliah, who was walking in the footsteps of her mother Jezebel, than a word of Elisha, or any other prophet who was not endowed with the spirit and power of Elijah.

Elijah's writing pointed out to Joram two great transgressions: (1) his forsaking the Lord for the idolatrous worship of the house of Ahab, and also his seducing the people into this sin; and (2) the murder of his brothers. For the punishment of the first transgression he announced to him a great smiting which God would inflict upon his people, his family, and his property; for the second crime he foretold heavy bodily chastisements, by a dreadful disease which would terminate fatally. יָמִים עַל יָמִים, ver. 15, is *accus.* of duration: days on days, i.e. continuing for days added to days; cf. כָּפוּ שָׁנָה עַל שָׁנָה, Isa. xxix. 1. יָמִים Berth. takes to mean a period of a year, so that by this statement of time a period of two years is fixed for the duration of the disease before death. But the words in themselves cannot have this signification; it can only be a deduction from ver. 18. These two threats of punishment were fulfilled. The fulfilment of the first is recorded in ver. 16 f. God stirred up the spirit of the Philistines and the Arabians (הָעִיר אֶת רִיחַ), as in 1 Chron. v. 26), so that they came up against Judah, and broke it, i.e. violently pressed into the land as conquerors (בָּקַע, to split, then to conquer cities by breaking through their walls; cf. 2 Kings xxv. 4, etc.), and carried away all the goods that were found in the king's house, with the wives and sons of Joram, except Jehoahaz the youngest (xxii. 1). Movers (*Chron.* S. 122), Credner, Hitz., and others on Joel iv. 5, Berth., etc., conclude from this that these enemies captured Jerusalem and plundered it. But this can hardly be the case; for although Jerusalem belonged to Judah, and might be included in בִּירוּשָׁלַם, yet as a rule Jerusalem is specially named along with Judah as being the chief city; and neither the conquest of Judah, nor the carrying away of the goods from the king's house, and of the king's elder sons, with certainty involves the capture of the capital. The opinion

that by the "substance which was found in the king's house" we are to understand the treasures of the royal palace, is certainly incorrect. רכוש denotes property of any sort; and what the property of the king or of the king's house might include, we may gather from the catalogue of the אֲצִרוֹת of David, in the country, in the cities, villages, and castles, 1 Chron. xxvii. 25 ff., where they consist in vineyards, forests, and herds of cattle, and together with the אֲצִרוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ formed the property (הָרְכוּשׁ) of King David. All this property the conquering Philistines and Arabians who had pressed into Judah might carry away without having captured Jerusalem. But בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ denotes here, not the royal palace, but the king's family; for הַמִּצְעָה לְבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ does not denote what was found in the palace, but what of the possessions of the king's house they found. נִמְצָא with לְ is not synonymous with נִמְצָא בְּ, but denotes to be attained, possessed by; cf. Josh. xvii. 16 and Deut. xxi. 17. Had Jerusalem been plundered, the treasures of the palace and of the temple would also have been mentioned: 2 Chron. xxv. 24, xii. 9; 2 Kings xiv. 13 f. and 1 Kings xiv. 26; cf. Kuhlmei, *alttestl. Studien in der Luther. Ztschr.* 1844, iii. S. 82 ff. Nor does the carrying away of the wives and children of King Joram presuppose the capture of Jerusalem, as we learn from the more exact account of the matter in xxii. 1.—Ver. 18 f. The second punishment fell upon the body and life of the king. The Lord smote him in his bowels to (with) disease, for which there was no healing. לֹא־יָרָם מְרַפָּא is in apposition to לֹא־יָרָם, literally, "to not being healing."—Ver. 19. And it came to pass in days after days (i.e. when a number of days had passed), and that at the time (וּבְעֵת) of the expiration of the end in two days, then his bowels went out during his sickness, and he died in sore pains (תַּחֲלָאִים, phenomena of disease, i.e. pains). The words וּבְעֵת צֵאת הַקֶּץ לְיָמִים שְׁנַיִם are generally translated as if לְיָמִים שְׁנַיִם were a mere periphrasis of the *stat. constr.* Vatabl. and Cler., for example, translate: *et secundum tempus egrediendi finis annorum duorum*, i.e. *postquam advenit finis a. d.*, or *cum exacti essent duo anni*; similarly Berth.: "at the time of the approach of the end of two times." But against this we have not only the circumstance that no satisfactory reason for the use of this periphrasis for the genitive can be perceived, and that no analogies can be found for the expression הַקֶּץ לְיָמִים שְׁנַיִם, the end of two years, instead of קֶץ הַיָּמִים שְׁנַיִם; but also the more decisive linguistic reason that צֵאת הַקֶּץ cannot denote the approach of the

end, but only the expiry, the running out of the end; and finally, that the supposition that יָמִים here and in ver. 15 denotes a year is without foundation. Schmidt and Ramb. have already given a better explanation: *quumque esset tempus, quo exiit finis s. quum exiret ac compleretur terminus ille, in epistola Eliae v. 15 præfixus*; but in this case also we should expect יָמִים הַיָּמִים, since יָמִים לַיָּמִים should point back to יָמִים עַל יָמִים, and contain a more exact definition of the terms employed in ver. 15, which are not definite enough. We therefore take יָמִים הַיָּמִים by itself, and translate: At the time of the end, i.e. when the end, sc. of life or of the disease, had come about two days, i.e. about two days before the issue of the end of the disease, then the bowels went out of the body—they flowed out from the body as devoured by the disease. עַם הַלֵּל, in, during the sickness, consequently before the decease (cf. for עַם in this signification, Ps. lxxii. 5, Dan. iii. 33). Trusen (*Sitten, Gebr. und Krankh. der alten Hebräer*, S. 212 f.) holds this disease to have been a violent dysentery (diarrhœa), "being an inflammation of the nervous tissue (*Nervenhaut*) of the whole great intestine, which causes the overlying mucous membrane to decay and peel off, which then falls out often in tube-shape, so that the intestines appear to fall from the body." His people did not make a burning for him like the burning of his fathers, cf. xvi. 14; that is, denied him the honours usual at burial, because of their discontent with his evil reign.—Ver. 20. The repetition of his age and the length of his reign (cf. ver. 6) is accounted for by the fact that the last section of this chapter is derived from a special source; wherein these notes likewise were contained. The peculiarity of the language and the want of the current expressions of our historian also favour the idea that some special authority has been used here. "And he departed, mourned by none." Luther erroneously translates, "and walked in a way which was not right" (*und wandelt das nicht fein war*), after the "*ambulavit non recte*" of the Vulg.; for הִמָּדָה denotes, not a good walk, but *desiderium*, בְּלֹא הִמָּדָה, *sine desiderio*, i.e. *a nemine desideratus*. הִלָּךְ, to depart, i.e. die, as Gen. xv. 2. Moreover, though he was buried in the city of David, yet he was not laid in the graves of the kings, by which act also a judgment was pronounced upon his reign; cf. xxiv. 25 and xxvi. 23.

CHAP. XXII.—THE REIGNS OF AHAZIAH AND THE IMPIOUS  
ATHALIAH.

Vers. 1-9. *Ahaziah's reign of a year, and his death.*—The account of Ahaziah in 2 Kings viii. 26-29 agrees with our narrative, except that there the reflections of the chronicler on the spirit of his government are wanting; but, on the contrary, the account of his death is very brief in the Chronicle (vers. 6-9), while in 2 Kings ix. and x. the extirpation of the Ahabic house by Jehu, in the course of which Ahaziah was slain with his relatives, is narrated at length.—Ver. 1. Instead of the short stereotyped notice, “and Ahaziah his son was king in his stead,” with which 2 Kings viii. 24 concludes the history of Joram, the Chronicle gives more exact information as to Ahaziah’s accession: “The inhabitants of Jerusalem made Ahaziah, his youngest son (who is called in xxi. 17 Jehoahaz), king in his stead; for all the elder (sons), the band which had come among the Arabs to the camp had slain.” In מְלִיכָה we have a hint that Ahaziah’s succession was disputed or doubtful; for where the son follows the father on the throne without opposition, it is simply said in the Chronicle also, “and his son was king in his stead.” But the only person who could contest the throne with Ahaziah, since all the other sons of Joram who would have had claims upon it were not then alive, was his mother Athaliah, who usurped the throne after his death. All the elder sons (הַזְּקֵנִים, the earlier born) were slain by the troop which had come among (with) the Arabians (see xxi. 16 f.) into the camp,—not of the Philistines (Cler.), but of the men of Judah; that is, they were slain by a reconnoitring party, which, in the invasion of Judah by the Philistines and Arabs, surprised the camp of the men of Judah, and slew the elder sons of Joram, who had marched to the war. Probably they did not cut them down on the spot, but (according to xxi. 17) took them prisoners and slew them afterwards.—Ver. 2. The number 42 is an orthographical error for 22 (א having been changed into ב), 2 Kings viii. 26. As Joram was thirty-two years of age at his accession, and reigned eight years (xxi. 20 and 5), at his death his youngest son could not be older than twenty-one or twenty-two years of age, and even then Joram must have begotten him in his eighteenth or nineteenth year. It is quite consistent with this that Joram had yet older sons; for in the East marriages are entered upon at a very early

age, and the royal princes were wont to have several wives, or, besides their proper wives, concubines also. Certainly, had Ahaziah had forty-two older brothers, as Berth. and other critics conclude from 2 Kings x. 13 f., then he could not possibly have been begotten, or been born, in his father's eighteenth year. But that idea rests merely upon an erroneous interpretation of the passage quoted; see on ver. 8. Ahaziah's mother Athaliah is called the daughter, *i.e.* granddaughter, of Omri, as in 2 Kings viii. 26, because he was the founder of the idolatrous dynasty of the kingdom of the ten tribes.—Ver. 3. He also (like his father Joram, xxi. 6) walked in the ways of the house of Ahab. This statement is accounted for by the clause: for his mother (a daughter of Ahab and the godless Jezebel) was his counsellor to do evil, *i.e.* led him to give himself up to the idolatry of the house of Ahab.—Ver. 4. The further remark also, "he did that which was displeasing in the sight of the Lord, like the house of Ahab," is similarly explained; for they (the members of the house of Ahab related to him through his mother) were counsellors to him after the death of his father to his destruction, cf. xx. 23; while in 2 Kings viii. 27, the relationship alone is spoken of as the reason of his evil-doing. How far this counsel led to his destruction is narrated in ver. 5 and onwards, and the narrative is introduced by the words, "He walked also in their counsel;" whence it is clear beyond all doubt, that Ahaziah entered along with Joram, Ahab's son, upon the war which was to bring about the destruction of Ahab's house, and to cost him his life, on the advice of Ahab's relations. There is no doubt that Joram, Ahab's son, had called upon Ahaziah to take part in the war against the Syrians at Ramoth Gilead (see on xviii. 28), and that Athaliah with her party supported his proposal, so that Ahaziah complied. In the war the Aramæans (Syrians) smote Joram; *i.e.*, according to ver. 6, they wounded him (הַרְמִים is a contraction for הַרְמָרִים, 2 Kings viii. 28). In consequence of this Joram returned to Jezreel, the summer residence of the Ahabic royal house (1 Kings xviii. 45), the present Zerin; see on Josh. xix. 18. מֵן הַפְּסִים has no meaning, and is merely an error for מִן הַפְּסִים, 2 Kings viii. 29, which indeed is the reading of several Codd.: to let himself be cured of his strokes (wounds). מְוַרְרֵי, too, is an orthographical error for וְאַחֲזִיָּה: and Ahaziah went down to visit the wounded Joram, his brother-in-law. Whether he went from Jerusalem or from the loftily-situated Ramah cannot

be with certainty determined, for we have no special account of the course of the war, and from 2 Kings ix. 14 f. we only learn that the Israelite army remained in Ramoth after the return of the wounded Joram. It is therefore probable that Ahaziah went direct from Ramoth to visit Joram, but it is not ascertained; for there is nothing opposed to the supposition that, after Joram had been wounded in the battle, and while the Israelite host remained to hold the city against the Syrian king Hazael, Ahaziah had returned to his capital, and thence went after some time to visit the wounded Joram in Jezreel.

Vers. 7-9. Without touching upon the conspiracy against Joram, narrated in 2 Kings ix., at the head of which was Jehu, the captain of the host, whom God caused to be anointed king over Israel by a scholar of the prophets deputed by Elisha, and whom he called upon to extirpate the idolatrous family of Ahab, since it did not belong to the plan of the Chronicle to narrate the history of Israel, our historian only briefly records the slaughter of Ahaziah and his brother's sons by Jehu as being the result of a divine dispensation.—Ver. 7. "And of God was (came) the destruction (תְּבוּסָה, a being trodden down, a formation which occurs here only) of Ahaziah, that he went to Joram;" i.e. under divine leading had Ahaziah come to Joram, there to find his death. וַיֵּצֵא, And when he was come, he went out with Joram against Jehu (instead of אֶל־יְהוּ, we have in 2 Kings ix. 21 the more distinct לְקִרְאֵת יְהוּ, towards Jehu) the son of Nimshi, whom God had anointed to extirpate the house of Ahab (2 Kings ix. 1-10).—Ver. 8. When Jehu was executing judgment upon the house of Ahab (נִשְׁפָּט usually construed with אִתּוֹ, to be at law with any one, to administer justice; cf. Isa. lxvi. 16, Ezek. xxxviii. 22), he found the princes of Judah, and the sons of the brothers of Ahaziah, serving Ahaziah, and slew them. מַשְׁרָתָיו, i.e. in the train of King Ahaziah as his servants. As to when and where Jehu met the brothers' sons of Ahaziah and slew them, we have no further statement, as the author of the Chronicle mentions that fact only as a proof of the divinely directed extirpation of all the members of the idolatrous royal house. In 2 Kings x. 12-14 we read that Jehu, after he had extirpated the whole Israelite royal house—Joram and Jezebel, and the seventy sons of Ahab—went to Samaria, there to eradicate the Baal-worship, and upon his way thither met the brothers of Ahaziah the king of Judah, and caused them to be taken

alive, and then slain, to the number of forty-two. These <sup>אַרְבָּעִים</sup> <sup>אַרְבָּעִים</sup>, forty-two men, cannot have been actual brothers of Ahaziah, since all Ahaziah's brethren had, according to ver. 1 and xxi. 17, been slain in the reign of Joram, in the invasion of the Philistines and Arabians. They must be brothers only in the wider sense, *i.e.* cousins and nephews of Ahaziah, as Movers (S. 258) and Ewald recognise, along with the older commentators. The Chronicle, therefore, is quite correct in saying, "sons of the brethren of Ahaziah," and along with these princes of Judah, who, according to the context, can only be princes who held offices at court, especially such as were entrusted with the education and guardianship of the royal princes. Perhaps these are included in the number forty-two (Kings). But even if this be not the case, we need not suppose that there were forty-two brothers' sons, or nephews of Ahaziah, since <sup>אֶחָיו</sup> includes cousins also, and in the text of the Chronicle no number is stated, although forty-two nephews would not be an unheard-of number; and we do not know how many elder brothers Ahaziah had. Certainly the nephews or brothers' sons of Ahaziah cannot have been very old, since Ahaziah's father Joram died at the age of forty, and Ahaziah, who, became king in his twenty-second year, reigned only one year. But from the early development of posterity in southern lands, and the polygamy practised by the royal princes, Joram might easily have had in his fortieth year a considerable number of grandsons from five to eight years old, and boys of from six to nine years might quite well make a journey with their tutors to Jezreel to visit their relations. In this way the divergent statements as to the slaughter of the brothers and brothers' sons of Ahaziah, contained in 2 Kings ix. and in our 8th verse, may be reconciled, without our being compelled, as Berth. thinks we are, to suppose that there were two different traditions on this subject.—Ver. 9. And he (Jehu) sought Ahaziah, and they (Jehu's body-guard or his warriors) caught him while he was hiding in Samaria, and brought him to Jehu, and slew him. Then they (his servants, 2 Kings ix. 27) buried him, for they said: He is a son of Jehoshaphat, who sought Jahve with all his heart. We find more exact information as to Ahaziah's death in 2 Kings ix. 27 f., according to which Ahaziah, overtaken by Jehu near Jibleam in his flight before him, and smitten, *i.e.* wounded, fled to Megiddo, and there died, and was brought by his servants to Jerusalem, and buried with his fathers in the city of David. For



the reconciliation of these statements, see on 2 Kings ix. 27 f. The circumstance that in our account first the slaughter of the brothers' sons, then that of Ahaziah is mentioned, while according to 2 Kings ix. and x. the slaughter of Ahaziah would seem to have preceded, does not make any essential difference; for the short account in the Chronicle is not arranged chronologically, but according to the subject, and the death of Ahaziah is mentioned last only in order that it might be connected with the further events which occurred in Judah. The last clause of ver. 9, "and there was not to the house of Ahab one who would have possessed power for the kingdom," i.e. there was no successor on the throne to whom the government might straightway be transferred, forms a transition to the succeeding account of Athaliah's usurpation.

Vers. 10-12. *The six years' tyranny of Athaliah.*—In regard to her, all that is stated is, that after Ahaziah's death she ascended the throne, and caused all the royal seed of the house of Judah, i.e. all the male members of the royal house, to be murdered. From this slaughter only Joash the son of Ahaziah, an infant a year old, was rescued, together with his nurse, by the princess Jehoshabeath, who was married to the high priest Jehoiada. He was hidden for six years, and during that time Athaliah reigned. The same narrative, for the most part in the same words, is found in 2 Kings xi. 1-3, and has been already commented upon there.

#### CHAP. XXIII. AND XXIV.—THE FALL OF ATHALIAH, AND THE CORONATION AND REIGN OF JOASH.

After Joash had been kept in hiding for six years, the high priest Jehoiada came to the resolution to make an end of the tyranny of Athaliah, and to raise the young prince to the throne. The carrying out of this resolution is narrated in chap. xxiii., and thereafter in chap. xxiv. All that is important as to the reign of Joash is communicated.

Chap. xxiii. *Joash raised to the throne, and Athaliah slain.*—In 2 Kings xi. 4-20 we have another account of these events, in which the matter is in several points more briefly narrated, and apparently differently represented. According to both narratives, the thing was undertaken and carried out by the high

priest Jehoiada; but according to 2 Kings xi., the high priest would appear to have mainly availed himself of the co-operation of the royal body-guard in the execution of his plan, while according to the Chronicle it is the Levites and the heads of the fathers'-houses who are made use of. Thereupon De Wette, Movers, Thenius, and Bertheau consequently maintain that the author of the Chronicle, proceeding on the view that the high priest, the chief of so many priests and Levites, would not have recourse to the assistance of the royal body-guard, has altered the statements in the second book of Kings accordingly, and wishes to represent the matter in a different way. But this assertion can be made with an appearance of truth only on the presupposition, already repeatedly shown to be erroneous, that the author of the Chronicle has made the account in 2 Kings xi. the basis of his narrative, and designedly altered it, and can scarcely be upheld even by the incorrect interpretation of various words. That 2 Kings xi. is not the source from which our account has been derived, nor the basis on which it is founded, is manifest from the very first verses of the chronicler's narrative, where the names of the five princes over hundreds, with whose co-operation Jehoiada elaborated his plan and carried it into execution, are individually enumerated; while in 2 Kings xi., where the preparations for the accomplishment of the work are very briefly treated of, they will be sought for in vain. But if, on the contrary, the two accounts be recognised to be extracts confining themselves to the main points, excerpted from a more detailed narrative of the event from different points of view, the discrepancies may be at once reconciled. Instead of the short statement, 2 Kings xi. 4, that the high priest Jehoiada ordered the centurions of the royal body-guard to come to him in the temple (וַיִּבְרָא . . . יָקִיחַ), made a covenant with them, caused them to swear, and showed them the king's son, we read in the Chronicle (vers. 1-3), that the high priest Jehoiada took five centurions, whose names are stated with historical exactitude, into covenant with him, *i.e.* sent for them and made a covenant with them, and that these men then went throughout Judah, and summoned the Levites from all the cities of Judah, and the heads of the fathers'-houses of Israel, to Jerusalem; whereupon Jehoiada with the whole assembly made a covenant with the king in the house of God, and Jehoiada said to the people, "The king's son shall be king, as Jahve hath said of the sons of David." That this more

expanded narrative can without difficulty be reconciled with the summary statement in 2 Kings xi. 4, is perfectly manifest. By various devices, however, Berth. tries to bring out some discrepancies. In the first place, in the words, "Jehoiada sent and brought the princes of hundreds" (Kings, ver. 4), he presses the  $\text{שְׁלַח}$ , which is not found in the Chronicle, translates it by "he sent out," and interprets it with ver. 2 of the Chronicle; in the second, he takes  $\text{כָּל-הָעָם}$  in ver. 3 of the Chronicle to mean "the whole congregation," whereas it denotes only the assembly of the men named in vers. 1 and 2; and, thirdly, he opposes the expression, "they made a covenant with the king" (ver. 3, Chron.), to the statement (ver. 2, Kings) that Jehoiada made a covenant to the princes, by making this latter statement mean that Jehoiada made a covenant *with* the princes, but not with the king, as if this covenant concerning the coronation of Joash as king might not be called, by a shorter mode of expression, a covenant with the king, especially when the declaration, "the son of the king shall reign," follows immediately.—Vers. 4–7. The case is similar with the contradictions in the account of the carrying out of the arrangements agreed upon. In Bertheau's view, this is the state of the case: According to 2 Kings xi. 5–8, the one part of the body-guard, which on Sabbath mounted guard in the royal palace, were to divide themselves into three bands: one third was to keep the guard of the royal house, which was certainly in the neighbourhood of the main entrance; the second third was to stand at the gate Sur, probably a side-gate of the palace; the third was to stand behind the door of the runners. The other part of the body-guard, on the other hand—all those who were relieved on the Sabbath—were to occupy the temple, so as to defend the young king. But according to the representation of the Chronicle, (1) the priests and the Levites were to divide themselves into three parts: the first third, those of the priests and Levites, who entered upon their duties on the Sabbath, were to be watchers of the thresholds (cf. on 1 Chron. ix. 19 f.), *i.e.* were to mount guard in the temple as usual; the second third was to be in the house of the king (*i.e.* where the first third was to keep watch, according to 2 Kings); the third was to be at the gate Jesod. Then (2) the whole people were to stand in the courts of the temple, and, according to ver. 6, were to observe the ordinance of Jahve (chap. xiii. 11), by which they were forbidden to enter the

temple. From this Bertheau then concludes: "The guarding of the house of Jahve for the protection of the king (2 Kings xi. 7) has here become a *משמרת יחמ*." But in opposition to this, we have to remark that in 2 Kings xi. 5-8 it is not said that the royal body-guard was to be posted as guards in the royal palace and in the temple; that is only a conclusion from the fact that Jehoiada conferred on the matter with the *עֲרֵי הַמָּאֹת* of the executioners and runners, i.e. of the royal satellites, and instructed these centurions, that those entering upon the service on Sabbath were to keep watch in three divisions, and those retiring from the service in two divisions, in the following places, which are then more accurately designated. The one division of those entering upon the service were to stand, according to 2 Kings, by the gate Sur; according to the Chronicle, by the gate Jesod. The second, according to 2 Kings, was to keep the guard of the king's house; according to the Chronicle, it was to be in or by the king's house. The third was, according to 2 Kings, to be by (in) the gate behind the runners, and to keep the guard of the house Massach; according to the Chronicle, they were to serve as watchers of the thresholds. If, as is acknowledged by all, the gate סור is identical with the gate דִּיסוֹר, —although it can neither be ascertained whether the difference in name has resulted merely from an orthographical error, or rests upon a double designation of one gate; nor yet can it be pointed out what the position of this gate, which is nowhere else mentioned, was,—then the Chronicle and 2 Kings agree as to the posts which were to occupy this door. The position also of the third part, בְּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ (Chron.), will not be different from that of the third part, to which was committed the guarding of the king's house (Kings). The place where this third part took up its position is not exactly pointed out in either narrative, yet the statement, "to keep the watch of the house (temple) for warding off" (Kings), agrees with the appointment "to be guards of the thresholds" (Chron.), since the guarding of the thresholds has no other aim than to prevent unauthorized persons from entering. Now, since the young king, not merely according to the Chron., but also according to 2 Kings xi. 4,—where we are told that Jehoiada showed the son of the king to the chief men whom he had summoned to the house of Jahve,—was in the temple, and only after his coronation and Athaliah's death was led solemnly into the royal palace, we might take the king's house, the guard

of which the one third of those entering upon the service were to keep (Kings, ver. 7), to be the temple building in which the young king was, and interpret הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה in accordance with that idea. In that case, there would be no reference to the settling of guards in the palace; and that view would seem to be favoured by the circumstance that the other third part of those entering upon their service on the Sabbath were to post themselves at the gate, behind the runners, and keep the guard of the house מִפֶּחַ. That מִפֶּחַ is not a *nom. propr.*, but *appellat.*, from נָסַח, to ward off, signifying warding off, is unanimously acknowledged by modern commentators; only Thenius would alter מִפֶּחַ into וַיִּנָּסַח, "and shall ward off." Gesenius, on the contrary, in his *Thesaurus*, takes the word to be a substantive, *cum מִשְׁמֶרֶת per appositionem conjunctum*, in the signification, the guard for warding off, and translates, *et vos agetis custodiam templi ad depellendum sc. populum* (to ward off). If this interpretation be correct, then these words also do not treat of a palace guard; and to take הַבַּיִת to signify the temple is so evidently suggested by the context, according to which the high priest conducted the whole transaction in the temple, that we must have better grounds for referring the words to the royal palace than the mere presumption that, because the high priest discussed the plan with the captains of the royal body-guard, it must be the occupation of the royal palace which is spoken of. But quite apart from the Chronicle, even the further account of the matter in 2 Kings xi. is unfavourable to the placing of guards in the royal palace. According to ver. 9, the captains did exactly as Jehoiada commanded. They took each of them their men—those coming on the Sabbath, and those departing—and went to the priest Jehoiada, who gave them David's weapons out of the house of God (ver. 10), and the satellites stationed themselves in the court of the temple, and there the king was crowned. The unambiguous statement, ver. 9, that the captains, each with his men—i.e. those coming on Sabbath (entering upon the service), and those departing—came to the high priest in the temple, and there took up their position in the court, decisively excludes the idea that "those coming on the Sabbath" had occupied the guard-posts in the royal palace, and demands that the divisions mentioned in vers. 5 and 6 should be posted at different parts and gates of the temple. That one third part had assigned to it a place behind the gate of the runners is not at all inconsistent with the

above idea ; for even if the gate behind the runners be identical with the gate of the runners (Kings, ver. 19), it by no means follows from that that it was a gate of the palace, and not of the outer court of the temple. In accordance with this view, then, vers. 5 and 6 (Kings) do not treat of an occupation of the royal palace, but of a provision for the security of the temple by the posting of guards. It is, moreover, against the supposition that the entrances to the palace were occupied by guards, that Athaliah, when she heard from her palace the noise of the people in the temple, came immediately into the temple, and was dragged forth and slain by the captains there in command. For what purpose can they have placed guards by the palace gates, if they did not desire to put any hindrance in the way of the queen's going forth into the temple? The hypotheses of Thenius, that it was done to keep away those who were devoted to Athaliah, to make themselves masters of the palace, and to hinder Athaliah from taking any measures in opposition to them, and to guard the place of the throne, are nothing but expedients resulting from embarrassment. If there was no intention to put any hindrance in the way of the queen leaving the palace, there could have been none to prevent her taking opposing measures. For the rest, the result obtained by careful consideration of the account in 2 Kings xi., that in vers. 5 and 6 an occupation by guards, not of the royal palace, but of the temple, is spoken of, does not stand or fall with the supposition that *בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ* was the dwelling of the young king in the temple building, and not the palace. The expression *לְשָׂמֵר מִשְׁמֶרֶת בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ*, to guard the guard of the king's house, i.e. to have regard to whatever is to be regarded in reference to the king's house, is so indefinite and elastic, that it may have been used of a post which watched from the outer court of the temple what was going on in the palace, which was over against the temple. With this also the corresponding *בְּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ*, in the short account of the distribution of the guards given by the chronicler (ver. 5), may be reconciled, if we translate it "at the house of the king," and call to mind that, according to 2 Kings xvi. 18 and 1 Kings x. 5, there was a special approach from the palace to the temple for the king, which this division may have had to guard. But notwithstanding the guarding of this way, Athaliah could come from the palace into the court of the temple by another way, or perhaps the guards were less

watchful at their posts during the solemnity of the young king's coronation.

And not less groundless is the assertion that the priest Jehoiada availed himself in the execution of his plan, according to 2 Kings xi., mainly of the co-operation of the royal body-guard, according to the Chronicle mainly of that of the Levites; or that the chronicler, as Thenius expresses it, "has made the body-guards of 2 Kings into Levites, in order to divert to the priesthood the honour which belonged to the Prætorians." The *שָׂרֵי הַמִּצְחָה*, mentioned by name in the Chronicle, with whom Jehoiada discussed his plan, and who had command of the guards when it was carried out, are not called Levites, and may consequently have been captains of the executioners and runners, i.e. of the royal body-guard, as they are designated in 2 Kings xi. 4. But the men who occupied the various posts are called in both texts *בְּנֵי הַשָּׁבֶת* (Kings, ver. 5; Chron. ver. 4): in 2 Kings, vers. 7 and 9, the corresponding *בְּנֵי הַשָּׁבֶת* is added; while in the Chronicle the *בְּנֵי הַשָּׁבֶת* are expressly called Levites, the words *לְכֹהֲנִים וְלִלְוִיִּם* being added. But we know from Luke i. 5, compared with 1 Chron. xxiv. (see above, p. 263), that the priests and Levites performed the service in the temple in courses from one Sabbath to another, while we have no record of any such arrangement as to the service of the Prætorians; so that we must understand the words "coming on the Sabbath" (entering upon the service), and "going on the Sabbath" (those relieved from it), of the Levites in the first place. Had it been intended that by these words in 2 Kings xi. we should understand Prætorians, it must necessarily have been clearly said. From the words spoken to the centurions of the body-guard, "the third part of you," etc., it does not follow at all as a matter of course that they were so, any more than from the fact that in Kings, ver. 11, the posts set are called *הַרָצִים*, the runners = satellites. If we suppose that in this extraordinary case the Levitic temple servants were placed under the command of centurions of the royal body-guard, who were in league with the high priest, the designation of the men they commanded by the name *רָצִים*, satellites, is fully explained; the men having been previously more accurately described as those who were entering upon and being relieved from service on the Sabbath. In this way I have explained the matter in my *apologet. Versuch über die Chron.* S. 362 ff., but this explanation of it has neither been regarded

nor confuted by Thenius and Bertheau. Even the mention of פָּרִי and רָצִים along with the captains and the whole people, in Kings, ver. 19, is not inconsistent with it; for we may without difficulty suppose, as has been said in my commentary on that verse, that the royal body-guard, immediately after the slaughter of Athaliah, went over to the young king just crowned, in order that they, along with the remainder of the people who were assembled in the court, might lead him thence to the royal palace. There is only one statement in the two texts which can scarcely be reconciled with this conjecture,—namely, the mention of the רָצִים and of the people in the temple before Athaliah was slain (ver. 12 Chron. and ver. 13 Kings), since it follows from that that runners or satellites belonging to the body-guard were either posted, or had assembled with the others, in the court of the temple. To meet this statement, we must suppose that the centurions of the body-guard employed not merely the Levitic temple guard, but also some of the royal satellites, upon whose fidelity they could rely, to occupy the posts mentioned in vers. 5-7 (Kings) and vers. 4 and 5 (Chron.); so that the company under the command of the centurions who occupied the various posts in the temple consisted partly of Levitic temple guards, and partly of royal body-guards. But even on this view, the suspicion that the chronicler has mentioned the Levites instead of the body-guard is shown to be groundless and unjust, since the רָצִים also are mentioned in the Chronicle.

According to this exposition, the true relation between the account in the Chronicle and that in the book of Kings would seem to be something like this: Both accounts mention merely the main points of the proceedings,—the author of the book of Kings emphasizing the part played in the affair by the royal body-guard; the author of the Chronicle, on the other hand, emphasizing that played by the Levites: so that both accounts mutually supplement each other, and only when taken together give a full view of the circumstances. We have still to make the following remarks on the narrative of the Chronicle in detail. The statement (Kings, ver. 5) that all those relieved on the Sabbath were to keep guard of the house of Jahve, in reference to the king, in two divisions, is in Chronicles, ver. 5, thus generalized: "all the people were in the courts of the house of Jahve." כָּל־הָעָם is all the people except the before-mentioned bodies of men with their captains, and comprehends not only



the remainder of the people mentioned in 2 Kings xi. 13 and 19, who came to the temple without any special invitation, but also the body of guards who were relieved from service on Sabbath. This is clear from ver. 8 of the Chronicle, where we have the supplementary remark, that those departing on the Sabbath also, as well as those coming, did what Jehoiada commanded. In addition to this, in ver. 6 this further command of Jehoiada is communicated: Let no one enter the house of Jahve (בֵּית יְהוָה) is the temple building, *i.e.* the holy place and the most holy, as distinguished from the courts), save the priests, and they that minister of the Levites, *i.e.* of those Levites who perform the service, who are consecrated thereto; but all the people shall keep the watch of the Lord, *i.e.* keep what is to be observed in reference to Jahve, *i.e.* here, to keep without the limits appointed in the law to the people in drawing near to the sanctuaries. The whole verse, therefore, contains only an elucidation of the command that all the people were to remain in the courts, and not to press farther into the sanctuary.—Ver. 7. “And the Levites shall compass the king round about, each with his weapons in his hand.” The Levites are the bodies of guards mentioned in vers. 4, 5. If we keep that in view, then the following words, “every one who cometh into the house shall be put to death,” say the same as the words, “every one who cometh within the ranks” (Kings, ver. 8). A contradiction arises only if we misinterpret הָקִיף, and understand it of the forming of a circle around the king; whereas הָקִיף, like הִקְפִּיתֶם (Kings), is to be understood, according to the context, of the setting of the guards both at the temple gate and in the courts, so that whoever entered the court of the temple came within the ranks of the guards thus placed.—Vers. 8–10. The account of the occupation of the temple thus arranged agrees with vers. 9–11, Kings. Instead of לְיָד הַמִּצֹּחַ (Kings), in ver. 8 are very fittingly named “the Levites (as in ver. 5) and all Judah,” *viz.* in its chiefs, since the high priest had assured himself of the support of the heads of the fathers’-houses of Israel (ver. 2). Further, to the statement that those who were departing from the service also took part in the affair, it is added, “for Jehoiada had not dismissed the courses.” הַמִּצֹּחֹת are the divisions which, according to the arrangement made by David (1 Chron. xxiv.–xxvi.), had charge of the temple service at that time. To the captains Jehoiada gave the spears and shields which had been presented

to the temple by David as offerings, because they had come into the temple without weapons; see on 2 Kings xi. 10. **וַיַּעֲמֵד**, "and he caused the whole people to take position," is connected formally with **וַיִּתֵּן**, ver. 9; while in Kings, ver. 11, we have simply **וַיַּעֲמֵד**.—Ver. 11. The coronation of Joash, as in ver. 12 (Kings). The subject of **וַיִּתְּנוּ** and **וַיִּתְּנוּ** is those present, while in **וַיִּתְּנוּ** and **וַיִּתְּנוּ** (Kings), Jehoiada as leader of the whole is referred to. In the Chronicle, Jehoiada and his sons, *i.e.* the high priest with the priests assisting him, are expressly named as subject to **וַיִּתְּנוּ** and **וַיִּתְּנוּ**, where in Kings also the plural is used; while, on the contrary, "the clapping of the hands" as a sign of joyful acclamation (Kings) is omitted, as being unimportant.—Vers. 12–15. Slaughter of Athaliah, as in 2 Kings xi. 13–16. In ver. 13 of the Chronicle, the statement that the assembled people played on instruments is expanded by the addition, "and singing with instruments of song, and proclaiming aloud to praise," *i.e.* and praising. **וַיִּתְּנוּ**, ver. 14, is an orthographical error for **וַיִּתְּנוּ** (Kings).

Vers. 16–21. *The renewal of the covenant, extirpation of Baal-worship, and the solemn entry of the king into his palace*, as in 2 Kings xi. 17–20, and already commented on in that place. The remark as to the renewal of the covenant is in ver. 16 (Chron.) somewhat more brief than in Kings, ver. 17; and **בֵּינֵינוּ**, between himself, the same as between himself, the high priest, as representative of Jehovah. In Kings, ver. 17, the matter is more clearly expressed. In ver. 18 f., the statement, "the priest set overseers over the house of Jahve" (Kings), is expanded by the addition of the words, "by means of the Levitic priests whom David had distributed for the house of Jahve to offer sacrifices; . . . and he placed doorkeepers at the doors of the house of Jahve," etc. The meaning is: Jehoiada again introduced the old arrangement of the public worship in the temple as David had settled it, it having either fallen into decay or wholly ceased under the rule of the idolatrous Athaliah. As to the remainder, see on 2 Kings xi. 19 and 30.

Chap. xxiv. *The reign of Joash*; cf. 2 Kings xii.—In both accounts only two main events in Joash's reign of forty years are narrated at any length,—the repair of the temple, and the campaign of the Syrian king Hazael against Jerusalem. Besides this, at the beginning, we have a statement as to the duration and spirit of his reign; and in conclusion, the murder

of Joash in consequence of a conspiracy is mentioned. Both accounts agree in all essential points, but are shown to be extracts containing the most important part of a more complete history of Joash, by the fact that, on the one hand, in 2 Kings xii. single circumstances are communicated in a more detailed and more exact form than that in which the Chronicle states them; while, on the other hand, the account of the Chronicle supplements the account in 2 Kings xii. in many respects. To these latter belong the account of the marriage of Joash, and his many children, the account of the death of Jehoiada at the age of 130 years, and his honourable burial with the kings, etc.; see on ver. 15.

Vers. 4-14. As to the *repair of the temple*, see the commentary on 2 Kings xii. 5-17, where both the formal divergences and the essential agreement of the two narratives are pointed out.—Ver. 11. *וַיְהִי בַּעַת יְבִיא וְנֹו*, translate: It came to pass at the time when they brought the chest to the guard of the king by the Levites, *i.e.* to the board of oversight appointed by the king from among the Levites. *עַת* *stat. constr.* before a sentence following. *לְיוֹם בָּיִם* does not denote every day, but every time when there was much money in the chest.—Ver. 13. *וַיַּעַל אֲרִיכָה*, and there was a band laid upon the work, *i.e.* the restoration of the house of God was furthered; cf. for this symbolical expression, Neh. iv. 1, Jer. viii. 7.—Ver. 14. *וַיַּעֲשֶׂהוּ בָלִים*, therefrom (the king) caused to be made (prepared) vessels for the house of Jahve, (namely) vessels of the service, *i.e.*, according to Num. iv. 12, in the holy place, and for the offering of burnt-offering, *i.e.* altar vessels, and (besides) bowls, and (other) vessels of gold and silver. The last clause of ver. 14 leads on to the following: "They (king and people) offered burnt-offering continually so long as Jehoiada lived."

Vers. 15-22. *Jehoiada's death: the fall of the people into idolatry: the protest of the prophet Zechariah against it, and the stoning of him.*—This section is not found in 2 Kings xii., but is important for the understanding of the later history of Joash (ver. 23 ff.). With the death of the grey-haired high priest came a turning-point in the reign of Joash. Jehoiada had saved the life and throne of Joash, preserved to the kingdom the royal house of David, to which the promises belonged, and had put an end to the idolatry which had been transplanted into Judah by Joram's marriage into the royal house of Ahab, restoring the Jahve-worship. For this he was honoured at his death, his body

being laid in the city of David among the kings: "For he had done good in Israel, and towards God and His house" (the temple). According to 2 Kings xii. 7, he still took an active part in the repair of the temple in the twenty-third year of Joash, and according to ver. 14 he lived for some time after the completion of that work. But after his death the people soon forgot the benefits they owed him.—Ver. 17 f. The princes of Judah besought the king to allow them to worship the Astartes and idols, and the king hearkened to them, did not venture to deny their request. וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ, they bowed themselves before the king, i.e. they besought him. What they thus beseechingly requested is not stated, but may be gathered from what they did, according to ver. 18. They forsook Jahve the God of their fathers, etc. There came wrath upon Judah because of this their trespass. וַיִּבֹרֶךְ, a wrathful judgment of the Lord, cf. xxix. 8, viz. the invasion of the land by Hazael, ver. 23 ff. On the construction וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ, cf. Ew. § 293, c, S. 740. Against this defection prophets whom the Lord sent did indeed lift up their testimony, but they would not hearken to them. Of these prophets, one, Zechariah the son of the high priest Jehoiada, is mentioned by name in ver. 20 ff., who, seized by the Spirit of the Lord, announced to the people divine punishment for their defection, and was thereupon, at the king's command, stoned in the court of the temple. With וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ cf. 1 Chron. xii. 18, and the commentary on Judg. vi. 34. וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ, above the people, viz., as we learn from ver. 21, in the inner, higher-lying court, so that he was above the people who were in the outer court. "Why transgress ye the commandments of the Lord, and (why) will ye not prosper?" Fidelity to the Lord is the condition of prosperity. If Israel forsake the Lord, the Lord will also forsake it; cf. xii. 5, xv. 2.—Ver. 21. And they (the princes and the people) conspired against him, and stoned him, at the command of the king, in the court of the temple. This וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ is the *Zaxaplas* whose slaughter is mentioned by Christ in Matt. xxiii. 36 and Luke xi. 51 as the last prophet-murder narrated in the Old Testament, whose blood would come upon the people, although Matthew calls him *vñs Bapaxíov*. According to these passages, he was slain between the temple and the altar of burnt-offering, consequently in the most sacred part of the court of the priests. That the king, Joash, could give the command for this murder, shows how his compliance with the princes'

demands (ver. 17) had made him the slave of sin. Probably the idolatrous princes accused the witness for God of being a seditious person and a rebel against the majesty of the crown, and thereby extorted from the weak king the command for his death. For it is not said that Joash himself worshipped the idols; and even in ver. 22 it is only the base ingratitude of which Joash had been guilty, in the slaughter of the son of his benefactor, which is adduced against him. But Zechariah at his death said, "May the Lord look upon it, and take vengeance" (וְיִקַּח, to seek or require a crime, i.e. punish it). This word became a prophecy, which soon began to be fulfilled, ver. 23 ff.

Vers. 23-26. The punishment comes upon them. *Joash afflicted by the invasion of Judah by Hazael the Syrian; and his death in consequence of a conspiracy against him.*—These two events are narrated in 2 Kings xii. 18-22 also, the progress of Hazael's invasion being more exactly traced; see the commentary on 2 Kings xii. 18 f. The author of the Chronicle brings forward only those parts of it which show how God punished Joash for his defection from Him.—Ver. 23. "At the revolution of a year," i.e. scarcely a year after the murder of the prophet Zechariah, a Syrian army invaded Judah and advanced upon Jerusalem; "and they destroyed all the princes of the people from among the people," i.e. they smote the army of Joash in a battle, in which the princes (the chief and leaders) were destroyed, i.e. partly slain, partly wounded. This punishment came upon the princes as the originators of the defection from the Lord, ver. 17. "And they sent all their booty to the king (Hazael) to Damascus." In this booty the treasures which Joash gave to the Syrians (2 Kings xii. 19) to buy their withdrawal are also included. In order to show that this invasion of the Syrians was a divine judgment, it is remarked in ver. 24 that the Syrians, with a small army, gained a victory over the very large army of Judah, and executed judgment upon Joash. עָשָׂה שְׁפָטִים, as in Ex. xii. 12, Num. xxxiii. 4, frequently in Ezekiel, usually construed with כִּי, here with אֵת, analogous to the אֵת עָשָׂה כּוֹכַב, e.g. 1 Sam. xxiv. 19. These words refer to the wounding of Joash, and its results, ver. 25 f. In the war Joash was badly wounded; the Syrians on their withdrawal had left him behind in many wounds (וְכָל־מַחֲלָאִים only met with here, synonymous with מַחֲלָאִים, xxi. 19). Then his own servants, the court officials named in ver. 26, conspired against him, and smote him

upon his bed. In 2 Kings xii. 21, the place where the king, lying sick upon his bed, was slain is stated. He met with his end thus, "because of the blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest" which had been shed. The plural בְּנֵי is perhaps only an orthographical error for בֶּן, occasioned by the preceding רָמִי (Berth.); but more probably it is, like בְּנֵי, xxviii. 3 and xxxiii. 6, a rhetorical plural, which says nothing as to the number, but only brings out that Joash had brought blood-guiltiness upon himself in respect of the children of his benefactor Jehoiada; see on xxviii. 3. Upon the murdered king, moreover, the honour of being buried in the graves of the kings was not bestowed; cf. xxi. 20. On the names of the two conspirators, ver. 26, see on 2 Kings xii. 21. In ver. 27 it is doubtful how וְרֵב is to be read. The Keri demands וְרֵב, which Berth. understands thus: And as regards his sons, may the utterance concerning him increase; which might signify, "May the wish of the dying Zechariah, ver. 22, be fulfilled on them in a still greater degree than on their father." But that is hardly the meaning of the Keri. The older theologians took וְרֵב relatively: *et quam creverit s. multiplicatum fuerit*. Without doubt, the Keth. וְרֵב or וְרֵב is the correct reading. וְרֵב, too, is variously interpreted. Vulg., Luther, and others take it to be synonymous with מִשְׁחָה, vers. 6, 9, and understand it of the money derived from Moses' tax; but to that וְרֵב is by no means suitable. Others (as Then.) think of the tribute laid upon him, 2 Kings xii. 19, but very arbitrarily. On the other hand, Clericus and others rightly understand it of prophetic threatenings against him, corresponding to the statement in ver. 19, that God sent prophets against him. As to the Midrash of the book of Kings, see the Introduction, p. 31 f.

CHAP. XXV.—THE REIGN OF AMAZIAH. CF. 2 KINGS XIV. 1-20.

Vers. 1-4. The statement as to the duration and spirit of the reign agrees with 2 Kings xiv. 1-6, except that in ver. 2 the estimation of the spirit of the reign according to the standard of David, "only not as his ancestor David, but altogether as his father Joash did," which we find in the book of Kings, is replaced by "only not with a perfect heart;" and the standing formula, "only the high places were not removed," etc., is omitted.

The succeeding section, vers. 5-16, enlarges upon Amaziah's

preparations for war with Edom, which had revolted under Joram of Judah, 2 Kings viii. 22; upon the victory over the Edomites in the Valley of Salt, and on the results of this war;—on all which we have in 2 Kings xiv. 7 only this short note: “he smote Edom in the valley of Salt 10,000 men, and took Selah in war, and called its name Joktheel unto this day.” But the more exact statements of the Chronicle as to the preparations and the results of this war and victory are important for Amaziah’s later war with King Joash of Israel, which is narrated in ver. 17 ff. of our chapter, because in them lie the causes of that war, so fatal to Amaziah; so that the history of Amaziah is essentially supplemented by those statements of the Chronicle which are not found in 2 Kings.

Vers. 5-13. *The preparations for the war against Edom, and the victory over the Edomites in the Valley of Salt.*—Ver. 5. Amaziah assembled Judah, *i.e.* the men in his kingdom capable of bearing arms, and set them up (ordered them) according to the princes of thousands and hundreds, of all Judah and Benjamin, and passed them in review, *i.e.* caused a census to be taken of the men liable to military service from twenty years old and upward. They found 300,000 warriors “bearing spear and target” (cf. xiv. 7); a relatively small number, not merely in comparison with the numbers under Jehoshaphat, chap. xvii. 14 ff., which are manifestly too large, but also with the numberings made by other kings, *e.g.* Asa, chap. xiv. 7. By Joram’s unfortunate wars, chap. xxi. 17, those of Ahaziah, and especially by the defeat which Joash sustained from the Syrians, xxiv. 43, the number of men in Judah fit for war may have been very much reduced. Amaziah accordingly sought to strengthen his army against the Edomites, according to ver. 6, by having an auxiliary corps of 100,000 men from Israel (of the ten tribes) for 100 talents of silver, *i.e.* he took them into his pay. But a prophet advised him not to take the Israelitish host with him, because Jahve was not with Israel, *viz.* on account of their defection from Jahve by the introduction of the calf-worship. To Israel there is added, (with) all the sons of Ephraim, to guard against any misunderstanding.—Ver. 8. Amaziah is to go alone, and show himself valiant in war, and the Lord will help him to conquer. This is without doubt the thought in ver. 8, which, however, does not seem to be contained in the traditional Masoretic text. יִקְשִׁיף הָאֵל can hardly, after the preceding imperatives—do, be strong for battle—be other-

wise translated than by, "and God will cause thee to stumble before the enemy." But this is quite unsuitable. Clericus, therefore, would take the words ironically: *sin minus, tu vadito, etc.*; i.e. if thou dost not follow my advice, and takest the Israelites with thee to the war, go, show thyself strong for the war, God will soon cause thee to stumble. But **אִם כִּי** can never signify *sin minus*. Others, as Schmidt and Ramb., translate: Rather do thou go alone (without the Israelitish auxiliaries), and be valiant, *alioquin enim, si illos tecum duxeris, corruiere te faciet Deus*; or, May God make thee fall before the enemy (De Wette). But the supplying of *alioquin*, which is only hidden by De Wette's translation, cannot be grammatically justified. This interpretation of the **כִּי־שִׁלָּךְ** would be possible only if the negation **אִם כִּי** stood in the preceding clause and **כִּי־שִׁלָּךְ** was joined to it by **וְ**. The traditional text is clearly erroneous, and we must, with Ewald and Berth., supply a **לֵא** or **לֹא** before **כִּי־שִׁלָּךְ**: Go thou (alone), do, be valiant for battle, and God will not let thee come to ruin.<sup>1</sup> After this we have very fittingly the reason assigned: "for with God there is power to help, and to cause to fall."—Ver. 9. Amaziah had regard to this exhortation of the prophet, and asked him only what he should do for the 100 talents of silver which he had paid the Israelite auxiliary corps; to which the prophet answered that Jahve could give him more than that sum. Amaziah thereupon dismissed the hired Ephraimite mercenaries. **יְבָרִיִּם**, he separated them (*sc.* from his army prepared for battle), viz. the band, that they might go to their place, i.e. might return home. The **לְ** before **הַנִּגְדָּה** is *nota accus.*, and **לְהַנְדָּה** is in apposition to the suffix in **יְבָרִיִּם**. But the auxiliaries thus dismissed returned home full of wrath against Judah, and afterwards fell upon the border cities of Judah, wasting and plundering (ver. 13). Their anger probably arose from the fact that by their dismissal the opportunity of making a rich booty in war was taken away.—Ver. 11 f. But Amaziah courageously led his people into the Valley of Salt, and smote the Edomites. **הַחֲחִימָה**, as in xv. 8, refers back to **חֲחִי**, ver. 8: he showed himself strong, according to the word of the prophet. As to the Valley of Salt, see on 2 Sam.

<sup>1</sup> Even the old translators could make nothing of the present text, and expressed the first clause of the verse as they thought best. LXX., *ὅτι ἰσὺς ὑπολάβης κατασχῆσαι ἐν ταῦτοις*; Vulg., *quod si putes in robore exercitus bella consistere*; after which Luth., "denn so du komest das du eine künheit beweisest im streit, wird Gott dich fallen lassen für deinen Feinden."



viii. 13 and 1 Chron. xviii. 12. Besides the 10,000 slain in the battle, the men of Judah took 10,000 other Edomites prisoners, whom they cast from the top of a rock. This statement is wanting in 2 Kings xiv. 7, where, instead of it, the capture of the city Sela (Petra) is mentioned. The conjecture of Thenius, that this last statement of the Chronicle has been derived from a text of the Kings which had become illegible at this place, has already been rejected as untenable by Bertheau. Except the word סֶלָה, the two texts have nothing in common with each other; but it does suggest itself that סֶלָה הַרְבֵּי, the top of the rock (which has become famous by this event), is to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the city Selah, as the war was ended only by the capture of Selah. Besides the battle in the Valley of Salt there were still further battles; and in the numbers 10,000, manifestly the whole of the prisoners taken in the war are comprehended, who, as irreconcilable enemies of Judah, were not made slaves, but were slain by being thrown down from a perpendicular rock.—Ver. 13. The Ephraimite host dismissed by Amaziah fell plundering upon the cities of Judah, and smote of them (the inhabitants of these cities) 3000, and carried away great booty. They would seem to have made this devastating attack on their way home; but to this idea, which at first suggests itself, the more definite designation of the plundered cities, “from Samaria to Bethhoron,” does not correspond, for these words can scarcely be otherwise understood than as denoting that Samaria was the starting-point of the foray, and not the limit up to which the plundered cities reached. For this reason Berth. thinks that this attack upon the northern cities of Judah was probably carried out only at a later period, when Amaziah and his army were in Edom. The latter is certainly the more probable supposition; but the course of events can hardly have been, that the Ephraimite auxiliary corps, after Amaziah had dismissed it, returned home to Samaria, and then later, when Amaziah had marched into the Valley of Salt, made this attack upon the cities of Judah, starting from Samaria. It is more probable that the dismissal of this auxiliary corps, which Amaziah had certainly obtained on hire from King Joash, happened after they had been gathered together in Samaria, and had advanced to the frontier of Judah. Then, roused to anger by their dismissal, they did not at once separate and return home; but, Amaziah having meanwhile taken the field against the Edomites with his army, made an attack upon the

northern frontier cities of Judah as far as Bethhoron, plundering as they went, and only after this plundering did they return home. As to Bethhoron, now Beit-Ur, see on 1 Chron. vii. 24.

Vers. 14-16. *Amaziah's idolatry*.—Ver. 14. On his return from smiting the Edomites, *i.e.* from the war in which he had smitten the Edomites, Amaziah brought the gods (images) of the sons of Seir (the inhabitants of Mount Seir) with him, and set them up as gods, giving them religious adoration.<sup>1</sup> In order to turn him away from this sin, which would certainly kindle Jahve's wrath, a prophet said to Amaziah, "Why dost thou seek the gods of the people, who have not delivered their people out of your hand?" The prophet keeps in view the motive which had induced the king to set up and worship the Edomite idols, *viz.* the belief of all polytheists, that in order to make a people subject, one must seek to win over their gods (*cf.* on this belief the remarks on Num. xxii. 17), and exposes the folly of this belief by pointing out the impotence of the Edomite idols, which Amaziah himself had learnt to know.—Ver. 16. The king, however, in his blindness puts aside this earnest warning with proud words: "Have we made thee a counsellor of the king? Forbear, why should they smite thee?" *נִתְּנָהּ* is spoken collectively: We, the king, and the members of the council. And the prophet ceased, only answering the king thus: "I know that God hath determined to destroy thee, because thou hast done this (introduced Edomite idols), and hast not hearkened unto my counsel." The prophet calls his warning "counsel," referring to the king's word, that he was not appointed a counsellor to the king.

<sup>1</sup> This statement, which is not found in 2 Kings xiv., may, in the opinion of Berth., perhaps not rest upon a definite tradition, but be merely the application of a principle which generally was found to act in the history of Israel to a particular case; *i.e.*, it may be a clothing in historical garments of the principle that divine punishment came upon the idolatrous king, because it does not agree with the statement of 2 Kings xiv. 3. In that passage it is said of Amaziah: He did what was right in the eyes of Jahve, only not as David; altogether as his father Joash had done, did he. But Joash allowed his princes, after Jehoiada's death, to worship idols and Asheras, and had caused the prophet Zechariah, who reprov'd this idolatry, to be stoned. These are facts which, it is true, are narrated only in the Chronicle, but which are admitted by Bertheau himself to be historical. Now if Amaziah did altogether the same as his father Joash, who allowed idolatry, etc., it is hard indeed to see wherein the inconsistency of our account of Amaziah's idolatry with the character assigned to this king in 2 Kings xiv. 3 consists. Bertheau has omitted to give us any more definite information on this point.

Vers. 17-24. *The war with Joash, king of Israel.*—Instead of following the counsel of the prophet, Amaziah consulted (*sc.* with his public officials or courtiers), and challenged King Joash of Israel to war. The challenge, and the war which followed, are also narrated in 2 Kings xiv. 8-14 in agreement with our account, and have been already commented upon at that place, where we have also considered the occasion of this war, so fatal to Amaziah and the kingdom of Judah, an account of which has been handed down to us only in the supplementary narrative of the Chronicle. לָךְ in ver. 17 for לָכָה, come, as in Num. xxiii. 13 and Judg. xix. 13.—In ver. 20 the chronicler explains Amaziah's refusal to hear the warning of Joash before the war with him, by a reference to the divine determination: "For it (came) of God (that Amaziah still went to war), that He might deliver them (the men of Judah) into the hand, because they had sought the gods of Edom." נָתַן בְּיָד, to give into the power of the enemy.—In ver. 23, שָׁעַר הַפִּנְיָה is a manifest error for הַפִּנְיָה (Kings, ver. 13). Were הַפִּנְיָה, the gate that turns itself, faces (in some direction), correct, the direction would have to be given towards which it turned, *e.g.* Ezek. viii. 3.—וְנִלְ-הִזְקָה, ver. 24, still depends upon תָּפַשׁ, ver. 23: and (took away) all the gold, etc. In Kings, ver. 14, וְלָקַח is supplied.

Vers. 25-28. *The end of Amaziah's reign*; cf. 2 Kings xiv. 17-20.—Although conquered and taken prisoner by Joash, Amaziah did not lose the throne. For Joash, contented with the carrying away of the treasures of the temple and of the palace, and the taking of hostages, set him again at liberty, so that he continued to reign, and outlived Joash by about fifteen years.—Ver. 26. On the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, see the Introduction, p. 30 f.—Ver. 27. On the conspiracy against Amaziah, his death, etc., see the commentary on 2 Kings xiv. 17 f. בְּעִיר יְהוּדָה, in the city of Judah, is surprising, since everywhere else "the city of David" is mentioned as the burial-place, and even in our passage all the ancient versions have "in the city of David." יְהוּדָה would therefore seem to be an orthographical error for יְהוּדָה, occasioned by the immediately following יְהוּדָה.

#### CHAP. XXVI.—THE REIGN OF UZZIAH (AZARIAH).

CF. 2 KINGS XIV. 21, 22, AND XV. 1-7.

Vers. 1-5. The statements as to Uzziah's attainment of dominion, the building of the seaport town Elath on the Red

Sea, the length and character of his reign (vers. 1-4), agree entirely with 2 Kings xiv. 21, 22, and xv. 2, 3; see the commentary on these passages. Uziah (עֻזִּיָּהוּ) is called in 1 Chron. iii. 12 and in 2 Kings (generally) Azariah (עֲזַרְיָה); cf., on the use of the two names, the commentary on 2 Kings xiv. 21.—In ver. 5, instead of the standing formula, “only the high places were not removed,” etc. (Kings), Uziah’s attitude towards the Lord is more exactly defined thus: “He was seeking God in the days of Zechariah, who instructed him in the fear of God; and in the days when he sought Jahve, God gave him success.” In יְהִי לִרְשׁ the infinitive with ל is subordinated to הָיָה, to express the duration of his seeking, for which the participle is elsewhere used. Nothing further is known of the Zechariah here mentioned: the commentators hold him to have been an important prophet; for had he been a priest, or the high priest, probably הַכֹּהֵן would have been used. The reading בְּרֵאוֹת הָאֱלֹהִים (Keth.) is surprising. הַיִּפְכֵּן ב’ ה’ can only denote, who had insight into (or understanding for the) seeing of God; cf. Dan. i. 17. But Kimchi’s idea, which other old commentators share, that this is a periphrasis to denote the prophetic endowment or activity of the man, is opposed by this, that “the seeing of God” which was granted to the elders of Israel at the making of the covenant, Ex. xxiv. 10, cannot be regarded as a thing within the sphere of human action or practice, while the prophetic beholding in vision is essentially different from the seeing of God, and is, moreover, never so called. בְּרֵאוֹת would therefore seem to be an orthographical error for בְּיֵרָאתָ, some mss. having בִּירָאוֹת or בִּירָאוֹת (cf. de Rossi, *variae lectt.*); and the LXX., Syr., Targ., Arab., Raschi, Kimchi, and others giving the reading הַיִּפְכֵּן בְּיֵרָאוֹת ה’, who was a teacher (instructor) in the fear of God, in favour of which also Vitringa, *proll. in Jes.* p. 4, has decided.

Vers. 6-13. *Wars, buildings, and army of Uziah.*—Of the successful undertakings by which Uziah raised the kingdom of Judah to greater worldly power and prosperity, nothing is said in the book of Kings; but the fact itself is placed beyond all doubt, for it is confirmed by the portrayal of the might and greatness of Judah in the prophecies of Isaiah (chap. ii.-iv.), which date from the times of Uziah and Jotham.—Ver. 6. After Uziah had, in the very beginning of his reign, completed the subjection of the Edomites commenced by his father by the capture and fortification of the seaport Elath (ver. 2), he took the field to chastise the

Philistines and Arabians, who had under Joram made an inroad upon Judah and plundered Jerusalem (xxi. 16 f.). In the war against the Philistines he broke down the walls of Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod (*i.e.* after capturing these cities), and built cities in Ashdod, *i.e.* in the domain of Ashdod, and אֲשְׁדּוֹדֵי, *i.e.* in other domains of the Philistines, whence we gather that he had wholly subdued Philistia. The city of Gath had been already taken from the Philistines by David; see 1 Chron. xviii. 1; and as to situation, see on xi. 8. Jabneh, here named for the first time, but probably occurring in Josh. xv. 11 under the name Jabneel, is often mentioned under the name Jamnia in the books of the Maccabees and in Josephus. It is now a considerable village, Jebnah, four hours south of Joppa, and one and a half hours from the sea; see on Josh. xv. 11. Ashdod is now a village called Esdud; see on Josh. xiii. 3.—Ver. 7. As against the Philistines, so also against the Arabians, who dwelt in Gur-Baal, God helped him, and against the Maanites, so that he overcame them and made them tributary. Gur-Baal occurs only here, and its position is unknown. According to the Targum, the city Gerar is supposed to be intended; LXX. translate *ἐπὶ τῆς Πέτρας*, having probably had the capital city of the Edomites, Petra, in their thoughts. The מַעֲנִיתִים are the inhabitants of Maan; see on 1 Chron. iv. 41.—Ver. 8. And the Ammonites also paid him tribute (מַתְּנָה), and his name spread abroad even to the neighbourhood of Egypt; *i.e.*, in this connection, not merely that his fame spread abroad to that distance, but that the report of his victorious power reached so far, he having extended his rule to near the frontiers of Egypt, for he was exceedingly powerful. הִתְחַזַּק, to show power, as in Dan. xi. 7.—Ver. 9. In order enduringly to establish the power of his kingdom, he still more strongly fortified Jerusalem by building towers at the gates, and the wall of the citadel. At the corner gate, *i.e.* at the north-west corner of the city (see on xxv. 23 and 2 Kings xiv. 13), and at the valley gate, *i.e.* on the west side, where the Jaffa gate now is. From these sides Jerusalem was most open to attack. הַמִּצְעוֹץ, at the corner, *i.e.*, according to Neh. iii. 19 f., 24 f., on the east side of Zion, at the place where the wall of Zion crossed over at an angle to the Ophel, and joined itself to the south wall of the temple hill, so that the tower at this corner defended both Zion and the temple hill against attacks from the valley to the south-east. וַיַּחֲזֵק, he made them (thereby) strong

or firm; not, he put them in a condition of defence (Berth.), although the making strong was for that end.—Ver. 10. Moreover, Uzziah took measures for the defence of his herds, which formed one main part of his revenues and wealth. He built towers in the wilderness, in the steppe-lands on the west side of the Dead Sea, so well fitted for cattle-breeding (*i.e.* in the wilderness of Judah), to protect the herds against the attacks of the robber peoples of Edom and Arabia. And he dug many wells to water the cattle; “for he had much cattle” in the wilderness just mentioned, and “in the lowland” (Shephelah) on the Mediterranean Sea (see 1 Chron. xxvii. 28), and “in the plain” (פְּתִישׁוֹר), *i.e.* the flat land on the east side of the Dead Sea, extending from Arnon to near Heshbon in the north, and to the north-east as far as Rabbath Ammon (see on Deut. iii. 10), *i.e.* the tribal land of Reuben, which accordingly at that time belonged to Judah. Probably it had been taken from the Israelites by the Moabites and Ammonites, and reconquered from them by Uzziah, and incorporated with his kingdom; for, according to ver. 8, he had made the Ammonites tributary; cf. on 1 Chron. v. 17. Husbandmen and vine-dressers had he in the mountains and upon Carmel, for he loved husbandry. After הָיוּ לוֹ אֶפְרָיִם וְנֹוֹ is to be supplied. אֶרֶץ, the land, which is cultivated, stands here for agriculture. As to Carmel, see on Josh. xix. 26.—Vers. 11–14. His army. He had a host of fighting men that went out to war by bands (לְבָנִים, in bands), “in the number of their muster by Jeiel the scribe, and Maaseiah the steward (שֹׁמֵר), under Hananiah, one of the king’s captains.” The meaning is: that the mustering by which the host was arranged in bands or detachments for war service, was undertaken by (בְּיָד) two officials practised in writing and the making up of lists, who were given as assistants to Hananiah, one of the princes of the kingdom (עַל יָד), or placed at his disposal.—Ver. 12. The total number of the heads of the fathers’-houses in valiant heroes (לְבָבוֹרִים with לְ of subordination) was 2600, and under these (עַל יָדָם, to their hand, *i.e.* subordinate to them) an army of 307,500 warriors with mighty power, to help the king against the enemy. The army was consequently divided according to the fathers’-houses, so that probably each father’s-house formed a detachment (בְּיָד) led by the most valiant among them.—Ver. 14. Uzziah supplied this force with the necessary weapons,—shield, lance, helmet, and coat of mail, bows and sling-stones. לָחֶם is more closely defined

by לָלֵךְ.—Ver. 15. Besides this, he provided Jerusalem with machines for defence on the towers and battlements. חֲשִׁבֹנוֹת from חֲשָׁבָה, literally *excogitata*, i.e. *machinæ*, with the addition “invention of the artificers,” are ingenious machines, and as we learn from the following לִירוֹא וְנִ, slinging machines, similar or corresponding to the *catapultæ* and *ballistæ* of the Romans, by which arrows were shot and great stones propelled. Thus his name spread far abroad (cf. ver. 8), for he was marvellously helped till he was strong.

Vers. 16-22. *Uzziah's pride, and chastisement by leprosy. His death and burial.*—The fact that the Lord smote Uzziah with leprosy, which continued until his death, so that he was compelled to dwell in a hospital, and to allow his son Jotham to conduct the government, is narrated also in 2 Kings xv. 5; but the cause of this punishment inflicted on him by God is stated only in our verses.—Ver. 16. “When Uzziah had become mighty (בְּחִזְקָתוֹ as in xii. 1), his heart was lifted up (in pride) unto destructive deeds.” He transgressed against Jahve his God, and came into the sanctuary of Jahve to offer incense upon the altar of incense. With a lofty feeling of his power, Uzziah wished to make himself high priest of his kingdom, like the kings of Egypt and of other nations, whose kings were also *summi pontifices*, and to unite all power in his person, like Moses, who consecrated Aaron and his sons to be priests. Then, and Ewald, indeed, think that the powerful Uzziah wished merely to restore the high-priesthood exercised by David and Solomon; but though both these kings did indeed arrange and conduct religious festal solemnities, yet they never interfered in any way with the official duties reserved for the priests by the law. The arrangement of a religious solemnity, the dedicatory prayer at the dedication of the temple, and the offering of sacrifices, are not specifically priestly functions, as the service by the altars, and the entering into the holy place of the temple, and other sacrificial acts were.—Ver. 17 ff. The king's purpose was consequently opposed by the high priest Azariah and eighty priests, valiant men, who had the courage to represent to him that to burn incense to the Lord did not appertain to the king, but only to the sanctified Aaronite priests; but the king, with the censer in his hand, was angry, and the leprosy suddenly broke out upon his forehead. When the priests saw the leprosy, they removed the king immediately from the holy place; and Uzziah himself also hurried to go forth, because Jahve had

smitten him; for he recognised in the sudden breaking out of the leprosy a punishment from God. Azariah is called **כֹּהֵן הָרָאשׁ**, i.e. a high priest, and is in all probability the same person as the high priest mentioned in 1 Chron. v. 36 (see on the passage). **לֹא לְךָ לְכָבוֹד**, "It (the offering of incense) is not for thine honour before Jahve." **וַיִּזְעַף**, to foam up in anger. **וַיִּזְעַף**, and while he foamed against the priests, i.e. was hot against them, the leprosy had broken out. **מִן־עַל־לְמַנְחָה**, from by = near, the altar. Thus was Uzziah visited with the same punishment, for his haughty disregard of the divinely appointed privileges of the priesthood, as was once inflicted upon Miriam for her rebellion against the prerogatives assigned to Moses by God (Num. xii. 10).—Ver. 21. But Uzziah had to bear his punishment until his death, and dwelt the rest of his life in a separate house, while his son conducted the government for him. This is also recorded in 2 Kings xv. 5 (cf. for **בֵּית הַחֲפָשִׁית** the commentary on that passage). The reason of the separation of the king from intercourse with others, by his dwelling in the hospital, is given in the Chronicle in the words: "for he was cut off (shut out) from the house of Jahve." This reason can only mean, that because he, as a leper, was shut out from the house of the Lord, he could not live in fellowship with the people of God, but must dwell in a separate house. For the rest, we cannot exactly say how long Uzziah continued to live under the leprosy; but from the fact that his son Jotham, who at Uzziah's death was twenty-five years old, conducted the government for him, so much is clear, viz. that it can only have lasted a year or two.—Ver. 22. The history of his reign was written by the prophet Isaiah (see the Introduction, p. 34).—Ver. 23. At his death, Uzziah, having died in leprosy, was not buried in the graves of the kings, but only in the neighbourhood of them, in the burial-field which belonged to the kings, that his body might not defile the royal graves.

CHAP. XXVII.—THE REIGN OF JOTHAM. CF. 2 KINGS XV. 32–38.

Vers. 1–4. Jotham having ascended the throne at the age of twenty-five, reigned altogether in the spirit and power of his father, with the single limitation that he did not go into the sanctuary of Jahve (cf. xxvi. 16 ff.). This remark is not found in 2 Kings xv., because there Uzziah's intrusion into the temple



is also omitted. The people still did corruptly (cf. xxvi. 16). This refers, indeed, to the continuation of the worship in the high places, but hints also at the deep moral corruption which the prophets of that time censure (cf. especially Isa. ii. 5 f., v. 7 ff.; Mic. i. 5, ii. 1 ff.).—Ver. 3 f. He built the upper gate of the house of Jahve, *i.e.* the northern gate of the inner or upper court (see on 2 Kings xv. 35); the only work of his reign which is mentioned in the book of Kings. But besides this, he continued the fortifying of Jerusalem, which his father had commenced; building much at the wall of the Ophel. הַעֲפֵל was the name of the southern slope of the temple mountain (see on xxxiii. 14); the wall of Ophel is consequently the wall connecting Zion with the temple mountain, at which Uzziah had already built (see on xxvi. 9). He likewise carried on his father's buildings for the protection of the herds (xxvi. 10), building cities in the mountains of Judah, and castles (בִּירְנִיּוֹת, xvii. 12) and towers in the forests of the mountains of Judah (מִן הָעֵשׂ from הָעֵשׂ, a thicket).

Vers. 5-9. He made war upon the king of the Ammonites, and overcame them. The Ammonites had before paid tribute to Uzziah. After his death they would seem to have refused to pay this tribute; and Jotham made them again tributary by force of arms. They were compelled to pay him after their defeat, in that same year, 100 talents of silver, 10,000 cor of wheat, and a similar quantity of barley, as tribute. זֶאת הָעֵשֶׂה לֹא: this they brought to him again, *i.e.* they paid him the same amount as tribute in the second and third years of their subjection also. After three years, consequently, they would seem to have again become independent, or refused the tribute, probably in the last years of Jotham, in which, according to 2 Kings xv. 37, the Syrian king Rezin and Pekah of Israel began to make attacks upon Judah.—Ver. 6. By all these undertakings Jotham strengthened himself, *sc.* in the kingdom, *i.e.* he attained to greater power, because he made his ways firm before Jahve, *i.e.* walked stedfastly before Jahve; did not incur guilt by falling away into idolatry, or by faithless infringement of the rights of the Lord (as Uzziah did by his interference with the rights of the priesthood). From the בְּלִי מִלְחָמָתִי in the concluding remark (ver. 7) we learn that he had waged still other successful wars. The older commentators reckon among these wars, the war against Rezin and Pekah, which kings the Lord began in his days to send against Judah (see 2 Kings xv. 37), but hardly with

justice. The position of this note, which is altogether omitted in the Chronicle, at the end of the account of Jotham in 2 Kings xv. 37, appears to hint that this war broke out only towards the end of Jotham's reign, so that he could not undertake anything important against this foe.—Ver. 8. The repetition of the chronological statement already given in ver. 1 is probably to be explained by supposing that two authorities, each of which contained this remark, were used.

CHAP. XXVIII.—THE REIGN OF AHAZ. CF. 2 KINGS XVI.

In the general statements as to the king's age, and the duration and the spirit of his reign, both accounts (Chron. vers. 1-4; Kings, vers. 1-4) agree entirely, with the exception of some unessential divergences; see the commentary on 2 Kings xvi. 1-4. From ver. 5 onwards both historians go their own ways, so that they coincide only in mentioning the most important events of the reign of this quite untheocratic king. The author of the book of Kings, in accordance with his plan, records only very briefly the advance of the allied kings Rezin and Pekah against Jerusalem, the capture of the seaport Elath by the Syrians, the recourse which the hard-pressed Ahaz had to the help of Tiglath-pileser the king of Assyria, whom he induced, by sending him the temple and palace treasures of gold and silver, to advance upon Damascus, to capture that city, to destroy the Syrian kingdom, to lead the inhabitants away captive to Kir, and to slay King Rezin (vers. 5-9). Then he records how Ahaz, on a visit which he paid the Assyrian king in Damascus, saw an altar which so delighted him, that he sent a pattern of it to the priest Urijah, with the command to build a similar altar for the temple of the Lord, on which Ahaz on his return not only sacrificed himself, but also commanded that all the sacrifices of the congregation should be offered. And finally, he recounts how he laid violent hands on the brazen vessels of the court, and caused the outer covered sabbath way to be removed into the temple because of the king of Assyria (vers. 10-18); and then the history of Ahaz is concluded by the standing formulæ (vers. 19, 20). The author of the Chronicle, on the contrary, depicts in holy indignation against the crimes of the godless Ahaz, how God punished him for his sins. 1. He tells us how God gave Ahaz into the hand of the king of Syria, who smote him and led away many prisoners to Damascus,

and into the hand of King Pekah of Israel, who inflicted on him a dreadful defeat, slew 120,000 men, together with a royal prince and two of the highest officials of the court, and carried away 200,000 prisoners—women and children—with a great booty (vers. 5-8); and how the Israelites yet, at the exhortation of the prophet Oded, and of some of the heads of the people who supported the prophet, again freed the prisoners, provided them with food and clothing, and conducted them back to Jericho (vers. 9-15). 2. He records that Ahaz turned to the king of Assyria for help (ver. 16), but that God still further humbled Israel by an invasion of the land by the Edomites, who carried prisoners away (ver. 17); by an attack of the Philistines, who deprived Judah of a great number of cities (ver. 18); and finally also by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser, who, although Ahaz had sent him the gold and silver of the temple and of the palaces of the kings and princes, yet did not help him, but rather oppressed him (ver. 20 f.). 3. Then he recounts how, notwithstanding all this, Ahaz sinned still more against Jahve by sacrificing to the idols of the Syrians, cutting up the vessels of the house of God, closing the doors of the temple, and erecting altars and high places in all corners of Jerusalem, and in all the cities of Judah, for the purpose of sacrificing to idols (vers. 22-25). This whole description is planned and wrought out rhetorically; cf. C. P. Caspari, *der syriisch-ephraimitische Krieg*, S. 42 ff. Out of the historical materials, those facts which show how Ahaz, notwithstanding the heavy blows which Jahve inflicted upon him, always sinned more deeply against the Lord his God, are chosen, and oratorically so presented as not only to bring before us the increasing obduracy of Ahaz, but also, by the representation of the conduct of the citizens and warriors of the kingdom of Israel towards the people of Judah who were prisoners, the deep fall of that kingdom.

Vers. 5-8. *The war with the Kings Rezin of Syria and Pekah of Israel.*—On the events of this war, so far as they can be ascertained by uniting the statements of our chapter with the summary account in 2 Kings xvi., see the commentary on 2 Kings xvi. 5 ff. The author of the Chronicle brings the two main battles prominently forward as illustrations of the way in which Jahve gave Ahaz into the power of his enemies because of his defection from Him. Into the power of the king of Aram. They (אֲרָמִי, and they, the Arameans) smote אֲחָז, in him, i.e. they

inflicted on his army a great defeat. Just so also מַצָּוֶה signifies of his army. שְׁבִיָּה גְדוֹלָה, a great imprisonment, *i.e.* a great number of prisoners. And into the power of the king of Israel, Pekah, who inflicted on him a still greater defeat. He slew in (among) Judah 120,000 men "in one day," *i.e.* in a great decisive battle. Judah suffered these defeats because they (the men of Judah) had forsaken Jahve the God of their fathers. Judah's defection from the Lord is not, indeed, expressly mentioned in the first verses of the chapter, but may be inferred as a matter of course from the remark as to the people under Jotham, xxvii. 2. If under that king, who did that which was right in the eyes of Jahve, and stedfastly walked before the Lord (xxvii. 6), they did corruptly, they must naturally have departed much further from the God of the fathers, and been sunk much deeper in the worship of idols, and the worship on high places, under Ahaz, who served the Baals and other idols.—Ver. 7. In this battle, Zichri, an Ephraimite hero, slew three men who were closely connected with the king: Maaseiah, the king's son, *i.e.* not a son of Ahaz, for in the first years of his reign, in which this war arose, he cannot have had an adult son capable of bearing arms, but a royal prince, a cousin or uncle of Ahaz, as in xviii. 25, xxii. 11, etc. (cf. Caspari, *loc. cit.* S. 45 ff.); Azrikam, a prince of the house, probably not of the house of God (xxxi. 13; 1 Chron. ix. 11), but a high official in the royal palace; and Elkanah, the second from the king, *i.e.* his first minister; cf. Esth. x. 3, 1 Sam. xxiii. 17.—Ver. 8. The Israelites, moreover, carried away 200,000—women, sons, and daughters—from their brethren, and a great quantity of spoil, and brought the booty (prisoners and goods; cf. for שָׁלַל of men, Judg. v. 30) to Samaria. אֶחָיוּתָם, the brethren of the Israelites, is the name given, with emphasis, to the inhabitants of Judah, here and in ver. 11, in order to point out the cruelty of the Israelites in not scrupling to carry away captive the defenceless women and children of their brethren.

The modern critics have taken offence at the large numbers, 120,000 slain and 200,000 women and children taken prisoners, and have declared them to be exaggerations of the wonder-loving chronicler (Gesen. on Isa., De Wette, Winer, etc.). But in this they are mistaken; for if we consider the war more closely, we learn from Isa. vii. 6 that the allied kings purposed to annihilate the kingdom of Judah. And, moreover, the Ephraimites acted always with extreme cruelty in war (cf. 2 Kings xv. 16);

but more especially cherished the fiercest hatred against the men of Judah, because these regarded them as having fallen away from the service of the true God (2 Chron. xxv. 6-10, xiii. 4 ff.). But in a war for the existence of the kingdom, Ahaz must certainly have called out the whole male population capable of bearing arms, which is estimated in the time of Amaziah at 300,000 men, and in that of Uzziah at 307,500 (xxv. 5, xxvi. 13),—numbers which appear thoroughly credible, considering the size and populousness of Judah. If we suppose the army of Ahaz to have been as large, in a decisive battle fought with all possible energy nearly 120,000 men may have fallen, especially if the Ephraimites, in their exasperation, unsparingly butchered their enemies, as the narrative would seem to hint both by the word *הָרַג* in ver. 6, which signifies to murder, massacre, butcher, and by the saying of the prophet, ver. 9, “Ye massacred among them with a rage which reached to heaven.” By the character of the war, which resembled a civil or even a religious war, and by the cruelty of the Israelites, the great number of those carried captive is accounted for; for after the great defeat of the men of Judah the whole land fell into the hands of the enemy, so that they could sate their hatred and anger to their heart’s content by carrying off the defenceless women and children to make them slaves. And finally, we must also consider that the numbers of the slain and of the prisoners are not founded upon exact enumeration, but upon a mere general estimate. The immense loss which was sustained in the battle was estimated on the side of Judah at 120,000 men; and the number of captive women and children was so immense, that they were, or might be, estimated at 200,000 souls, it being impossible to give an exact statement of their number. These numbers were consequently recorded in the annals of the kingdom, whence the author of the Chronicle has taken them; cf. Caspari, S. 37 ff.

Vers. 9-15. *The liberation of the prisoners.*—In Samaria there was a prophet of the Lord (*i.e.* not of the Jahve there worshipped in the calf images, but of the true God, like Hosea, who also at that time laboured in the kingdom of the ten tribes), Oded by name. He went forth to meet the army returning with the prisoners and the booty, as Azariah-ben-Oded (xv. 2) once went to meet Asa; pointed out to the warriors the cruelty of their treatment of their brethren, and the guilt, calling to Heaven for vengeance, which they thereby incurred; and exhorted them to turn

away the anger of God which was upon them, by sending back the prisoners. To soften the hearts of the rude warriors, and to gain them for his purpose, he tells them (ver. 9), "Because the Lord God of your fathers was wroth, He gave them (the men of Judah) into your hand:" your victory over them is consequently not the fruit of your power and valour, but the work of the God of your fathers, whose wrath Judah has drawn upon itself by its defection from Him. This you should have considered, and so have had pity upon those smitten by the wrath of God; "but ye have slaughtered among them with a rage which reacheth up to heaven," *i.e.* not merely with a rage beyond all measure, but a rage which calls to God for vengeance; cf. Ezra ix. 6.—Ver. 10. "And now the sons of Judah and Jerusalem ye purpose to subject to yourselves for bondmen and bondwomen!" בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה is *accus.*, and precedes as being emphatic; *i.e.*, your brethren, whom the wrath of God has smitten, you purpose to keep in subjection. אֲנִי also is emphatically placed, and then is again emphasized at the end of the sentence by the suffix in לָכֵן: "Are there not, only concerning you, with you, sins with Jahve your God?" *i.e.*, Have you, to regard only you, not also burdened yourselves with many sins against the Lord? The question הֲלֹא is a lively way of expressing assurance as to a matter which is not at all doubtful.—Ver. 11. After thus quickening the conscience, he calls upon them to send back the prisoners which they had carried away from among their brethren, because the anger of Jahve was upon them. Already in their pitiless butchery of their brethren they had committed a sin which cried to heaven, which challenged God's anger and His punishments; but by the carrying away of the women and children from their brethren they had filled up the measure of their sin, so that God's anger and rage must fall upon them.—Ver. 12. This speech made a deep impression. Four of the heads of the Ephraimites, here mentioned by name,—according to ver. 12, four princes at the head of the assembled people,—came before those coming from the army (עַל קִיָּם, to come forward before one, to meet one), and said, ver. 13, "Bring not the captives hither; for in order that a sin of Jahve come upon us, do you purpose (do you intend) to add to our sins and to our guilt?" *i.e.* to increase our sins and our guilt by making these prisoners slaves; "for great is our guilt, and fierce wrath upon Israel."—Ver. 14. Then the armed men (הַחֲזָקִים, cf. 1 Chron. xii. 23) who had escorted the prisoners

to Samaria left the prisoners and the booty before the princes and the whole assembly.—Ver. 15. “And the men which were specified by name stood up.” *אֲשֶׁר נִקְבּוּ בְּשֵׁמֹתָם* does not signify those before mentioned (ver. 12), but the men specified by name, distinguished or famous men (see on 1 Chron. xii. 31), among whom, without doubt, those mentioned in ver. 12 are included, but not these alone; other prominent men are also meant. These received the prisoners and the booty, clothed all the naked, providing them with clothes and shoes (sandals) from the booty, gave them to eat and to drink, anointed them, and set all the feeble upon asses, and brought them to Jericho to their brethren (countrymen). The description is picturesque, portraying with satisfaction the loving pity for the miserable. *מְעֻרְפִּים*, nakedness, *abstr. pro concr.*, the naked. *לְכָל-כֹּהֵל* is *accus.*, and a nearer definition of the suffix in *יָבִיאוּ*: they brought them, (not all, but only) all the stumbling, who could not, owing to their fatigue, make the journey on foot. Jericho, the city of palm trees, as in Judg. iii. 13, in the tribe of Benjamin, belonged to the kingdom of Judah; see Josh. xviii. 21. Arrived there, the prisoners were with their brethren.

The speech of the prophet Oded is reckoned by Gesenius, on Isaiah, S. 269, among the speeches invented by the chronicler; but very erroneously so: cf. against him, Caspari, *loc cit.* i. S. 49 ff. The speech cannot be separated from the fact of the liberation of the prisoners carried away from Judah, which it brought about; and that is shown to be a historical fact by the names of the tribal princes of Ephraim, who, in consequence of the warning of the prophet, took his part and accomplished the sending of them back; they being names which are not elsewhere met with (ver. 12). The spontaneous interference of these tribal chiefs would not be in itself impossible, but yet it is very improbable, and becomes perfectly comprehensible only by the statement that these men were roused and encouraged thereto by the word of a prophet. We must consequently regard the speech of the prophet as a fact which is as well established as that narrated in vers. 12-15. “If that which is narrated in ver. 12 ff. be not invented, it would betray the greatest levity to hold that which is recorded in vers. 9-11 to be incredible” (Casp.). And, moreover, the speech of the prophet does not contain the thoughts and phrases current with the author of the Chronicle, but is quite suitable to the circumstances, and so fully corre-

sponds to what we should expect to hear from a prophet on such an occasion, that there is not the slightest reason to doubt the authenticity of its contents. Finally, the whole transaction is exactly parallel to the interference of the prophet Shemaiah in 1 Kings xii. 22–24 (2 Chron. xi. 1–4), who exhorted the army of Judah, fully determined upon war with the ten tribes which had just revolted from the house of David, not to make war upon their brethren the Israelites, as the revolt had been brought about by God. “That fact at the beginning of the history of the two separated kingdoms, and this at the end of it, finely correspond to each other. In the one place it is a Judæan prophet who exhorts the men of Judah, in the other an Ephraimite prophet who exhorts the Ephraimites, to show a conciliatory spirit to the related people; and in both cases they are successful. If we do not doubt the truth of the event narrated in 1 Kings xii. 22–24, why should that recorded in 2 Chron. xxviii. 9–11 be invented?” (Casp. S. 50.)

Vers. 16–21. *The further chastisements inflicted upon King Ahaz and the kingdom of Judah.*—Ver. 16. At this time, when the kings Rezin and Pekah had so smitten Ahaz, the latter sent to the king of Assyria praying him for help. The time when Ahaz sought the help of the king of Assyria is neither exactly stated in 2 Kings xvi. 7–9, nor can we conclude, as Bertheau thinks we can, from Isa. vii. f. that it happened soon after the invasion of Judah by the allied kings. The plural *מֶלֶכִּי אֲשֶׁר* is rhetorical, like the plur. *בָּנָי*, ver. 3. For, that Ahaz applied only to one king, in the opinion of the chronicler also, we learn from vers. 20, 21. By the plural the thought is expressed that Ahaz, instead of seeking the help of Jahve his God, which the prophet had promised him (Isa. vii. 4 ff.), turned to the kings of the world-power, so hostile to the kingdom of God, from whom he naturally could obtain no real help. Even here the thought which is expressed only in vers. 20, 21, is present to the mind of the author of the Chronicle. For before he narrates the issue of the help thus sought from the Assyrian world-power in vers. 17–19, he ranges all the other afflictions which Judah suffered by its enemies, viz. the devastating inroads of the Edomites and Philistines, in a series of circumstantial clauses, as they preceded in time the oppression of Tiglath-pileser.—Ver. 17 is to be translated, “And besides, the Edomites had come, and had inflicted a defeat upon Judah, and carried away captives.” *וְעַתָּה*, yet besides, *præterea*,



as in Gen. xliii. 6, Isa. i. 5. The Edomites had been made subject to the kingdom of Judah only by Amaziah and Uzziah (xxv. 11 ff., xxvi. 2); but freed by Rezin from this (cf. 2 Kings xvi. 6), they immediately seized the opportunity to make an inroad upon Judah, and take vengeance on the inhabitants.—Ver. 18. And the Philistines whom Uzziah had subdued (xxvi. 6) made use of the pressure of the Syrians and Ephraimites upon Judah, not only to shake off the yoke imposed upon them, but also to fall plundering upon the cities of the lowland and the south of Judah, and to extend their territory by the capture of several cities of Judah. They took Beth-shemesh, the present Ain Shems; and Ajalon, the present village Jâlo (see on 1 Chron. vi. 44 and 54); Gederoth in the lowland (Josh. xv. 41), not yet discovered, for there are not sufficient grounds for identifying it with Gadera (Josh. xv. 36), which v. de Velde has pointed out south-eastward from Jabneh (see on 1 Chron. xii. 4); Shocho, the present Shuweike, which Rehoboam had fortified (xi. 7); Timnah, on the frontier of the tribal domain of Judah, the present Tibneh, three-quarters of an hour to the west of Ain Shems (see on Josh. xv. 10); and Gimzo, now Jimsû, a large village about two miles south-east of Lydda (Lud) on the way to Jerusalem (Rob. *sub voce*). The three last-named cities, with their daughters, *i.e.* the small villages dependent upon them.—Ver. 19. Judah suffered this defeat, because God humbled them on account of Ahaz. Ahaz is called king of Israel, not because he walked in the ways of the kings of the kingdom of the ten tribes (ver. 2), but ironically, because his government was the bitterest satire upon the name of the king of Israel, *i.e.* of the people of God (Casp.); so that Israel here, and in ver. 27, as in xxi. 2, xii. 6, is used with reference to the pregnant signification of the word. בִּי הַפִּרְיָה, for (Ahaz) had acted wantonly in Judah; not: made Judah wanton, for הַפִּרְיָה is construed with ב, not with *accus. obj.*, as in Ex. v. 4.

After this episode the narrator comes back upon the help which Ahaz sought of the Assyrians. The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser (on the name, see on 1 Chron. v. 6) did indeed come, but עָלָיו, against him (Ahaz), and oppressed him, but strengthened him not. וַיַּצַּר לוֹ וְלֹא חֲזָקוֹ Thenius and Bertheau translate: he oppressed him, that is, besieged him, yet did not overcome him; adducing in support of this, that חֲזָקָה *c. accus.* cannot be shown to occur in the signification to strengthen one,

and according to Jer. xx. 7, 1 Kings xvi. 22, is to be translated, to overcome. But this translation does not at all suit the reason given in the following clause: "for Ahaz had plundered the house of Jahve, . . . and given it to the king of Asshur; but it did not result in help to him." The sending away of the temple and palace treasures to the Assyrian king, to obtain his help, cannot possibly be stated as the reason why Tiglath-pileser besieged Ahaz, but did not overcome him, but only as a reason why he did not give Ahaz the expected help, and so did not strengthen him. **וְלֹא הִזְקָהּ לוֹ** corresponds to the **וְלֹא לְעֶזְרָה לוֹ**, ver. 21, and both clauses refer back to **לְעֶזְרָה לוֹ**, ver. 16. That which Ahaz wished to buy from Tiglath-pileser, by sending him the treasures of the palace and the temple,—namely, help against his enemies,—he did not thereby obtain, but the opposite, viz. that Tiglath-pileser came against him and oppressed him. When, on the contrary, Thenius takes the matter thus, that the subjection of Ahaz under Tiglath-pileser was indeed prevented by the treasures given, but the support desired was not purchased by them, he has ungrammatically taken **הִזְקָהּ** as imperfect, and violently torn away the **וְלֹא לְעֶזְרָה לוֹ** from what precedes. If we connect these words, as the adversative **וְלֹא** requires, with **וַיִּתֵּן וְנָתַן**, then the expression, "Ahaz gave the Assyrian king the treasures of the temple, . . . but it did not result in help to him," gives no support to the idea that Tiglath-pileser besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him. The context therefore necessarily demands that **הִזְקָהּ** should have the active signification, to strengthen, notwithstanding that **הִזְקָהּ** in Kal is mainly used as intransitive. Moreover, **וַיַּצֵּר לוֹ** also does not denote he besieged, as **וַיַּצֵּר אֵלָיו** or **עָלָיו**, 2 Sam. xx. 15, 1 Sam. xxiii. 8; but only, he oppressed him, and cannot here be translated otherwise than the **וַיַּצֵּר לוֹ**, ver. 22, which corresponds to it, where Bertheau also has decided in favour of the signification *oppress*. It is not stated wherein the oppression consisted; but without doubt it was that Tiglath-pileser, after he had both slain Rezin and conquered his kingdom, and also taken away many cities in Galilee and the land of Naphtali from Pekah, carrying away the inhabitants to Assyria (2 Kings xvi. 9 and xv. 29), advanced against Ahaz himself, to make him a tributary. The verbs **הִלָּק** and **וַיִּתֵּן** (ver. 21) are pluperfects: "for Ahaz had plundered," etc. Not when Tiglath-pileser oppressed him, but when he besought help of that king, Ahaz had sent him the treasures of the temple and the palace as **שְׁחָר**, 2 Kings xvi. 7, 8. **הִלָּק** denotes to plunder,

like חֶלֶק, a share of booty, Num. xxxi. 36, and booty, Job xvii. 5. The selection of this word for the taking away of the treasures of silver and gold out of the temple and palace arises from the impassioned nature of the language. The taking away of these treasures was, in fact, a plundering of the temple and of the palace. Had Ahaz trusted in the Lord his God, he would not have required to lay violent hands on these treasures. וְהַשָּׂרִים is added to בֵּית הַמִּצְדָּה, to signify that Ahaz laid hands upon the precious things belonging to the high officials who dwelt in the palace, and delivered them over to the Assyrian king (Berth.).

Although the author of the Chronicle makes the further remark, that the giving of these treasures over did not result in help to Ahaz, yet it cannot be at all doubtful that he had the fact recorded in 2 Kings xvi. 7-9 before his eyes, and says nothing inconsistent with that account. According to 2 Kings xvi. 9, Tiglath-pileser, in consequence of the present sent him, took the field, conquered and destroyed the kingdom of Rezin, and also took possession of the northern part of the kingdom of Israel, as is narrated in 2 Kings xv. 29. The author of the Chronicle has not mentioned these events, because Ahaz was not thereby really helped. Although the kings Rezin and Pekah were compelled to abandon their plan of capturing Jerusalem and subduing the kingdom of Judah, by the inroad of the Assyrians into their land, yet this help was to be regarded as nothing, seeing that Tiglath-pileser not only retained the conquered territories and cities for himself, but also undertook the whole campaign, not to strengthen Ahaz, but for the extension of his own (the Assyrian) power, and so made use of it, and, as we are told in ver. 20 of the Chronicle, oppressed Ahaz. This oppression is, it is true, not expressly mentioned in 2 Kings xvi., but is hinted in 2 Kings xvi. 18, and placed beyond doubt by 2 Kings xviii. 7, 14, 20; cf. Isa. xxxvi. 5. In 2 Kings xvi. 18 it is recorded that Ahaz removed the covered sabbath portico which had been built to the house of God, and the external entrance of the king into the house of the Lord, because of (מִלְּפָנֵי) the king of Assyria. Manifestly Ahaz feared, as J. D. Mich. has already rightly concluded from this, that the king of Assyria, whom he had summoned to his assistance, might at some time desire to take possession of the city, and that in such a case this covered sabbath porch and an external entrance into the temple might be of use to him in the siege. This note, therefore, notwithstanding its

obscurity, yet gives sufficiently clear testimony in favour of the statement in the Chronicle, that the king of Assyria, who had been called upon by Ahaz for help, oppressed him, upon which doubt has been cast by Gesen. *Isa.* i. S. 269, etc. Tiglath-pileser must have in some way shown a desire to possess Jerusalem, and Ahaz have consequently feared that he might wish to take it by force. But from 2 Kings xviii. 7, 14, 20, cf. *Isa.* xxxvi. 5, it is quite certain Ahaz had become tributary to the Assyrian king, and the kingdom dependent upon the Assyrians. It is true, indeed, that in these passages, strictly interpreted, this subjection of Judah is only said to exist immediately before the invasion of Sennacherib; but since Assyria made no war upon Judah between the campaign of Tiglath-pileser against Damascus and Samaria and Sennacherib's attack, the subjection of Judah to Assyria, which Hezekiah brought to an end, can only have dated from the time of Ahaz, and can only have commenced when Ahaz had called in Tiglath-pileser to aid him against his enemies. Certainly the exact means by which Tiglath-pileser compelled Ahaz to submit and to pay tribute cannot be recognised under, and ascertained from, the rhetorical mode of expression: Tiglath-pileser came against him, and oppressed him. Neither יָבֹא עָלָיו nor יִצֹר לוֹ require us to suppose that Tiglath-pileser advanced against Jerusalem with an army, although it is not impossible that Tiglath-pileser, after having conquered the Israelite cities in Galilee and the land of Naphtali, and carried away their inhabitants to Assyria (2 Kings xv. 29), may have made a further advance, and demanded of Ahaz tribute and submission, ordering a detachment of his troops to march into Judah to enforce his demand. But the words quoted do not necessarily mean more than that Tiglath made the demand on Ahaz for tribute from Galilee, with the threat that, if he should refuse it, he would march into and conquer Judah; and that Ahaz, feeling himself unable to cope successfully with so powerful a king, promised to pay the tribute without going to war. Even in this last case the author of the Chronicle might say that the king who had been summoned by Ahaz to his assistance came against him and oppressed him, and helped him not. Cf. also the elaborate defence of the account in the Chronicle, in Caspari, S. 56 ff.

Vers. 22–25. *Increase of Ahaz' transgressions against the Lord.*  
 —Ver. 22. After this proof that Ahaz only brought greater oppression upon himself by seeking help from the king of

Assyria (vers. 16-21), there follows (ver. 22 f.) an account of how he, in his trouble, continued to sin more and more against God the Lord, and hardened himself more and more in idolatry. וַיַּעַת הָיִים corresponds to the וַיַּעַת הָיִים, ver. 16. "At the time when they oppressed him, he trespassed yet more against the Lord, he King Ahaz." In the last words the rhetorical emphasizing of the subject comes clearly out. The sentence contains a general estimation of the attitude of the godless king under the divine chastisement, which is then illustrated by facts (vers. 23-25).—Ver. 23. He sacrificed to the gods of Damascus, which smote him, saying, *i.e.* thinking, The gods of the kings of Aram which helped them, to them will I sacrifice, and they will help me. וְיָ serves to introduce the saying, and both וְיָ and וְיָ are rhetorical. Berth. incorrectly translates the participle הַמַּכִּים by the pluperfect: who had smitten him. It was not after the Syrians had smitten him that Ahaz sought to gain by sacrifice the help of their gods, but while the Syrians were inflicting defeats upon him; not after the conclusion of the Syrian war, but during its course. The ungrammatical translation of the participle by the pluperfect arises from the view that the contents of our verse, the statement that Ahaz sacrificed to the Syrian gods, is an unhistorical misinterpretation of the statement in 2 Kings xvi. 10 ff., about the altar which Ahaz saw when he went to meet the Assyrian king in Damascus, and a copy of which he caused to be made in Jerusalem, and set up in the temple court, in the place of the copper altar of burnt-offering. But we have already rejected that view as unfounded, in the exposition of 2 Kings xvi. 10. Since Ahaz had cast and erected statues to the Baals, and even sacrificed his son to Moloch, he naturally would not scruple to sacrifice to the Assyrian gods to secure their help. But they (these gods) brought ruin to him and to all Israel. לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל is in the accusative, and co-ordinate with the suffix in הַמַּכִּים.—Ver. 24 f. Not content with thus worshipping strange gods, Ahaz laid violent hands upon the temple vessels and suppressed the temple worship. He collected all the vessels of the house of God together, and broke them in pieces. These words also are rhetorical, so that neither the וַיִּשְׁבֹּר, which depicts the matter vividly, nor the וַיִּשְׁבֹּר, is to be pressed. The וַיִּשְׁבֹּר of the vessels consisted, according to 2 Kings xvi. 17, in this, that he mutilated the artistically wrought vessels of the court, and cut out the panels from the bases, and took

away the lavers from them, and took down the brazen sea from the oxen on which it stood, and set it upon a pavement of stones. "And he closed the doors of the house of Jahve," in order to put an end to the Jahve-worship in the temple, which he regarded as superfluous, since he had erected altars at the corners of all the streets in Jerusalem, and in all the cities of Judah. The statement as to the closing of the temple doors, to which reference is made in chap. xxix. 3, 7, is said by Berth. not to rest upon good historical recollection, because the book of Kings not only does not say anything of it, but also clearly gives us to understand that Ahaz allowed the Jahve-worship to continue, 2 Kings xvi. 15 f. That the book of Kings (ii. 16) makes no mention of this circumstance does not prove much, it being an *argumentum e silentio*; for the book of Kings is not a complete history, it contains only a short excerpt from the history of the kings; while the intimation given us in 2 Kings xvi. 15 f. as to the continuation of the worship of Jahve, may without difficulty be reconciled with the closing of the temple doors. The *שַׁעַר* *בֵּית יְהוָה* are not the gates of the court of the temple, but, according to the clear explanation of the Chronicle, chap. xxix. 7, the doors of the porch, which in xxix. 3 are also called doors of the house of Jahve; the "house of Jahve" signifying here not the whole group of temple buildings, but, in the narrower sense of the words, denoting only the main body of the temple (the Holy Place and the Most Holy, wherein Jahve was enthroned). By the closing of the doors of the porch the worship of Jahve in the Holy Place and the Most Holy was indeed suspended, but the worship at the altar in the court was not thereby necessarily interfered with: it might still continue. Now it is the worship at the altar of burnt-offering alone of which it is said in 2 Kings xvi. 15 that Ahaz allowed it to continue to this extent, that he ordered the priest Urijah to offer all the burnt-offerings and sacrifices, meat-offerings and drink-offerings, which were offered morning and evening by both king and people, not upon the copper sacrificial altar (Solomon's), but on the altar built after the pattern of that which he had seen at Damascus. The cessation of worship at this altar is also left unmentioned by the Chronicle, and in xxix. 7. Hezekiah, when he again opened the doors of the house of Jahve, only says to the priests and Levites, "Our fathers have forsaken Jahve, and turned their backs on His sanctuary; yea, have shut the doors of the porch, put out the lamps, and have

not burnt incense nor offered burnt-offerings in the Holy Place *unto the God of Israel.*" Sacrificing upon an altar built after a heathen model was not sacrificing to the God of Israel. There is therefore no ground to doubt the historical truth of the statement in our verse. The description of the idolatrous conduct of Ahaz concludes with the remark, ver. 25, that Ahaz thereby provoked Jahve, the God of his fathers, to anger.

Vers. 26 and 27. *The end of his reign.*—Ver. 27. Ahaz indeed both died and was buried in the city, in Jerusalem (as 2 Kings xvi. 20), but was not laid in the graves of the kings, because he had not ruled like a king of the people of God, the true Israel. Since the name Israel is used in a pregnant sense, as in ver. 19, the terms in which the place where he died is designated, "in the city, in Jerusalem," would seem to have been purposely selected to intimate that Ahaz, because he had not walked during life like his ancestor David, was not buried along with David when he died.

#### CHAP. XXIX.—XXXII.—THE REIGN OF HEZEKIAH.

##### CF. 2 KINGS XVIII.—XX.

Hezekiah, the pious son of the godless Ahaz, recognised that it was to be the business of his reign to bring the kingdom out of the utterly ruinous condition into which Ahaz had brought it by his idolatry and his heathen policy, and to elevate the state again, both in respect to religion and morals, and also in political affairs. He consequently endeavoured, in the first place, to do away with the idolatry, and to restore the Jahve-worship according to the law, and then to throw off the yoke of subjection to the Assyrian. These two undertakings, on the success of which God bestowed His blessing, form the contents of the history of his reign both in the books of Kings and in the Chronicle; but they are differently treated by the authors of these books. In the book of Kings, the extirpation of idolatry, and Hezekiah's faithfulness in cleaving to the Lord his God, are very briefly recorded (2 Kings xvii. 3–7); while the throwing off of the Assyrian yoke, which brought on Sennacherib's invasion, and ended with the destruction of the Assyrian army before Jerusalem, and the further results of that memorable event (the sickness and recovery of Hezekiah, the arrival of a Babylonian embassy in Jerusalem, and Hezekiah's reception of them), are very fully narrated in 2 Kings xviii. 8–

xx. 19. The author of the Chronicle, on the contrary, enlarges upon Hezekiah's reform of the cultus, the purification of the temple from all idolatrous abominations, the restoration of the Jahve-worship, and a solemn celebration of the passover, to which the king invited not only his own subjects, but also the remainder of the ten tribes (chap. xxix.—xxxi.); and gives merely a brief summary of the chief points in Sennacherib's invasion, and the events connected with it (chap. xxxii.).

Chap. xxix. *The beginning of his reign* (vers. 1, 2). *Purification and consecration of the temple* (vers. 3–36).—Vers. 1 and 2. Age of Hezekiah, duration and spirit of his reign, as in 2 Kings xviii. 1–3. With ver. 3 the account of the restoration of the Jahve-worship begins. In the first year of his reign, in the first month, Hezekiah caused the temple doors to be opened, and the priests and Levites to assemble, in order that he might rouse them by an energetic address to purify the house of God from all the uncleannesses of idolatry (vers. 3–11). They, vigorously commencing the work, completed the purification of the temple with its courts and vessels in sixteen days, and reported to the king what had been done (vers. 12–19); and then the king and the chiefs of the city offered a great sacrifice to consecrate the purified sanctuary, upon which followed burnt-offerings, and sacrifices, and thankofferings of the whole assembly (vers. 20–36).

Vers. 3–19. *The purification of the temple by the priests and Levites*.—Ver. 3. In the first year of his reign, in the first month, he caused the doors of the house of Jahve to be opened and repaired (פָּתַח as in xxiv. 12, where it alternates with חָשַׁב). Cf. herewith the remark in 2 Kings xviii. 16, that Hezekiah caused the doors of the הֵיכָל to be covered with leaf-gold. The date, *in the first month*, in the first year of his reign, is variously interpreted. As the Levites, according to ver. 17, began the purification on the first day of the first month, in eight days had reached the porch, and on the sixteenth day of the first month had completed the work, while the king had, according to ver. 4, before called upon the priests and Levites to sanctify themselves for the work, and those summoned then assembled their brethren for this purpose, and after they had consecrated themselves, began the cleansing (ver. 15), it would seem as if the summons of the king and the calling together of the remaining Levites had occurred before the first day of the first month, when they began the purification of the house of God. On that



account Caspari (*Beiträge z. Einleit. in d. B. Jesaiah*, S. 111) thinks that the first month (ver. 3) is not the first month of the year (Nisan), but the first month of the reign of Hezekiah, who probably became king shortly before Nisan, towards the end of the year. But it is not at all likely that *הַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן* is used in a different sense in ver. 3 from that in which it is used in ver. 17. We therefore hold, with Berth. and others, the first month, both in ver. 3 and in ver. 17, to be the first month of the ecclesiastical year Nisan, without, however, accepting the supposition of Gumpach and Bertheau that the years of Hezekiah's reign began with the first of Tishri, for for that way of reckoning there are no certain data in the historical books of the Old Testament. The statement, "in the first year of his reign, in the first month" (not in the first year, in the first month of his reign), is sufficiently explained if Hezekiah ascended the throne in one of the last months of the calendar year, which began with Nisan. In that case, on the first of Nisan of the new year, so few months, or perhaps only weeks, would have elapsed since his accession, that what he did in Nisan could not rightly have been dated otherwise than "in the first year of his reign." The other difficulty, that the purification of the temple began on the first day of the first month (ver. 7), while the preparations for it which preceded were yet, according to ver. 3, made also in the first month, is removed if we take ver. 3 to be a comprehensive summary of what is described in the following verses, and regard the connection between vers. 3 and 4 ff. as only logical, not chronological, the *ו* consec. (*וְיָבִיא*) expressing, not succession in time, but connection in thought. The opening of the doors of the house of God, and the repairing of them (ver. 3), did not precede in time the summons to the priests (ver. 4), but is placed at the commencement of the account of the reopening and restoration of the temple as a contrast to the closing and devastation of the sanctuary by Ahaz. Hezekiah commenced this work in the first year of his reign, in the first month of the calendar year, and accomplished it as is described in vers. 4-17. If we take ver. 3 as a statement of the contents of the succeeding section,—as are *e.g.* (1 Kings vi. 14, vii. 1) the statements, "he built the house, and completed it," where in both passages the completion of the building is described only in the succeeding verses,—we need not confine the preparations spoken of in vers. 4-15 to the first day of the first month, but may quite well suppose that these pre-

parations preceded the first day of the month, and that only the accomplishment of that which had been resolved upon and commanded by the king fell in the first month, as is more accurately stated in ver. 17.—Ver. 4. Hezekiah gathered the priests and Levites together “into the open space of the east,” i.e. in the eastern open space before the temple, not “in the inner court” (Berth.),—see on Ezra x. 9,—and called upon them (ver. 5) to sanctify themselves, and then to sanctify the house of the Lord. To purify the temple they must first sanctify themselves (cf. ver. 15), in order to proceed to the work of sanctifying the house of God in a state of Levitical purity. The work was to remove all that was unclean from the sanctuary. הַנְּדִי is Levitical uncleanness, for which in ver. 16 we have הַפְּסָחָה; here the abominations of idolatry. The king gave the reason of his summons in a reference to the devastation which Ahaz and his contemporaries had wrought in the house of God (vers. 6, 7), and to the wrath of God which had on that account come upon them (vers. 8, 9). “Our fathers” (ver. 6), that is, Ahaz and his contemporaries, for only these had been guilty of displeasing God in the ways mentioned in vers. 6 and 7, “have turned away their face from the dwelling of Jahve, and turned their back (upon it).” These words are a symbolical expression for: they have ceased to worship Jahve in His temple, and exchanged it for idolatry.—Ver. 7. Even (וְ) the doors of the porch have they shut, and caused the service in the sanctuary, the lighting of the lamps, and the sacrifices of incense, to cease; see on xxviii. 24. The words, “and they brought not burnt-offerings in the sanctuary to the God of Israel,” do not imply the complete cessation of the legal sacrificial worship, but only that no burnt-offerings were brought to the God of Israel. Sacrifices offered upon the altar of burnt-offering built after a heathen pattern by Ahaz were not, in the eyes of the author of the Chronicle, sacrifices which were offered to the God of Israel; and it is also possible that even this sacrificial worship may have more and more decayed. כָּלֵךְ, ver. 7, is the whole sanctuary, with the court of the priests.—Ver. 8 f. Wherefore the wrath of the Lord came upon Judah and Jerusalem. Cf. for the expression, xxiv. 18, xxxii. 25; on ver. 8b, cf. Deut. xxviii. 25, 37, Jer. xxiv. 9, xxv. 9, etc. “As ye see with your eyes.” The shameful defeats which Judah had sustained under Ahaz from the Syrians, Ephraimites, Philistines, and Edomites, and the oppression by the Syrian king (xxviii. 5 ff.,

vers. 17-21), are here referred to, as we learn from ver. 9.—Ver. 10. To turn away this anger of God, Hezekiah wishes to make a covenant with the Lord, *i.e.* to renew the covenant with Jahve by restoring His worship (עָם לַבְּנֵי as in vi. 7, ix. 1, 1 Chron. xxviii. 2, etc.), and therefore calls upon the Levites not to neglect the performance of their duty. בָּנֵי he calls the Levites, addressing them in kindly language; cf. Prov. i. 8, etc. הִשָּׁלַךְ in Niph. occurs only here, and denotes to avoid a thing from carelessness or laziness,—from שָׁלַךְ, to draw forth; Job xxvii. 8. On ver. 11b, cf. Deut. x. 8, 1 Chron. xxiii. 13.

Vers. 12-19. This address was heard with gladness. The Levites present assembled their brethren, and set to work, after they had all sanctified themselves, to purify the temple. In vers. 12-14 fourteen names are mentioned as those of the audience, *viz.*: two Levites of each of the great families of Kohath, Merari, and Gershon; two of the family of Elizaphan, *i.e.* Elzaphan the son of Uzziel, the son of Kohath, Ex. vi. 18, who in the time of Moses was prince of the family of Kohath, Num. iii. 30; and then two Levites of the descendants of Asaph (of the family of Gershon); two of Heman's descendants (of the family of Kohath); and two of Jeduthun's (of the family of Merari): see on 1 Chron. vi. 18-32. Of these names, Mahath, Eden, and Jehiel occur again in chap. xxxi. 13-15; several others, Joah ben Zimmah and Kish ben Abdi, have occurred already in the genealogy, 1 Chron. vi. 5 f. and ver. 29, for in the various families the same name often repeats itself.—Ver. 15. These fourteen heads of the various families and branches of Levi assembled their brethren (the other Levites who dwelt in Jerusalem); then they all sanctified themselves, and went forward, according to the command of the king, with the work of cleansing the temple. בְּמִצְוַת הַמֶּלֶךְ belongs to בְּמִצְוַת יְהוָה, according to the command of the king, which was founded upon the words of Jahve, *i.e.* upon the commands of Moses' law; cf. xxx. 12.—Ver. 16. The priests went into the inner part of the house of the Lord (into the holy place, probably also into the most holy place) to cleanse it, and removed all the uncleanness which was there into the court, whence the Levites carried it out into the valley of the brook Kidron (חֶצְרוֹת, out of the precincts of the temple). The Levites were forbidden by the law to enter the holy place, and this command was strictly observed. Of what nature the uncleannesses were which the priests found in the holy place

(הִיכָל) cannot be accurately ascertained. Owing to the prevalence of idolatry under Ahaz, vessels, *e.g.* sacrificial bowls, which were used in the worship, may have come into the holy place; and besides, all vessels of the holy place would require to be cleaned, and their filth removed. The closing of the temple doors (xxviii. 24) occurred only in the last year of Ahaz, while idolatry had been practised from the beginning of his reign. On the Kidron, see on 2 Kings xxiii. 4.—Ver. 17. The duration of the purification. On the first day of the first month they commenced with the purification of the courts; on the eighth day of the same month they came to the porch of Jahve, and with it began the purification of the temple building. This lasted eight days more, so that the work was finished on the sixteenth day of the first month.—Ver. 18 f. At the end of this business they made their report to the king. “All the vessels which King Ahaz had thrown away, *i.e.* made worthy of rejection,” are the copper altar of burnt-offering, the brazen sea, and the lavers upon the bases (2 Kings xvi. 14, 17). הִכְנוּ, we have prepared, is a shorter form of הִכְנוֹנוּ; cf. Gesen. *Gramm.* § 72. 5, and J. Olshausen, *hebr. Grammat.* S. 565. The altar of Jahve is the altar of burnt-offering; cf. ver. 21.

Vers. 20–30. *The re-dedication of the temple by offering sacrifices.*—Ver. 20. Probably on the very next morning Hezekiah went with the princes (heads) of the city into the house of the Lord, and brought seven bullocks, seven rams, and seven lambs for a burnt-offering, and seven he-goats for a sin-offering, “for the kingdom, for the sanctuary, and for Judah,” *i.e.* as expiation for and consecration of the kingdom, sanctuary, and people. These sacrifices were offered by the priests according to the prescription of the law of Moses, vers. 22–24. The burnt-offerings are first named, as in the sacrificial Torah in Lev. i.–vi., although the offering of the sin-offering preceded that of the burnt-offering. The laying on of hands, too, is mentioned only with the sin-offering, ver. 23, although according to Lev. i. 4 the same ceremony was gone through with the burnt-offerings; but that is not because a confession of sin was probably made during the laying on of hands, as Bertheau conjectures, adducing Lev. xvi. 21, for from that passage no such conclusion can be drawn. The ceremony is mentioned only in the one case to emphasize the fact that the king and the assembly (the latter, of course, by their representatives) laid their hands upon the sacri-

ficial beasts, because the atonement was, according to the king's words, to be for all Israel. "All Israel" are probably not only all the inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah, but Israelites in general (the twelve tribes), for whom the temple in Jerusalem was the only lawful sanctuary. **וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶת דָּמָם** signifies to bring the blood to the altar for an atonement, in the manner prescribed in Lev. iv. 30, 34.—Ver. 25. Hezekiah, moreover, restored again the music with which the Levites were wont to accompany the sacrificial act, and which David, with the prophets Gad and Nathan, had arranged. The *consec.* with **וַיְחַדְּשׁוּ** expresses the secution of thought, and ver. 25 corresponds to the 21st verse. First, the beasts to be sacrificed were prepared for the sacrifice, and then to the Levites was committed the performance of instrumental and vocal music during the sacrificial act. In reference to the musical instruments, see on 1 Chron. xv. 16. The Levites were appointed to sing, "according to the command of David;" but this command was **בְּיָד**, by interposition of Jahve, viz. given by His prophets. David had consequently made this arrangement at the divine suggestion, coming to him through the prophets. With **וַיִּזְכֹּר דָּוִד** cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 9. **בְּיָד בְּרִיאָיו** is in explanatory apposition to **בְּיָד יְהוָה**, and **בְּרִיאָיו** is not to be referred to David, although David is called in viii. 14 "man of God."—Ver. 26. **כָּל הָיָד** are the musical instruments the use of which David introduced into the public worship; see 1 Chron. xxiii. 5.—The first clause, ver. 27, "And Hezekiah commanded to offer the burnt-offering upon the altar," is repeated from ver. 21 to form a connection for what follows: "At the time when the sacrificial act began, the song of Jahve commenced," i.e. the praising of Jahve by song and instrumental music (**שִׁיר יְהוָה** = **שִׁיר לַיהוָה**, 1 Chron. xxv. 7), and (the blowing) of trumpets, "and that under the leading (**עַל יְדֵי**) of the instruments of David." This is to be understood as denoting that the blowing of the trumpets regulated itself by the playing of the stringed instruments,—suited itself to the song and the music of the stringed instruments.—Ver. 28. During the offering of the burnt-offering, until it was ended, the whole congregation stood worshipping; and the song of the Levites, accompanied by the music of the stringed instruments and the trumpet-blowing of the priests, continued. **וְהָשִׁיר כְּשֹׁמֵר**, "the song was singing," stands for "the body of singers sang;" and the trumpets also stand for the trumpeters.—Ver. 29. At the conclusion of the sacrificial act

(לְהַעֲלוֹת) is a contraction for לְהַעֲלוֹת וְהַעֲלוֹת, ver. 27) the king and all who were present knelt and worshipped.—Ver. 30. The king and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praise unto the Lord with the words (psalms) of David and of Asaph; and they sang praise with joy, and bowed themselves and worshipped. This verse does not mean that the Levites began to sing psalms at the king's command only after the sacrificial act and the instrumental music (ver. 27 f.) had been finished, but it forms a comprehensive conclusion of the description of the sacrificial solemnities. The author of the Chronicle considered it necessary to make express mention of the praising of God in psalms, already *implicite* involved in the הָשִׁיר מְשֹׁרֵר, ver. 28, and to remark that the Levites also, at the conclusion of the song of praise, knelt and worshipped. Asaph is here called חֲזָקִי, as Jeduthun (Ethan) is in chap. xxxv. 15, and Heman, 1 Chron. xxv. 5.

Vers. 31–36. *The sacrifice of thank-offerings and praise-offerings and voluntary burnt-offerings.*—Hezekiah introduces this, the concluding act of this religious festival, with the words, “Now have ye filled your hand to the Lord,” i.e. you have again consecrated yourselves to the service of the Lord (cf. Ex. xxxii. 39 and the commentary on Lev. vii. 37 f.); “come near, and bring sacrifices and thank-offerings into the house of the Lord.” The words “Now have ye filled” are regarded by the commentators (Clericus, Ramb., Bertheau, etc.) as addressed to the priests; while the following וְנִשְׁבְּחוּ are supposed to be directed to the congregation, and Clericus and Ramb. consequently supply before נִשְׁבְּחוּ, *vos vero, Israelitæ*. The summons וְהִבִּיאוּ can certainly only be addressed to the congregation, as is shown by the words וְהִבִּיאוּ הַקֹּהֵל, and the congregation brought, which correspond to the summons. But the supplying of *vos vero* before נִשְׁבְּחוּ is quite arbitrary. If in נִשְׁבְּחוּ other persons are addressed than those to whom the king formerly said, “Now have ye filled your hands,” the change in the persons addressed would have been intimated by mention of the person, or at least by וְאַתֶּם, “but ye.” As the two clauses at present stand, they must be spoken to the same persons, viz. the whole assembled congregation, including the priests and Levites. We must therefore suppose that the phrase מְלֵא יָד לִי, which in its narrower sense denotes only the consecration of the priests for service at the altar (see on Lev. vii. 37), is here used in a wider sense, and transferred to the whole con-

gregation. They, by their participation in the consecratory offerings, by laying on of hands and worship during the sacrificial act, had consecrated themselves anew to the service of the Lord as their God, and had anew made a covenant with the Lord (ver. 10); so that only the sacrificial meal was wanting to the completion of this celebration of the covenant, and for this the offering of sacrifices was requisite. The collocation זבחים ותודות is strange. זבחים are זבחים שלמים, sacrifices of peace-offering, also called briefly שלמים. Of these, in the law, three species—praise-offerings (תודות), vowed offerings, and voluntary offerings—are distinguished (Lev. vii. 11, 16). תודות therefore denotes a species of the sacrifices or peace-offerings, the praise or thank-offerings in the stricter sense; and ותודות must be taken as explicative: sacrifices, and that (or namely) praise-offerings. וכל־נדיב לב, and every one who was heartily willing, (brought) burnt-offerings; i.e., all who felt inwardly impelled to do so, brought of their own accord burnt-offerings.—Ver. 32. The number of the burnt-offerings brought spontaneously by the congregation was very large: 70 bullocks, 100 rams, and 200 lambs.—Ver. 33. והקדשים, and the consecrated, i.e. the beasts brought as thank-offering (cf. xxxv. 13, Neh. x. 34), were 600 bullocks and 3000 small cattle (sheep and goats).—In vers. 34-36 the account closes with some remarks upon these sacrifices and the festal solemnity. Ver. 34. But there were too few priests, and they were not able (so that they were not able) to flay all the burnt-offerings; and their brethren the Levites helped them till the work was ended (i.e. the flaying), and until the priests had sanctified themselves. In the case of private burnt-offerings the flaying of the beast was the business of the sacrificer (Lev. i. 6); while in the case of those offered on solemn occasions in the name of the congregation it was the priest's duty, and in it, as the work was not of a specifically priestly character, the Levites might assist. The burnt-offerings which are spoken of in ver. 34 are not merely those voluntarily offered (ver. 34), but also the consecratory burnt-offerings (vers. 22, 27). Only ver. 35 refers to the voluntary offerings alone. "For the Levites had been more upright to sanctify themselves than the priests." וְשִׂירֵי לֵב, *rectiores animo*, had endeavoured more honestly. Perhaps the priests had taken more part in the idolatrous worship of Ahaz than the Levites, which would be quite accounted for, as Kueper, *das Priesterth. des A. Bundes* (1870), S. 216, remarks, by their relation to the

court of the king, and their dependence upon it. They consequently showed themselves more slack even in the purification than the Levites, who *forte etiam idololatricis sacris minus contaminati et impediti erant* (Ramb.).—Ver. 35 gives yet another reason why the Levites had to help the priests: “And also the burnt-offerings were in abundance, with the fat of the peace-offerings, and the drink-offerings for every burnt-offering.” The priests could not accomplish the flaying for this reason also, that they had, besides, to see to the proper altar service (sprinkling of the blood, and burning of the sacrifices upon the altar), which taxed their strength, since, besides the consecratory burnt-offerings, there were the voluntary burnt-offerings (ver. 31), which were offered along with the thank-offerings and the drink-offerings, which belonged to the burnt-offerings of Num. xv. 1-15. Thus the service of the house of Jahve was arranged. עֲבוֹדָה is not the purification and dedication of the temple (Berth.), but only the sacrificial service, or rather all that concerned the regular temple worship, which had decayed under Ahaz, and had at length wholly ceased.—Ver. 36. Hezekiah and the whole people rejoiced because of it. עַל הַהֵכָל, over that which God had prepared for the people (by the purification of the temple and the restoration of the Jahve-worship), not “because God had made the people ready” (Ramb., Berth.). The article with הֵכָל represents the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר; see on 1 Chron. xxvi. 28. The joy was heightened by the fact that the thing was done suddenly.

Chap. xxx. *The celebration of the passover*.—Vers. 1-12. The preparations for this celebration.—Ver. 1. Hezekiah invited all Israel and Judah to it; “and he also wrote letters to Ephraim and Manasseh,” the two chief tribes of the northern kingdom, which here, as is manifest from vers. 5, 10, are named *instar omnium*. But the whole sentence serves only to elucidate יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל. To all Israel (of the ten tribes) he sent the invitation, and this he did by letters. The verse contains a general statement as to the matter, which is further described in what follows.—Ver. 2. The king consulted with his princes and the whole assembly in Jerusalem, *i.e.* with the community of the capital assembled in their representatives for this purpose, as to keeping the passover in the second month. This was (Num. ix. 6-13) allowed to those who, by uncleanness or by absence on a distant journey, were prevented from holding the feast at the lawful time, the 14th of the first



month. Both these reasons existed in this case (ver. 3): the priests had not sufficiently sanctified themselves, and the people had not assembled in Jerusalem, *sc.* at the legal time in the first month.  $\text{לֹא־בָמִסְפָּר}$ , contracted from  $\text{לֹא־בְמִסְפָּר}$ , that which is sufficient, is usually interpreted, "not in sufficient number" (Rashi, Vulg., Berth., etc.); but the reference of the word to the number cannot be defended.  $\text{לֹא־בָמִסְפָּר}$  denotes only *ad sufficientiam*, and means not merely that the priests had not sanctified themselves in such numbers as were required for the slaughtering and offering of the paschal lambs, but that the priesthood in general was not yet sufficiently consecrated, many priests not having at that time wholly renounced idolatry and consecrated themselves anew. Nor does the passage signify, as Bertheau says it does, "that although the purification of the temple was completed only on the sixteenth day of the first month (xxix. 17), the passover would yet have been celebrated in the first month, though perhaps not on the legal fourteenth day, had not a further postponement become necessary for the reasons here given;" for there is nothing said in the text of a "further postponement." That is just as arbitrarily dragged into the narrative as the idea that Hezekiah ever intended to hold the passover on another day than the legal fourteenth day of the month, which is destitute of all support, and even of probability. The postponement of the passover until the second month in special circumstances was provided for by the law, but the transfer of the celebration to another day of the month was not. Such a transfer would have been an illegal and arbitrary innovation, which we cannot suppose Hezekiah capable of. Rather it is clear from the consultation, that the king and his princes and the congregations were persuaded that the passover could be held only on the fourteenth day of the month; for they did not consult as to the day, but only as to the month, upon the basis of the law: if not in the first, then at any rate in the second month. The day was, for those consulting, so definitely fixed that it was never discussed, and is not mentioned at all in the record. If this were so, then the consultation must have taken place in the first month before the fourteenth day, at a time when the lawful day for the celebration was not yet past. This is implied in the words, "for they could not hold it at that time."  $\text{בְּעֵת הָרִאשׁוֹנָה}$  is the first month, in contrast to "in the second month;" not this or that day of the month. Now, since the reason given for their not being able to

hold it in the first month is that the priests had not sufficiently purified themselves, and the people had not assembled themselves in Jerusalem, we learn with certainty from these reasons that it is not a celebration of the passover in the *first* year of Hezekiah's reign which is here treated of, as almost all commentators think.<sup>1</sup> In the whole narrative there is nothing to favour such a supposition, except (1) the circumstance that the account of this celebration is connected by 1 *consec.* (in וְיִשְׁלַח) with the preceding purification of the temple and restoration of the Jahve-worship which took place in the first year of Hezekiah's reign; and (2) the statement that the priests had not sufficiently sanctified themselves, ver. 3, which, when compared with that in chap. xxix. 34, that the number of priests who had sanctified themselves was not sufficient to slay the beasts for sacrifice, makes it appear as if the passover had been celebrated immediately after the consecration of the temple; and (3) the mention of the second month in ver. 2, which, taken in connection with the mention of the first month in xxix. 3, 17, seems to imply that the second month of the first year of Hezekiah's reign is meant. But of these three apparent reasons none is convincing.

The use of 1 *consec.* to connect the account of the celebration of the passover with the preceding, without the slightest hint that the celebration took place in another (later) year, is fully accounted for by the fact that in no case is the year in which any event of Hezekiah's twenty-nine years' reign occurred stated in the Chronicle. In chap. xxxii. 1, Sennacherib's invasion of Judah is introduced only by the indefinite formula, "and after these events," though it happened in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah; while the arrangements as to the public worship made by this king, and recorded in chap. xxxi., belong to the first years of his reign. Only in the case of the restoration of the Jahve-worship is it remarked, xxix. 3, that Hezekiah commenced it in the very first year of his reign, because that was important in forming an estimate of the spirit of his reign; but the statement of the year in which his other acts were done had not much bearing upon the practical aim of the chronicler. Nor does the reason given for the transfer of the celebration of the passover to the second month, viz. that the priests had not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the elaborate discussion of this question in Caspari, *Beitr. zur Einl. in das B. Jesaja*, S. 109 ff.

sufficiently sanctified themselves, prove that the celebration took place in the first year of Hezekiah. During the sixteen years' reign of the idolater Ahaz, the priesthood had beyond doubt fallen very low,—become morally sunk, so that the majority of them would not immediately make haste to sanctify themselves for the Jahve-worship. Finally, the retrospective reference to xxix. 3, 17, would certainly incline us to take *בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי* to mean the second month of the first year; but yet it cannot be at once taken in that sense, unless the reasons given for the transfer of the celebration of the passover to the second month point to the first year. But these reasons, so far from doing so, are rather irreconcilable with that view. The whole narrative, chap. xxix. and xxx., gives us the impression that Hezekiah had not formed the resolution to hold a passover to which the whole of Israel and Judah, all the Israelites of the ten tribes as well as the citizens of his kingdom, should be invited before or during the purification of the temple; at least he did not consult with his princes and the heads of Jerusalem at that time. According to xxix. 20, the king assembled the princes of the city only after the report had been made to him, on the completion of the purification of the temple on the sixteenth day of the first month, when he summoned them to the dedication of the purified temple by solemn sacrifice. But this consecratory solemnity occupied several days. The great number of burnt-offerings,—first seven bullocks, seven rams, and seven lambs, besides the sin-offering for the consecration of the temple (xxix. 21); then, after the completion of these, the voluntary burnt-offering of the congregation, consisting of 70 bullocks, 100 rams, and 200 lambs, together with and exclusive of the thank-offerings (xxix. 32),—could not possibly be burnt on *one* day on *one* altar of burnt-offering, and consequently the sacrificial meal could not well be held on the same day. If, then, the king consulted with the princes and the assembly about the passover after the conclusion of or during celebration,—say in the time between the seventeenth and the twentieth day,—it could not be said that the reason of the postponement of the passover was that the priests had not yet sufficiently sanctified themselves, and the people were not assembled in Jerusalem: it would only have been said that the fourteenth day of the first month was already past. Caspari has therefore rightly regarded this as decisive. But besides that, the invitation to all Israel (of the ten tribes) to this passover is more easily ex-

plained, if the celebration of it took place after the breaking up of the kingdom of the ten tribes by the Assyrians, than if it was before that catastrophe, in the time of Hosea, the last king of that kingdom. Though King Hosea may not have been so evil as some of his predecessors, yet it is said of him also, "he did that which was evil in the sight of Jahve" (2 Kings xvii. 2). Would Hezekiah have ventured, so long as Hosea reigned, to invite his subjects to a passover at Jerusalem? and would Hosea have permitted the invitation, and not rather have repelled it as an interference with his kingdom? Further, in the invitation, the captivity of the greater part of the ten tribes is far too strongly presupposed to allow us to imagine that the captivity there referred to is the carrying away of several tribes by Tiglath-pileser. The words, "the escaped who are left to you from the hand of the king of Assyria" (ver. 6), presuppose more than the captivity of the two and a half trans-Jordanic tribes and the Naphtalites; not merely because of the plural, the "kings of Assur," but also because the remaining five and a half tribes were not at all affected by Tiglath-pileser's deportation, while there is no mention made of any being carried away by King Pul, nor is it a probable thing in itself; see on 1 Chron. v. 26. Finally, according to chap. xxxi. 1, the Israelites who had been assembled in Jerusalem for the passover immediately afterwards destroyed the pillars, Astartes, high places, and altars, not merely in all Judah and Benjamin, but also in Ephraim and Manasseh (consequently even in the capital of the kingdom of the ten tribes), "unto completion," *i.e.* completely, leaving nothing of them remaining. Is it likely that King Hosea, and the other inhabitants of the kingdom of the ten tribes who had not gone to the passover, but had laughed at and mocked the messengers of Hezekiah (ver. 10), would have quietly looked on and permitted this? All these things are incomprehensible if the passover was held in the first year of Hezekiah, and make it impossible to accept that view.

Moreover, even the preparation for this passover demanded more time than from the seventeenth day of the first month to the fourteenth day of the second. The calling of the whole people together, "from Dan to Beersheba" (ver. 5), could not be accomplished in three weeks. Even if Hezekiah's messengers may have gone throughout the land and returned home again in that time, we yet cannot suppose that those invited, especially those

of the ten tribes, could at once commence their journey, so as to appear in Jerusalem at the time of the feast. In consequence of all these things, we must still remain stedfastly of the opinion already expressed in the *Commentary on the Books of Kings* (vol. ii. p. 81 ff.), that this passover was not held in the first year of Hezekiah, only a week or two after the restoration of the Jahve-worship according to the law had been celebrated. But if it was not held in the first year, then it cannot have been held before the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes, in the sixth year of Hezekiah. In the third year of Hezekiah, Shalmaneser marched upon Samaria, and besieged the capital of the kingdom of the ten tribes. But during the occupation of that kingdom by the Assyrians, Hezekiah could not think of inviting its inhabitants to a passover in Jerusalem. He can have resolved upon that only after the Assyrians had again left the country, Samaria having been conquered, and the Israelites carried away. "But after an end had been thoroughly made of the kingdom of the house of Israel, Hezekiah might regard himself as the king of all Israel, and in this character might invite the remnant of the ten tribes, as his subjects, to the passover (cf. Jer. xl. 1); and he might cherish the hope, as the Israelitish people had been just smitten down by this last frightful catastrophe, that its remaining members would humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, which had been laid on them solemnly, and turning to Him, would comply with the invitation; while before the ruin of the Israelitish kingdom, in inviting the Israelites of the ten tribes, he would have been addressing the subjects of a foreign king" (Caspari, S. 125). And with this view, the statement, xxx. 10, that the messengers of Hezekiah were laughed at by the majority of the Israelites, in the land of Ephraim and Manasseh unto Zebulun, may be easily reconciled. "If we only look," as Caspari pertinently says in answer to this objection, "at the conduct of those who remained in Judea after the destruction of Jerusalem, and who soon afterwards fled to Egypt to Jeremiah (Jer. xlii. 44), we will understand how the majority of the people of the kingdom of the ten tribes, who remained behind after the deportation by Shalmaneser, could be hardened and blinded enough to laugh at and mock the messengers of Hezekiah."

But if Hezekiah formed the resolution of holding such a passover festival only after the destruction of the kingdom of

Israel, it may perhaps be asked why he did not take the matter into consideration early enough to allow of the festival being held at the legal time, *i.e.* in the first month? To this we certainly cannot give an assured answer, because, from the reasons given for the delay of the passover to the second month (ver. 3), we can only gather that, when the king consulted with the princes in the matter, there was no longer sufficient time to carry out the celebration in the manner proposed at the legal time. But it is quite possible that Hezekiah resolved to invite the remnant of the ten tribes to the next passover, only in the beginning of the year, when the Assyrians had withdrawn from the land, and that in the consultation about the matter the two circumstances mentioned in ver. 3 were decisive for the postponement of the feast to the second month. It became clear, on the one hand, that the whole priesthood was not yet sufficiently prepared for it; and on the other, that the summoning of the people could not be accomplished before the 14th Nisan, so as to allow of the feast being held in the way proposed at the legal time; and accordingly it was decided, in order to avoid the postponement of the matter for a whole year, to take advantage of the expedient suggested by the law, and to hold the feast in the second month. From ver. 14 and chap. xxxi. 1 we gather that at that time there were still standing in Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah and Benjamin, Mazzeboth, Asherim, Bamoth, and altars; consequently, that the Baal-worship had not yet been extirpated. The continuance of the Baal-worship, and that on the high places in Jerusalem and Judah, until the sixth or seventh year of Hezekiah's reign, will not much astonish us, if we consider that even before Ahaz the most pious kings had not succeeded in quite suppressing worship on the high places on the part of the people. The reopening of the temple, and of the Jahve-worship in it, Hezekiah might undertake and carry out in the beginning of his reign, because he had all those of the people who were well inclined upon his side. But it was otherwise with the altars on the high places, to which the people from ancient times had been firmly attached. These could not be immediately destroyed, and may have been again restored here and there after they had been destroyed, even in the corners of the capital. Many Levitic priests had, to a certainty, taken part in this worship on high places, since, as a rule, it was not heathen idols, but Jahve, to whom sacrifice was offered upon

the high places, though it was done in an illegal way. Such Levitic priests of the high places could not, even if they had not practised idolatry, straightway take part in a passover to be celebrated to Jahve according to the precepts of the law. They must first sanctify themselves by abandoning the worship on the high places, and earnestly turning to the Lord and to His law. Now, if the passover was to be a general one, the time necessary for this sanctification of themselves must be granted to these priests. For the sanctification of these priests, and for the invitation of all Israel to the festival, the time up to the fourteenth of the second month was sufficient, and the king's proposal was consequently approved of by the whole assembly.—Ver. 5. They established the matter (עֲמִידוֹ דָּבָר, Vulg. rightly, according to the sense, *decreverunt*), to make proclamation throughout all Israel, from Beersheba to Dan (cf. Judg. xx. 1), that they should come to keep the passover. כִּי לֹא לְרֵב, for not in multitude had they celebrated it, as it is written. These words were interpreted as early as by Rashi thus: they had not celebrated it for a long time according to the precepts of the law, and were referred to the time of the division of the kingdom. But to this Berth. has rightly objected that the use of לֹא לְרֵב of time is unusual, and has correctly referred the words to the Israelites: they had not celebrated it in multitude, *i.e.* in the assembly of the whole people, as the law required. The words consequently tell us nothing as to the length of time during which it had not been celebrated in multitude: as to that, see ver. 26. Still less does it follow from the words that under Hezekiah, after the restoration of the temple worship, the passover had not been yearly held.—Ver. 6. “The runners (whether soldiers of the royal body-guard, cf. xii. 10, or other royal couriers, as Esth. iii. 13, 15, cannot be determined) went with letters from the hand of the king, . . . and according to the commandment of the king to say.” To the written invitation of the king and his princes they were to add words of exhortation: “Turn again to Jahve, . . . that He may return (turn Himself) to the remnant which remains to you from the hand of the kings of Assyria,” *i.e.* of Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser.—Ver. 7. Be not like your fathers, your brethren, *i.e.* those carried away by Tiglath and Shalmaneser. On יָתִיב לְשֹׁמֵר cf. xxix. 8.—Ver. 8. Be not stiff-necked; cf. 2 Kings xvii. 14. “Give the hand to the Lord,” *i.e.* here, not submit yourselves, as 1 Chron. xxix. 24, construed with תָּתַת; it denotes the giving of

the hand as a pledge of fidelity, as in 2 Kings x. 15, Ezra x. 19, Ezek. xvii. 18.—Ver. 9. If ye return to the Lord, your brethren and your sons (who are in exile) shall be for mercy, *i.e.* shall find mercy of them who carried them away, and for returning, *i.e.* and they shall return into this land. כִּי הָיָה יְיָ, cf. Ex. xxxiv. 6.—Ver. 10. The couriers went about from city to city in the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, even unto Zebulun; but the people laughed to scorn and mocked at the summons to return, and the invitation to the passover festival. The words “from city to city” are not inconsistent with the view that the kingdom of Israel had already been ruined. The Assyrians had not blotted out all the cities from the face of the land, nor carried away every one of the inhabitants to the last man, but had been satisfied with the capture of the fortresses and their partial or complete demolition, and carried only the flower of the inhabitants away. No doubt also many had saved themselves from deportation by flight to inaccessible places, who then settled again and built in the cities and villages which had not been completely destroyed, or perhaps had been completely spared, after the enemy had withdrawn. From the statement, moreover, that the couriers passed through the land of Ephraim and Manasseh unto Zebulun, no proof can be derived that the messengers did not touch upon the domain of the tribes led away captive by Tiglath-pileser (Naphtali and the trans-Jordanic land), but only visited those districts of the country which formed the kingdom of Israel as it continued to exist after Tiglath-pileser. If that were so, it would follow that the kingdom had not then been destroyed. But the enumeration is not complete, as is manifest from the fact that, according to vers. 11 and 18, men of the tribes of Asher and Issachar came to Jerusalem in compliance with the invitation; and the domain of Asher extended to the northern frontier of Canaan. If we further take it into consideration, that, according to the resolution of the king and his princes, all Israel, from Beersheba on the southern frontier to Dan on the northern, were to be invited, it is not to be doubted that the couriers went through the whole land.—Ver. 12. Also upon Judah came the hand of God, to give them one heart, to do . . . The phrase יְיָ יְהוֹה הָיָה בָּ has usually a punitive signification (cf. Ex. ix. 3; Deut. ii. 15, etc.), but here it is the helping hand of God. God wrought powerfully upon Judah to make them of one mind. כִּי יְיָ יְהוֹה as in xxix. 15.

Vers. 13–22. *The celebration of the passover.*—Ver. 13. The



assembly of the people at Jerusalem to celebrate the feast became a great congregation.—Ver. 14. Before the slaying of the passover, in order to purify and sanctify the city for the feast, they removed the (illegal) altars and places for offering incense which had been erected under Ahaz (xxviii. 24), and threw them into the Kidron (xxix. 16). *מִקְדָּשֵׁי* is here a substantive: places for incense-offerings (cf. Ew. § 160, *e*), and denotes altars intended for the offering of the *קֹטֶרֶת*.—Ver. 15. When they slaughtered the passover on the 14th, the Levites and priests also were ashamed, *i.e.* had sanctified themselves under the influence of a feeling of shame, and offered the sacrifice in the house of the Lord; *i.e.* they performed the sacrificial functions incumbent upon them at the passover in the temple, as is stated more in detail in ver. 16. The clause *וַיִּכְתְּבוּ* is a circumstantial clause, and the statement points back to ver. 3. The mention of Levites along with the priests here is worthy of remark, since in xxix. 34 it is said that at the celebration of the dedication of the temple the Levites had sanctified themselves more zealously than the priests. But these two statements do not contradict each other. In chap. xxix. 34 it is the Levites and priests then present in or dwelling in Jerusalem who are spoken of; here, on the contrary, it is the priests and the Levites of the whole kingdom of Judah. Even though, at the former period, the Levites were more zealous in sanctifying themselves for the dedication of the temple, yet there must certainly have been many Levites in Judah, who, like many of the priests, did not immediately purify themselves from their defilement by the worship in the high places, and were only impelled and driven to sanctify themselves for the service of the Lord by the zeal of the people who had come to Jerusalem to hold the passover.—Ver. 16. Standing in their place, according to their right, *i.e.* according to the prescribed arrangement (see on 1 Chron. vi. 17), the priests sprinkled the blood (of the paschal lambs) from the hand of the Levites, they handing it to them. This was not the rule: in the case of the paschal lamb, the father of the family who slew the lamb had to hand the blood to the priest, that it might be sprinkled upon the altar; here the Levites did it for the reasons given in ver. 17. Because many in the assembly had not sanctified themselves, the Levites presided over the slaying of the paschal lambs for every one who was unclean, to sanctify (the lambs) to the Lord (see also on xxxv. 6, 11). *לִפְנֵי*, *stat. constr.* before the

noun with a preposition, stands as neuter substantively : there was a multitude in the assembly who . . . רַב־תּוֹמָר in ver. 18 is to be taken in a similar manner, not as an adverb (Berth.). רַב־תּוֹמָרִים is in apposition to הָעָם, a multitude of people, viz.: Many of Ephraim . . . had not purified themselves, but ate the passover in an illegal fashion, not according to the precept (cf. Num. ix. 6). This clause explains how it happened that the Levites presided at the slaying of the passover for those who had not sanctified themselves, *i.e.* they caught the blood and gave it to the priests. Had this been done by persons levitically unclean, the expiatory sacrificial blood would have been defiled. The eating of the paschal lamb or the participation in the passover meal was indeed allowed only to the clean ; but yet it was not so holy an act, *i.e.* did not bring the people into such immediate contact with God, who was present at His altar, that those who were not clean might not, under some circumstances, be admitted to it. Here it was allowed, for Hezekiah had prayed for them that God might forgive the transgression of the law.—Ver. 18 ends, according to the Masoretic verse-division, with the preposition בְּעֵר ; but that division seems merely to have arisen from ignorance of the construction בְּלִלְבָבוֹ הָיָה, of the fact that בְּעֵר stands before a relative sentence without אֲשֶׁר, like אֵל in 1 Chron..xv. 12, and is certainly wrong. If we separate בְּעֵר from what follows, we must, with Aben Ezra, supply אֲשֶׁר, and make הָיָה (ver. 19) refer to Hezekiah, both being equally inadmissible. Rightly, therefore, the LXX., Vulg., and also Kimchi, with the majority of commentators, have given up this division of the verses as incorrect, and connected the words in this way : May the good Jahve atone, *i.e.* forgive every one who has fixed his heart (cf. xii. 14) to seek God, Jahve, the God of his fathers, but not in accordance with the purity of the sanctuary. This intercession of Hezekiah's is worthy of remark, not only because it expresses the conviction that upright seeking of the Lord, which proceeds from the heart, is to be more highly estimated than strict observance of the letter of the law, but also because Hezekiah presumes that those who had come out of Ephraim, etc., to the passover had fixed their heart to seek Jahve, the God of their fathers, but had not been in a position to comply with the precept of the law, *i.e.* to purify themselves up to the day appointed for the passover.—Ver. 20. God heard this intercession, and healed the people. נָפְתָה, *sanare*, is not to be explained

by supposing, with Bertheau, that first sickness, and then even death, were to be expected as the results of transgression of the law, according to Lev. xv. 31, and that the people might be already regarded as sick, as being on the point of becoming so. The use of the word is explained by the fact that sin was regarded as a spiritual disease, so that רפא is to be understood of healing the soul (as Ps. xli. 5), or the transgression (Hos. xiv. 5; Jer. iii. 22).—Ver. 21. And the Israelites that were present at Jerusalem kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with great gladness; and the Levites and priests praised the Lord day by day, singing to the Lord בְּכֵלֵי עֹז לַיהוָה, “with instruments of power to the Lord,” i.e. with which they ascribed power to the Lord; or, to express it more clearly, which they played to the praise of the power of the Lord. The stringed instruments played by the Levites, and the trumpets blown by the priests, to accompany the psalm-singing, are meant. The singing of praise in connection with the sacrificial service took place on the seventh day of the feast.—Ver. 22. Hezekiah spoke to the heart of all the Levites, i.e. spoke encouraging words of acknowledgment to all the Levites, “who showed good understanding in regard to Jahve,” i.e. not *qui erant rerum divinarum peritiores aliosque instruere poterant*, but, as Clericus has already said, those who had distinguished themselves by intelligent playing to the honour of the Lord. “And they ate”—not merely the Levites and priests, but all who took part in the festival—the festal sacrifices, seven days. The expression אָכַל אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, to hold the festal sacrificial meal, is formed after אָכַל אֶת־הַפֶּסַח, to eat the passover = the passover meal. This we gather from the following participial clause, “offering peace-offerings,” of which the sacrificial meals were prepared. וַיִּתְּנוּ, and acknowledged the Lord, the God of their fathers. הִתְּוָה denotes here neither “to make confession of sin,” nor “to approach with thank-offerings” (Berth.), but simply to acknowledge the Lord with heart and mouth, word and deed, or by prayer, praise, thanks, and offering of sacrifice.

Vers. 23-27. *Prolongation of the festival for seven days more, and the conclusion of it.*—Ver. 23 f. Since the king and the princes had given a very large number of beasts for sacrifice as thank-offerings, it was resolved to keep joy for other seven days, i.e. to keep them festally, with sacrificial meals. The expression עָשָׂה יָמִים, to hold or celebrate days, is similar to עָשָׂה פֶּסַח, to hold the passover. שִׁמְחָה is an adverbial accusative: in joy. For this

resolution two reasons are given in ver. 24: 1. Hezekiah had given to the assembly 1000 bullocks and 7000 head of small cattle, and the princes had given 1000 bullocks and 10,000 head of small cattle besides; so that there was more than they could use during the seven days of the Mazzoth feast. Bertheau incorrectly supposes that these were "rich gifts for further sacrificial feasts." The gifts were bestowed for the Mazzoth festival, but were so plentiful that they sufficed for another festival of seven days. תָּרַם, like תָּרַם, denotes to bestow, i.e. to present beasts, etc., with the design that they should be used as sacrifices; cf. xxxv. 7. 2. The second reason: "priests also had sanctified themselves in multitude," so as to be able to carry on the service at the altar, even with such numerous sacrifices, refers back to vers. 15 and 3.—Vers. 25–27. Concluding remarks on this festival. There took part in it (1) the whole congregation of Judah, and the priests and Levites; (2) the whole congregation of those who had come out of Israel (the ten tribes); (3) the strangers, both those who came out of the land of Israel and those dwelling in Judah.—Ver. 26. The joy was great, for there had not been the like in Jerusalem since the days of Solomon. "The meaning is, that this feast could be compared only with the feast at the dedication of the temple in the time of Solomon, chap. vii. 1–10, in respect to its length, the richness of the sacrificial gifts, the multitude of those who participated, and the joyous feeling it caused" (Berth.). The feast at the dedication of the temple had been a festival of fourteen days; for the feast of tabernacles, which lasted seven days, came immediately after the proper dedicatory feast, and since the time of Solomon all the tribes had never been united at a feast in Jerusalem.—Ver. 27. At the end the Levitic priests dismissed the people with the blessing (the ? before הָלְלִים in some mss., and which the LXX., Vulg., and Syr. also have, is a copyist's gloss brought from ver. 25; cf. against it, chap. xxiii. 18), and the historian adds, "Their voice was heard, and their prayer came to His holy dwelling-place, to heaven." This conclusion he draws from the divine blessing having been upon the festival; traceable partly in the zeal which the people afterwards showed for the public worship in the temple (chap. xxxi.), partly in the deliverance of Judah and Jerusalem from the attack of the Assyrian Sennacherib (chap. xxxii.).

Chap. xxxi. *Destruction of the idols and the altars of the high places. Provisions for the ordering and maintenance of the temple*

*worship, and the attendants upon it.*—Ver. 1. At the conclusion of the festival, all the Israelites who had been present at the feast (כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַנִּמְצָאִים) to be understood as in xxx. 21) went into the cities of Judah, and destroyed all the idols, high places, and altars not only in Judah and Benjamin (the southern kingdom), but also in Ephraim and Manasseh (the domain of the ten tribes), utterly (עַד־לְבַלְלָהּ, cf. xxiv. 10), and only then returned each to his home; cf. 2 Kings xviii. 4.

Vers. 2-21. *Restoration of order in the public worship, and of the temple revenues and those of the priests.*—Ver. 2. Hezekiah appointed the courses of the priests and Levites according to their courses, each according to the measure of his service (cf. Num. vii. 5, 7), viz. the priests and Levites (לֵוִי לְכָה' וְלֵל' are subordinated to אֵשׁ in apposition by לְ), for burnt-offerings and thank-offerings, to serve (to wait upon the worship), and to praise and thank (by song and instrumental music) in the gates of the camp of Jahve, i.e. in the temple and court of the priests; see on 1 Chron. ix. 18 f.—Ver. 3. And the portion of the king from his possession was for the burnt-offerings, etc.; that is, the material for the burnt-offerings which are commanded in Num. xxviii. and xxix. the king gave from his possessions, which are enumerated in chap. xxxii. 27-29.—Vers. 4-8. The priests and Levites received their maintenance from the first-fruits (Ex. xxiii. 19; Num. xviii. 12; Deut. xxvi. 2) and the tithes, which the people had to pay from the produce of their cattle-breeding and their agriculture (Lev. xxvii. 30-33, cf. with Num. xviii. 21-24). Hezekiah commanded the people, viz. the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to give this portion to the Levites and priests, that they might hold themselves firmly to the law of Jahve, i.e. might devote themselves to the duties laid upon them by the law, the attendance upon the worship, without being compelled to labour for their subsistence; cf. Neh. xiii. 10 ff.—Ver. 5. When the word (the royal command) went forth (spread abroad), the Israelites brought in abundance the first-fruits which had been assigned to the priests (xviii. 12 f.), and the tithes, which were paid to the whole tribe of Levi (Num. xviii. 21-24). בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, ver. 6, are not the inhabitants of the northern kingdom, but the Israelites who had emigrated from that kingdom into Judah (as xxx. 25, xi. 16, x. 17). מִשְׁעַר קֹדֶשִׁים, the tenth from the holy gifts which were consecrated to Jahve, is surprising, since in the law, Num. xviii. 8 ff., it is not the tenth of the consecrated gifts

which is spoken of, but only תְּרוֹמוֹת הַקֹּדֶשִׁים (Num. xviii. 19). Proceeding upon the assumption that all קֹדֶשִׁים which were consecrated to Jahve were given over to the tribe of Levi, Bertheau finds no correspondence between the law and the statement of our verse, that the tenth of the holy things was given, and points out that the LXX. seem to have read וְהַקֹּדֶשִׁים instead of מַעֲשֵׂר קֹדֶשִׁים, without, however, himself deciding in favour of that reading. But the LXX. have rendered the words וּמַעֲשֵׂר קֹדֶשִׁים by ἐπιδέκασα αὐγῶν, καὶ ἡγῆσαν, and consequently cannot have read וְהַקֹּדֶשִׁים for מַעֲשֵׂר, since in their translation ἐπιδέκασα corresponds to מַעֲשֵׂר. But the deviation of the statement in our verse from the law, Num. xviii., arises partly from an incorrect or inexact interpretation of the provisions of the law, Num. xviii. 8 ff. In the law, קֹדֶשִׁים as such were not assigned to the tribe of Levi, or more correctly to the priests (Aaron and his sons), but only the תְּרוֹמוֹת לְכָל-קֹדֶשִׁים, the heave-offerings of all the holy gifts of the sons of Israel, i.e. the pieces or parts of the sacrificial gifts of the Israelites which were not burnt upon the altar, consequently the greater part of the meal, and oil, and flesh of the oblations, the sin-offerings, the trespass-offerings, and of the peace-offerings, the wave-breast and wave-thigh, and whatever else was waved in wave-offerings; see on Num. xviii. 8 ff. These Therumoth of the consecrated gifts are in our verse designated מַעֲשֵׂר קֹדֶשִׁים, because they were only a fragment of that which was consecrated to the Lord, just as the tenth was a fragment of the whole herd, and of the field produce. The statement of our verse, therefore, differs only in expression from the prescription of the law, but in substance it completely agrees with it. וַיִּתְּנוּ עֲרֻמוֹת עֵר, and they made many heaps, i.e. they brought the first-fruits and tithes in heaps.—Ver. 7. In the third month, consequently immediately at the end of the grain harvest, they commenced to found the heaps (to lay the foundation of the heaps); and in the seventh month, i.e. at the end of the fruit and wine harvest, they completed them (the heaps). In the third month fell pentecost, or the harvest feast; in the seventh, the feast of tabernacles, after the gathering in of all the fruits. לִסְדֹּר has Daghesh in ס, because this verb in the imperf. assimilates its י like נ to the second radical, and the infinitive is formed after the imperf.; cf. Ew. § 245, a.—Ver. 8. When Hezekiah and the priests saw these heaps, they praised the Lord and His people Israel.

The employment and storing of these gifts, vers. 9-19.—Ver. 9 f. Hezekiah questioned (יִדְרֹשׁ) the priests and Levites concerning the heaps, *i.e.* not as to whether they were sufficient for the support of the priests and Levites, but as to how it happened that such masses had been heaped up. Thereupon Azariah the high priest (hardly the Azariah mentioned xxvi. 17, who forty years before tried to prevent Uzziah from pressing into the holy place), of the house of Zadok, answered him: Since they began to bring (לָבִיא for לִהְבִּיא) the heave-offerings into the house of the Lord, we have eaten and satisfied ourselves, and have left in plenty. The *infin. absol.* אָכַל וְשָׂבַע וְהוּתַר stand in animated speech instead of the first pers. plur. perf. From the same animation arises the construction of אֶת־הַהֶמְכֶּם with הוּתַר; for “that which is left” signifies, and we have left this quantity here.—Ver. 11 f. Then the king commanded to prepare cells in the house of God for the storing of the provisions. Whether new cells were built, or cells already existing were prepared for this purpose, cannot be decided, since הֵכֵן may signify either. Into these cells they brought the תְּרומָה, which here denotes the first-fruits (cf. ver. 5), the tithes, and the dedicated things, בְּאֵמֶנָה, with fidelity, cf. xix. 9. עֲלֵיהֶם, over them (the first-fruits, etc.) the Levite Cononiah was set as ruler (inspector), and his brother Shimei as second ruler (מִשְׁנֵה).—Ver. 13. To them at their hand, *i.e.* as subordinate overseers, were given ten Levites, who are enumerated by name. Of the names, Jehiel and Mahath occur in xxix. 12 and 14. בְּמִסְפָּר is translated by the Vulg. *ex imperio*, better *ex mandato Hizkia*. Azariah, the prince of the house of God, is the high priest mentioned in ver. 10.—To the fourteen Levites named in vers. 13 and 14 was committed the oversight and storing of the first-fruits, tithes, and consecrated gifts. Besides these, there were special officers appointed for the distribution of them.—In vers. 14-19 these are treated of; ver. 14 dealing with the distribution of the voluntary gifts of God, *i.e.* all which was offered to God of spontaneous impulse (Lev. xxiii. 38; Deut. xii. 17), to which the first-fruits and tithes did not belong, they being assessments prescribed by the law. Over the freewill offerings the Levite Kore, the doorkeeper towards the east (see on 1 Chron. ix. 18), was set. His duty was to give (distribute) “the heave-offerings of Jahve,” *i.e.* that portion of the thank-offerings which properly belonged to Jahve, and which was transferred by Him to the priests (Lev. vii. 14, xxxii. 10,

14 f.; Num. v. 9), and the "most holy," *i.e.* that part of the sin and trespass offerings (Lev. vi. 10, 22, vii. 6) and of the oblations (Lev. ii. 3, 10) which was to be eaten by the priests in the holy place.—Ver. 15. At his hand (יָדוֹ עַל כִּידָּ, ver. 13), *i.e.* under his superintendence, there were six Levites, enumerated by name, in the priests' cities, with fidelity, "to give to their brethren in their courses, as well to the great as to the small" (*i.e.* to the older and to the younger), *sc.* the portion of the gifts received which fell to each. By the brethren in their courses we are to understand not merely the Levites dwelling in the priests' cities, who on account of their youth or old age could not come into the temple, but also those who at the time were not on duty, since the Levites' courses performed it by turns, only some courses being on duty in the temple, while the others were at home in the priests' cities. The object to לָתֵת, ver. 15, is not to be taken straightway from the objects mentioned with לָתֵת in ver. 14. For the most holy gifts could not be sent to the priests' cities, but were consumed in the holy place, *i.e.* in the temple. Nor can we confine לָתֵת to the גִּבְרֹת הָאֱלֹהִים; for since the gifts of the people, laid up in the cells, consisted in first-fruits, tithes, and consecrated gifts (ver. 11), and special officers were appointed for the storing and distribution of them, the business of distribution could not consist merely in the giving out of freewill offerings, but must have extended to all the offerings of the people. When, therefore, it is said of the Levite Kore, in ver. 14, that he was appointed over the freewill offerings, to distribute the heave-offerings and the most holy, only his chief function is there mentioned, and the functions of the officials associated with and subordinated to him in the priests' cities are not to be confined to that. The object to לָתֵת, ver. 15, is consequently to be determined by the whole context, and the arrangements which are assumed as known from the law; *i.e.* we must embrace under that word the distribution of the first-fruits, tithes, and consecrated gifts, of which the Levites in the priests' cities were to receive their portion according to the law.—In ver. 16, the אֲחֵיהֶם בְּמַחֲלָקוֹת of ver. 15 is more closely defined by an exception: "Besides their catalogue of the men (*i.e.* exclusive of those of the male sex catalogued by them) from three years old and upward, namely, of all those who came into the house of Jahve to the daily portion, for their service in their offices according to their courses." דְּבָרֵיהֶם בְּיוֹמוֹ signifies, in this connection, the portion of the holy gifts coming to them



for every day; cf. Neh. xi. 23. The meaning of the verse is: From those dwelling in the priests' cities were excluded those who had come to perform service in the temple; and, indeed, not merely those performing the service, but also their male children, who were catalogued along with them if they were three years old and upward. Thence it is clear that those entering upon their service took their sons with them when they were three years old. These children ate in the place of the sanctuary of the portion coming to their parents.—Ver. 17 contains a parenthetical remark as to the catalogues. **וְאֵלֶּיךָ**, as *nota accus.*, serves here to emphasize the statement which is added as an elucidation (cf. Ew. § 277, d): “But concerning the catalogue of the priests, it was (taken, prepared) according to the fathers’-houses; and the Levites, they were from twenty years old and upwards in their offices in their courses.” All the duties were discharged by several courses. On the age fixed on, see 1 Chron. xxiii. 27.—Ver. 18. The connection and interpretation of this verse is doubtful. If we take **וְאֵלֶּיךָ** as a continuation of **וְאֵלֶּיךָ**, ver. 17, it gives us no suitable sense. The addition, “and also to every priest and Levite was a larger or smaller portion given according to the catalogue” (Ramb., etc.), is arbitrary, and does not fully express the **כִּי** before **כָּל־יָמֵם**. Berth., on the other hand, correctly remarks, “After the parentheses in vers. 16 and 17, **וְאֵלֶּיךָ** may be taken as a continuation of **לָתֵת** in ver. 16;” but the word itself he translates wrongly thus: The men were in the priests’ cities, also to register their children, etc., disregarding the construction of **וְאֵלֶּיךָ** with **כִּי**.—From ver. 19, where the same construction recurs, we learn how to interpret **הַחֵיטָל בְּכָל־יָמֵם**: the catalogue = those registered in (of) all their children. According to this view, **וְאֵלֶּיךָ** corresponds to the **לְאֹחֵיהֶם**, ver. 15: to give to their brethren, . . . and to the registered of all their children, their wives, and their sons and daughters, viz. to the whole multitude (*sc.* of the wives, sons, and daughters), *i.e.* as many of them as there were. This interpretation of the **לְכָל־קָהָל** seems simpler than with Schmidt and Ramb. to understand **קָהָל** to denote the corporation of priests. There was therefore no one forgotten or overlooked; “for according to their fidelity (ver. 15) did they show themselves holy in regard to the holy,” *i.e.* they acted in a holy manner with the holy gifts, distributed them disinterestedly and impartially to all who had any claim to them.—Ver. 19. And for the sons of Aaron, the priests, in the field of the districts

of their cities (cf. Lev. xxv. 34; Num. xxxv. 5), in each city were men (appointed) famous (אֲשֶׁר יָקָרוּ בְשֵׁמוֹת, as in xxviii. 15; see on 1 Chron. xii. 31), to give portions to each male among the priests, and to all that were registered among the Levites. As for the inhabitants of the priests' cities (ver. 15), so also for the priests and Levites dwelling in the pasture grounds of the priests' cities, were special officers appointed to distribute the priestly revenues.

Vers. 20, 21. The conclusion of this account. Thus did Hezekiah in all Judah, and wrought in general that which was good and right and הִצַּחֲמֵת before the Lord his God; and in every work that he commenced for the service of the house of God, and for the law and the commandment (i.e. for the restoration of the law and its commands), to seek his God, he did it with all his heart, and prospered.

Chap. xxxii. *Sennacherib's campaign against Judah and Israel: Hezekiah's sickness, the remainder of his reign, and his death.* Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 13–xx. 21, and Isa. xxxvi.–xxxix.—Vers. 1–13. Sennacherib's campaign against Judah and Jerusalem, and the annihilation of his whole army by the angel of the Lord. In 2 Kings xviii. and xix., and Isa. xxxvi. and xxxvii., we have two minute parallel accounts of this war, which threatened the existence of the kingdom of Judah, in both of which the course of this attack by the Assyrian world-power upon the kingdom of God is circumstantially narrated. The author of the Chronicle gives only a short narrative of the main events of the struggle; but, notwithstanding its brevity, supplies us with several not unessential additions to these detailed accounts. After stating that Sennacherib invaded Judah with the design of conquering the kingdom for himself (ver. 1), the author of the Chronicle describes the preparations which Hezekiah made for the defence of the capital in case it should be besieged (vers. 2–8). Then we have an account of Sennacherib's attempts to get Jerusalem into his power, by sending his generals, who sought to induce the people to submit by boastful speeches, and by writing threatening letters to Hezekiah (vers. 9–19); and, finally, of Hezekiah's prayer to God for help, and the answer to his prayer—the wonderful annihilation of the Assyrian army (vers. 20–23). The purpose of the chronicler in narrating these events was a didactic one: he wishes to show how God the Lord helped the pious King Hezekiah in this danger to his

kingdom, and humbled the presumption of Sennacherib confiding in the might of his powerful army. For this purpose, a brief rhetorical summary of the main events of the struggle and its issues was sufficient. As to the facts, see the commentary on 2 Kings xviii. f. and Isa. xxxvi. f.

Ver. 1. The didactic and rhetorical character of the narrative is manifest in the very form of the introductory statement. Instead of the chronological statement of 2 Kings xviii. 13, we find the loose formula of connection: After these events and this fidelity (cf. xxxi. 20), Sennacherib came (בָּא) and entered into Judah (וַיָּבֹא בִיהוּדָה), and besieged the fenced cities, and thought (וַיֵּאָמֶר) to break (conquer) them for himself. He had already taken a number of them, and had advanced as far as Lachish in the south-west of Judah, when he made the attempt to get Jerusalem into his power; cf. 2 Kings xviii. 13 f.

Vers. 2-8. *Preparations of Hezekiah for the strengthening and defending of Jerusalem.*—We find an account of this neither in 2 Kings xviii. nor in Isa. xxxvi.; but the fact is confirmed both by Isa. xxii. 8-11, and by the remark 2 Kings xx. 20 (cf. ver. 30 of our chapter).—Ver. 2 ff. When Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib advanced, and his face was to war against Jerusalem, *i.e.* that he purposed to capture Jerusalem, he consulted with his princes and his valiant men to cover the waters of the springs which were outside the city; and they helped him, brought much people together, and covered all the springs, and the brook which ran through the midst of the land. קָתַם does not denote to obstruct, but only to hide by covering and conducting the water into subterranean channels. The brook which flowed through the midst of the land is the Gihon, which was formed by the waters flowing from the springs, and was dried up by these springs being covered and the water diverted. For further information, see on ver. 30. The object of this measure is stated in the words which follow: Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water? *i.e.*, why should we provide them with much water, when they advance against the city and besiege it? The plural, kings of Assyria, is rhetorical, as in xxviii. 16.—Ver. 5. The fortification of Jerusalem. יָחִיזַק, he showed himself strong, courageous, as in xv. 8, xxiii. 1. And he built the whole wall which was broken, *i.e.* he strengthened it by building up the breaches and defective places; cf. Isa. xxii. 9 f. The words וַיֵּלֶךְ עַל-הַמְּגִלּוֹת are obscure, since the translation

"he mounted on the towers" has no meaning. But if <sup>ל</sup>י be taken as a Hiph., "he caused to ascend upon the towers," the object is wanting; and if we supply walls, it is arbitrary, for we might just as well suppose it to be machines which he caused to be carried to the top of the towers for defence against the enemy (xxvi. 15). The LXX. have wholly omitted the words, and the translation of the Vulg., *et extruxit turres desuper*, appears to be only a guess, but is yet perhaps correct, and presupposes the reading <sup>וַיַּעַל</sup> <sup>עָלֶיהָ</sup> <sup>מִגְדָּלוֹת</sup>, "and brought up upon it towers," in favour of which Ewald also decides. This conjecture is in any case simpler than Bertheau's, that <sup>עַל</sup> <sup>לְ</sup>י is a false transcription of <sup>וַיַּעַל</sup> <sup>עָלֶיהָ</sup>: "he built the whole wall, and towers upon it, and outside was the other wall," and is therefore to be preferred to it. The "other wall" enclosed the lower city (Acra). This, too, was not first built by Hezekiah; he only fortified it anew, for Isa. xxii. 11 already speaks of two walls, between which a body of water had been introduced: see on ver. 30. He fortified also the Millo of the city of David (see on 1 Chron. xi. 8), and supplied the fortifications with weapons (<sup>שִׁלָּח</sup>, a weapon of defence; see on Joel ii. 8) in multitude, and with shields; cf. xxvi. 14.—Ver. 6. And, moreover, he set captains of war over the people, i.e. the populace of Jerusalem, assembled them in the open space at the city gate (which gate is not stated; cf. Neh. viii. 1, 16), and addressed them in encouraging words; cf. xxx. 22. On ver. 7a, cf. xx. 15, Deut. xxxi. 6, etc. "For with us is more than with him." <sup>כִּי</sup>, quite general, the closer definition following in ver. 8: "With him is an arm of flesh; but with us is Jahve, our God, to help us." An arm of flesh = frail human power; cf. Isa. xxi. 3: their (the Egyptians') horses are flesh, not spirit; Jer. xvii. 5, Ps. lvi. 5. "And the people leaned themselves on (i.e. trusted in) the words of Hezekiah." These statements are not inconsistent with the account in 2 Kings xviii. 14–16, that Hezekiah began to negotiate with the Assyrian king Sennacherib when he had begun to take the fenced cities of the land unto Lachish, promised to pay him tribute, and actually paid the sum demanded, employing for that purpose even the sheet gold on the temple doors. These negotiations are passed over, not only in our narrative, but also in Isa. xxxvi, because they had no influence upon the after course and the issue of the war. Sennacherib was not induced to withdraw by the payment of the sum demanded, and soon after the receipt of it he sent a detach-

ment from Lachish against Jerusalem, to summon the city to surrender. The fortification of Jerusalem which the Chronicle records began before these negotiations, and was continued while they were in progress.

Vers. 9-19. *The advance of an Assyrian army against Jerusalem*, and the attempts of Sennacherib's generals to induce the population of the capital to submit by persuasive and threatening speeches, are very briefly narrated, in comparison with 2 Kings xviii. 17-36. In ver. 9, neither the names of the Assyrian generals, nor the names of Hezekiah's ambassadors with whom they treated, are given; nor is the place where the negotiation was carried on mentioned. עֲבָדָיו, his servants, Sennacherib's generals. וְהָיָא עַל־לָכִי, while he himself lay near (or against) Lachish, and all the army of his kingdom with him. מְמִשְׁלָתוֹ, his dominion, i.e. army of his kingdom; cf. Jer. xxxiv. 1.—Ver. 10 ff. Only the main ideas contained in the speech of these generals are reported; in vers. 10-12 we have the attempt to shake the trust of the people in Hezekiah and in God (Kings, vers. 19-22). וְיִשְׁעִים is a continuation of the question, In what do ye trust, and why sit ye in the distress, in Jerusalem? מִפְּנֵי as in 2 Kings xviii. 32: Hezekiah seduces you, to give you over to death by hunger and thirst. This thought is much more coarsely expressed in 2 Kings xviii. 27.—On ver. 12, cf. 2 Kings xviii. 22. מִזְבֵּחַ אֶחָד is the one altar of burnt-offering in the temple.—Ver. 13 f. The description of Sennacherib's all-conquering power: cf. 2 Kings xviii. 35; Isa. xxxvi. 20, and xxxvii. 11-13. "Who is there among all the gods of these peoples, whom my fathers utterly destroyed, who could have delivered his people out of my hand, that your God should save you?" The idea is, that since the gods of the other peoples, which were mightier than your God, have not been able to save their peoples, how should your God be in a position to rescue you from my power? This idea is again repeated in ver. 15, as a foundation for the exhortation not to let themselves be deceived and misled by Hezekiah, and not to believe his words, and that in an assertative form: "for not one god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people, . . . much less then (אִם) your gods: they will not save you;" and this is done in order to emphasize strongly the blasphemy of the Assyrian generals against the Almighty God of Israel. To communicate more of these blasphemous speeches would in the chronicler's view be useless, and he there-

fore only remarks, in ver. 16, "And yet more spake his (Sennacherib's) servants against God Jahve, and against His servant Hezekiah;" and then, in ver. 17, that Sennacherib also wrote a letter of similar purport, and (ver. 18) that his servants called with a loud voice in the Jews' speech to the people of Jerusalem upon the wall, to throw them into fear and terrify them, that they might take the city. What they called to the people is not stated, but by the infinit. לִרְאוֹת וּלְבַרְרָם it is hinted, and thence we may gather that it was to the same effect as the blasphemous speeches above quoted (לִרְאוֹת, inf. Pi., as in Neh. vi. 19).—On comparing 2 Kings xviii. and xix., it is clear that Sennacherib only sent the letter to Hezekiah after his general Rabshakeh had informed him of the fruitlessness of his efforts to induce the people of Jerusalem to submit by speeches, and the news of the advance of the Cushite king Tirhakah had arrived; while the calling aloud in the Jews' language to the people standing on the wall, on the part of his generals, took place in the first negotiation with the ambassadors of Hezekiah. The author of the Chronicle has arranged his narrative rhetorically, so as to make the various events form a climax: first, the speeches of the servants of Sennacherib; then the king's letter to Hezekiah to induce him and his counsellors to submit; and finally, the attempt to terrify the people in language intelligible to them. The conclusion is the statement, ver. 19: "They spake of the God of Jerusalem as of the gods of the peoples of the earth, the work of the hands of man;" cf. 2 Kings xix. 18.

Vers. 20–23. *Prayer of King Hezekiah and of the prophet Isaiah for the help of the Lord.*—Ver. 20. The main contents of Hezekiah's prayer are communicated in 2 Kings xix. 14–19 and Isa. xxxvii. 15–19. There it is not expressly said that Isaiah also prayed, but it may be inferred from the statement in 2 Kings xix. 2 ff. and Isa. xxxvii. 2 ff. that Hezekiah sent a deputation to the prophet with the request that he would pray for the people. In answer Isaiah promised the ambassadors deliverance, as the word of the Lord. עַל זֵאת, on account of this, i.e. on account of the contempt shown for the God of Israel, which was emphatically dwelt upon both in the prayer of Hezekiah (2 Kings xix. 16) and in the word of Isaiah, ver. 22 ff.—Ver. 21. The deliverance: cf. 2 Kings xix. 35 ff.; Isa. xxxvii. 36 ff. The number of Assyrians smitten by the angel of the Lord is not stated, as it was not of importance, the main fact being that the

whole Assyrian host was annihilated, so that Sennacherib had to return with disgrace into his own land. This is what is signified by the rhetorical phrase: The angel of Jahve destroyed all the valiant warriors, and the leaders and princes of the king of Assyria, and he returned with shame of face (cf. Ezra ix. 7; Ps. xlv. 16) to his land, where his sons slew him in the temple. In regard to the facts, see on 2 Kings xix. 37 and Isa. xxxvii. 38. The Keth. מִצִּיּוֹ is an orthographical error for מִצִּיּוֹ, a contraction of מִן and מִצִּיּוֹ from מִצִּיּוֹ, a passive formation with intransitive signification: some of those who went forth from his own bowels, i.e. some of his sons; cf. the similar formation מִלִּיד, 1 Chron. xx. 4.—Ver. 22. Conclusion of this event. So the Lord helped, etc., מִי־כָל, and out of the hand of all, sc. his enemies; but we need not on that account, with some manuscripts, bring אֶי־כִי into the text. וַיִּנְהֲלֵם, and protected them round about. נָהַל, to lead, guide, with the additional idea of care and protection (Ps. xxxi. 4; Isa. xlix. 10, li. 18); and consequently here, protect, defend. There is therefore no need of the conjecture וַיִּנַּח לָהֶם, which Berth. holds to be the original reading, without considering that, though וַיִּנַּח מִסָּבִיב is a current phrase with the chronicler (cf. xiv. 6, xv. 15, xx. 30; 1 Chron. xxii. 18), the supposition that these words became וַיִּנְהֲלֵם by an orthographical error is not at all probable.—Ver. 23. Many brought gifts to the Lord to Jerusalem, and presents to King Hezekiah. רַבִּים is not to be restricted to Israelites, but probably denotes chiefly neighbouring peoples, who by the destruction of the Assyrian army were also freed from this dreaded enemy. They, too, might feel impelled to show their reverence for the God of Israel, who had so wonderfully delivered His people by their gifts.

Vers. 24-26. *Hezekiah's sickness and recovery; his pride and his humiliation.*—Ver. 24. As to the sickness of Hezekiah, and the miraculous sign by which the prophet Isaiah assured him of recovery, see the account in 2 Kings xx. 1-11 and Isa. xxxviii. The Chronicle has only given us hints on this matter. וַיִּאָמֶר and נָתַן refer to the same subject—God. Hezekiah prayed, and in consequence of his prayer God spake to him, sc. by the mouth of the prophet, and gave him a miraculous sign.—Ver. 25. "But Hezekiah rendered not according to the benefit unto him, for his heart was proud." In his sickness he had promised to walk in humility all his days (Isa. xxxviii. 15): yet he became proud after his recovery; and his pride showed itself especially

in his showing all his treasures to the Babylonian embassy, in idle trust in them and in the resources at his command (cf. 2 Kings xx. 12–15; Isa. xxxix. 1–4). “And there was wrath upon him, and upon Judah and Jerusalem,” which participated in the king’s sentiments (cf. xix. 10; 1 Chron. xxvii. 24). Isaiah proclaimed this wrath to him in the prophecy that all the treasures of the king would be carried away to Babylon, and that some of his sons should become courtiers of the king of Babylon (2 Kings xx. 16–18; Isa. xxxix. 5–7), to which we should perhaps also reckon the threatening prophecy in Mic. iii. 12.—Ver. 26. Then Hezekiah humbled himself in his pride, and the wrath came not upon them in the days of Hezekiah (cf. Isa. xxxix. 8). The threatened judgment was postponed because of this humiliation, and broke over the royal house and the whole kingdom only at a later time in the Chaldean invasion.

Vers. 27–33. *Hezekiah’s riches; concluding estimate of his reign; his death and burial.*—Ver. 27. Like Jehoshaphat (xvii. 5, xviii. 1), Solomon (i. 12), and David (1 Chron. xxix. 28), Hezekiah attained to riches and glory, and made unto himself treasure-chambers for silver, gold, precious stones, and spices, shields, and all manner of splendid furniture. The כְּנָנִים are named instead of weapons in general. The collection of them brings to recollection the בָּלִי בַיִת (2 Kings xx. 13 and Isa. xxxix. 2).—Ver. 28. Storehouses also (magazines) for the agricultural produce, and stalls for all manner of cattle, and stalls for the herds, like David (1 Chron. xxvii. 25 ff.) and Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 10). מִסְכְּנֹת is a transposition of מִכְנָסוֹת, storehouses, from כָּנַס, to heap up. “Cattle and cattle” = all kinds of cattle. אֲרוֹת, synonymous with אֲרִיֹּת (ix. 5), stables or stalls for cattle. The word אֲרוֹת, which occurs only here, must have the same signification, and be held to be a transposed form of that word.—Ver. 29. And cities (?) made (procured) he for himself. עִירִים cannot in this connection denote the usual cities; it must mean either watch-towers (from עָר, to watch) or dwelling-places for herds and cattle, since עִיר, according to 2 Kings xvii. 9, is used of any enclosed place, from a watch-tower to a fenced city. רֶכֶשׁ, as in xxxi. 3, of possessions in herds.—Ver. 30. The same Hezekiah covered the upper outlet of the water Gihon, and brought it down westwards to the city of David, i.e. by a subterranean channel into the city of David (see on ver. 3). The form וַיִּשְׁרֹם is Piel וַיִּשְׁרֹם; the Keri is the same conjug., only contracted into וַיִּשְׁרֹם, as וַיִּבְשֹׁ for



שׂוֹמֵר, the ך of the third person having amalgamated with the first radical, under the influence of the ך consec. With the last clause in ver. 30 cf. xxxi. 21, 1 Chron. xxix. 23.—Ver. 31. “And so (*i.e.* accordingly) in the case of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, . . . God left him.” וְכֵן does not denote *attamen*; it never has an adversative meaning. Bertheau rightly translates, “and accordingly,” with the further remark, that by וְכֵן the account of Hezekiah’s treatment of the Babylonian ambassadors, which could not be reckoned among his fortunate deeds, is brought into harmony with the remark that he prospered in all his undertakings. It was permitted by God that Hezekiah should on this occasion be lifted up, and should commit an iniquity which could not but bring misfortune with it; not in order that He might plunge him into misfortune, but to try him, and to humble him (cf. ver. 26).—Ver. 32. חֲסִידִים, pious deeds, as in vi. 42. חֲזוֹן שׁ is the book of Isaiah’s prophecies; see the Introduction, p. 30.—Ver. 33. Hezekiah was buried “on the height of the graves of the sons of David,” perhaps because there was no longer room in the hereditary burying-place of the kings; so that for Hezekiah and the succeeding kings special graves had to be prepared in a higher place of the graves of the kings. “They did him honour in his death,” by the burning of many spices, as we may conjecture (cf. xvi. 14, xxi. 19).

## CHAP. XXXIII.—THE REIGNS OF MANASSEH AND AMON.

## CF. 2 KINGS XXI.

Vers. 1-20. *The reign of Manasseh*; cf. 2 Kings xxi. 1-18.—The characteristics of this king’s reign, and of the idolatry which he again introduced, and increased in a measure surpassing all his predecessors (vers. 1-9), agrees almost verbally with 2 Kings xxi. 1-9. Here and there an expression is rhetorically generalized and intensified, *e.g.* by the plurals לְבָעִלִּים and אֱשֵׁרוֹת (ver. 3) instead of the sing. לְבַעַל and אֱשֵׁרָה (Kings), and בָּנָיו (ver. 6) instead of בֶּנִּי (see on xxviii. 3); by the addition of וְיִשְׁפָּה and וְיִחַשׁ, and of the name the Vale of Hinnom, ver. 6 (see on Josh. xv. 18, יָי for יֵי); by heaping up words for the law and its commandments (ver. 8); and other small deviations, of which פָּסַל (ver. 7) instead of הָאֱשֵׁרָה (Kings) is the most important. The word פָּסַל, sculpture or statue, is derived from Deut. iv. 16, but has perhaps been taken by the author of the

Chronicle from Ezek. viii. 3, where סָטֵל probably denotes the statue of Asherah. The form עִלֹּם for עֵלֶם (ver. 7) is not elsewhere met with.—At ver. 10, the account in the Chronicle diverges from that in 2 Kings. In 2 Kings xxi. 10–16 it is related how the Lord caused it to be proclaimed by the prophets, that in punishment of Manasseh's sins Jerusalem would be destroyed, and the people given into the power of their enemies, and how Manasseh filled Jerusalem with the shedding of innocent blood. Instead of this, in ver. 10 of the Chronicle it is only briefly said that the Lord spake to Manasseh and to his people, but they would not hearken; and then in vers. 11–17 it is narrated that Manasseh was led away to Babylon by the king of Assyria's captains of the host; in his trouble turned to the Lord his God, and prayed; was thereupon brought by God back to Jerusalem; after his return, fortified Jerusalem with a new wall; set commanders over all the fenced cities of Judah; abolished the idolatry in the temple and the city, and restored the worship of Jahve.—Ver. 11. As Manasseh would not hear the words of the prophets, the Lord brought upon him the captains of the host of the king of Assyria. These “took him with hooks, and bound him with double chains of brass, and brought him to Babylon.” וַיִּכְרוּ בַחֲוִים signifies neither, they took him prisoner in thorns (hid in the thorns), nor in a place called Chochim (which is not elsewhere found), but they took him with hooks. חֹךְ denotes the hook or ring which was drawn through the gills of large fish when taken (Job xl. 26), and is synonymous with חָךְ (2 Kings xix. 28; Ezek. xix. 4), a ring which was passed through the noses of wild beasts to subdue and lead them. The expression is figurative, as in the passages quoted from the prophets. Manasseh is represented as an unmanageable beast, which the Assyrian generals took and subdued by a ring in the nose. The figurative expression is explained by the succeeding clause: they bound him with double chains. בַּחֲוִים are double fetters of brass, with which the feet of prisoners were bound (2 Sam. iii. 34; Judg. xvi. 21; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, etc.).—Ver. 12. וַיִּבֶטֶחַ הָעֶזֶר לֹא = וַיִּבְרָחֶר לֹא, xxviii. 22. In this his affliction he bowed himself before the Lord God of his fathers, and besought Him; and the Lord was entreated of him, and brought him again to Jerusalem, into his kingdom. The prayer which Manasseh prayed in his need was contained, according to ver. 18 f., in the histories of the kings of Israel, and in the

sayings of the prophet Hozai, but has not come down to our day. The "prayer of Manasseh" given by the LXX. is an apocryphal production, composed in Greek; cf. my *Introduction to the Old Testament*, § 247.—Ver. 14. After his return, Manasseh took measures to secure his kingdom, and especially the capital, against hostile attacks. "He built an outer wall of the city of David westward towards Gihon in the valley, and in the direction of the fish-gate; and he surrounded the Ophel, and made it very high." The words *הוֹסֶה חִיצוֹנָהּ* (without the article) point to the building of a new wall. But since it has been already recorded of Hezekiah, in xxxii. 5, that he built "the other wall without," all modern expositors, even Arnold in Herz's *Realenc.* xviii. S. 634, assume the identity of the two walls, and understand *וַיִּבְנֶה* the completion and heightening of that "other wall" of which it is said *וַיִּבְנֶיהָ מֵאֵד*, and which shut in Zion from the lower city to the north. In that case, of course, we must make the correction *הַחוּמָה*. The words "westward towards Gihon in the valley, and *לְבֹאֵת ב'* in the direction to (towards) the fish-gate," are then to be taken as describing the course of this wall from its centre, first towards the west, and then towards the east. For the valley of Gihon lay, in all probability, outside of the western city gate, which occupied the place of the present Jaffa gate. But the fish-gate was, according to Neh. iii. 3, at the east end of this wall, at no great distance from the tower on the north-east corner. The valley (*הַחֲרִיל*) is a hollow between the upper city (Zion) and the lower (Acra), probably the beginning of the valley, which at its south-eastern opening, between Zion and Moriah, is called Tyropoion in Josephus. The words, "he surrounded the Ophel," *sc.* with a wall, are not to be connected with the preceding clauses, as Berth. connects them, translating, "he carried the wall from the north-east corner farther to the south, and then round the Ophel;" for "between the north-east corner and the Ophel wall lay the whole east wall of the city, as far as to the south-east corner of the temple area, which yet cannot be regarded as a continuation of the wall to the Ophel wall" (Arnold, *loc. cit.*). Jotham had already built a great deal at the Ophel wall (xxvii. 3). Manasseh must therefore only have strengthened it, and increased its height. On the words *וַיִּשְׁמַח*, cf. xxxii. 6 and xvii. 2.—Vers. 15-17. And he also removed the idols and the statues from the house of the Lord, *i.e.* out of the two courts of the temple (ver. 5), and caused the idolatrous altars which he had built upon the

temple hill and in Jerusalem to be cast forth from the city. In ver. 16, instead of the Keth. וַיִּבֶן, he built (restored) the altar of Jahve, many manuscripts and ancient editions read וַיִּכֶּן, he prepared the altar of Jahve. This variation has perhaps originated in an orthographical error, and it is difficult to decide which reading is the original. The Vulg. translates וַיִּכֶּן *restauravit*. That Manasseh first removed the altar of Jahve from the court, and then restored it, as Ewald thinks, is not very probable; for in that case its removal would certainly have been mentioned in ver. 3 ff. Upon the altar thus restored Manasseh then offered thank-offerings and peace-offerings, and also commanded his subjects to worship Jahve the God of Israel. But the people still sacrificed on the high places, yet unto Jahve their God.

"As to the carrying away of Manasseh," says Bertheau, "we have no further information in the Old Testament, which is not surprising, seeing that in the books of Kings there is only a very short notice as to the long period embraced by Manasseh's reign and that of Amon." He therefore, with Ew., Mov., Then., and others, does not scruple to recognise this fact as historical, and to place his captivity in the time of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon. He however believes, with Ew. and Mov., that the statements as to the removal of idols and altars from the temple and Jerusalem (ver. 15) is inconsistent with the older account in 2 Kings xxiii. 6 and 12, the clear statements of which, moreover, our historian does not communicate in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3 f. For even if the Astarte removed by Josiah need not have been the אֲשֶׁרֶת of our chapter, yet it is expressly said that only by Josiah were the altars built by Manasseh broken down; yet we would scarcely be justified in supposing that Manasseh removed them, perhaps only laid them aside, that Amon again set them up in the courts, and that Josiah at length destroyed them. It does not thence follow, of course, that the narrative of the repentance and conversion of Manasseh rests upon no historic foundation; rather it is just such a narrative as would be supplemented by accounts of the destruction of the idolatrous altars and the statue of Astarte: for that might be regarded as the necessary result of the conversion, without any definite statement being made.<sup>1</sup> Against this we have the

<sup>1</sup> From this supposed contradiction, R. H. Graf, "die Gefangenschaft u. Bekehrung Manasse's, 2 Chron. xxxiii.," in the *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1859, iii. S. 467 ff., and in the book, *die geschichtl. Literatur A. Test.* 1866, 2 Abhdl., following Gramberg, and with the concurrence of H. Noldeke,

following objections to make: Can we well imagine repentance and conversion on Manasseh's part without the removal of the abominations of idolatry, at least from the temple of the Lord? And why should we not suppose that Manasseh removed the idol altars from the temple and Jerusalem, but that Amon, who did evil as did his father Manasseh, and sacrificed to all the images which he had made (2 Kings xxi. 21 f.; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 22), again set them up in the courts of the temple, and placed the statue again in the temple, and that only by Josiah were they destroyed? In 2 Kings xxiii. 6 it is indeed said, Josiah removed the Asherah from the house of Jahve, took it forth from Jerusalem, and burnt it, and ground it to dust in the valley of Kidron; and in ver. 12, that Josiah beat down and brake the altars which Manasseh had made in both courts of the house of Jahve, and threw the dust of them into Kidron. But where do we find it written in the Chronicle that Manasseh, after his return from Babylon, beat down, and brake, and ground to powder the *סמל* in the house of Jahve, and the altars on the temple mount and in Jerusalem? In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 15 we only find it stated that he cast these things forth from the city (*וַיִּשְׁלֶךְ חוּצָה לְעִיר*). Is casting out of the city identical with breaking down and crushing, as Bertheau and others assume? The author of the Chronicle, at least, can distinguish between removing (*הִסִּיר*) and breaking down and crushing. Cf. xv. 16, where *הִסִּיר* is sharply distinguished from *כָּרַת* and *הָדַק*; further, chap. xxxi. 1 and xxxiv. 4, where the verbs *שָׁבַר*, *נָרַץ*, and *הָדַק* are used of the breaking in pieces and destroying of images and altars by Hezekiah and Josiah. He uses none of these verbs of the removal of the images and altars by Manasseh, but only *וַיִּסָּר* and *וַיִּשְׁלֶךְ חוּצָה לְעִיר* (ver. 15). If we take the words exactly as they stand in the text of the Bible, every appearance of contradiction disappears.<sup>1</sup> From what is said in the Chronicle

*die älteste. Literatur in einer Reihe von Aufsätzen dargestellt* (1868), S. 59 f., has drawn the conclusion that the accounts given in the Chronicle, not only of Manasseh's conversion, but also of his being led captive to Babylon, are merely fictions, or inventions—poetical popular myths. On the other hand, E. Gerlach, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1861, iii. S. 503 ff., has shown the superficiality of Graf's essay, and defended effectively the historical character of both narratives.

<sup>1</sup> In this matter Movers too has gone very superficially to work, remarking in support of the contradiction (*ibid.* Chron. S. 328): "If Manasseh was so zealous a penitent, it may be asked, Would he not have destroyed all

of Manasseh's deeds, we cannot conclude that he was fully converted to the Lord. That Manasseh prayed to Jahve in his imprisonment, and by his deliverance from it and his restoration to Jerusalem came to see that Jahve was God (האלהים), who must be worshipped in His temple at Jerusalem, and that he consequently removed the images and the idolatrous altars from the temple and the city, and cast them forth,—these facts do not prove a thorough conversion, much less “that he made amends for his sin by repentance and improvement” (Mov.), but merely attest the restoration of the Jahve-worship in the temple, which had previously been completely suspended. But the idolatry in Jerusalem and Judah was not thereby extirpated; it was only in so far repressed that it could not longer be publicly practised in the temple. Still less was idolatry rooted out of the hearts of the people by the command that the people were to worship Jahve, the God of Israel. There is not a single word of Manasseh's conversion to Jahve, the God of the fathers, with all his heart (בְּלֵב שָׁלֵם). Can it then surprise us, that after Manasseh's death, under his son Amon, walking as he did in the sins of his father, these external barriers fell straightway, and idolatry again publicly appeared in all its proportions and extent, and that the images and altars of the idols which had been cast out of Jerusalem were again set up in the temple and its courts? If even the pious Josiah, with all his efforts for the extirpation of idolatry and the revivification of the legal worship, could not accomplish more than the restoration, during his reign, of the temple service according to the law, while after his death idolatry again prevailed under Jehoiakim, what could Manasseh's half-measures effect? If this be the true state of the case in regard

idolatrous images, according to the Mosaic law, as the Chronicle itself, xxxiii. 15 (cf. 2 Chron. xxix. 17, xv. 16; 2 Kings xxiii. 12), sufficiently shows? Had idolatry ceased in *all Judah* in the last year of Manasseh's reign, as is stated in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 17, could it, during the two years' reign of his son Amon, have spread abroad in a manner hitherto unheard of in Jewish history, as it is portrayed under Josiah, 2 Kings xxiii. 4 ff.?” But where is it stated in the Chronicle that Manasseh was so zealous a penitent as to have destroyed the images according to the Mosaic law? Not even the restoration of the Jahve-worship according to the provisions of the law is once spoken of, as it is in the case of Hezekiah and of Josiah (cf. 2 Chron. xxx. 5 and 16, xxxiv. 21, xxxv. 26); and does it follow from the fact that Judah, in consequence of Manasseh's command to serve Jahve, still sacrificed in the high places, yet to Jahve, that under Manasseh idolatry ceased *throughout Judah*?

to Manasseh's conversion, the passages 2 Kings xxiv. 3, xxiii. 26, Jer. xv. 4, where it is said that the Lord had cast out Judah from His presence because of the sins of Manasseh; cease to give any support to the opposite view. Manasseh is here named as the person who by his godlessness made the punishment of Judah and Jerusalem unavoidable, because he so corrupted Judah by his sins, that it could not now thoroughly turn to the Lord, but always fell back into the sins of Manasseh. Similarly, in 2 Kings xvii. 21 and 22, it is said of the ten tribes that the Lord cast them out from His presence because they walked in all the sins of Jeroboam, and departed not from them.

With the removal of the supposed inconsistency between the statement in the Chronicle as to Manasseh's change of sentiment, and the account of his godlessness in 2 Kings xxi., every reason for suspecting the account of Manasseh's removal to Babylon as a prisoner disappears; for even Graf admits that the mere silence of the book of Kings can prove nothing, since the books of Kings do not record many other events which are recorded in the Chronicle and are proved to be historical. This statement, however, is thoroughly confirmed, both by its own contents and by its connection with other well-attested historical facts. According to ver. 14, Manasseh fortified Jerusalem still more strongly after his return to the throne by building a new wall. This statement, which has as yet been called in question by no judicious critic, is so intimately connected with the statements in the Chronicle as to his being taken prisoner, and the removal of the images from the temple, that by it these latter are attested as historical. From this we learn that the author of the Chronicle had at his command authorities which contained more information as to Manasseh's reign than is to be found in our books of Kings, and so the references to these special authorities which follow in vers. 18 and 19 are corroborated. Moreover, the fortifying of Jerusalem after his return from his imprisonment presupposes that he had had such an experience as impelled him to take measures to secure himself against a repetition of hostile surprises. To this we must add the statement that Manasseh was led away by the generals of the *Assyrian* king to *Babylon*. The Assyrian kings Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser (or Sargon) did not carry away the Israelites to Babylon, but to Assyria; and the arrival of ambassadors from the Babylonian king Merodach-Baladan in Jerusalem, in the

time of Hezekiah (2 Kings xx. 12; Isa. xxxix. 1), shows that at that time Babylon was independent of Assyria. The poetic popular legend would without doubt have made Manasseh also to be carried away to Assyria by the troops of the Assyrian king, not to Babylon. The statement that he was carried away to Babylon by Assyrian warriors rests upon the certainty that Babylon was then a province of the Assyrian empire; and this is corroborated by history. According to the accounts of Abydenus and Alexander Polyhistor, borrowed from Berosus, which have been preserved in Euseb. *Chron. arm.* i. p. 42 f., Sennacherib brought Babylon, the government of which had been usurped by Belibus, again into subjection, and made his son Esarhaddon king over it, as his representative. The subjection of the Babylonians is confirmed by the Assyrian monuments, which state that Sennacherib had to march against the rebels in Babylon at the very beginning of his reign; and then again, in the fourth year of it, that he subdued them, and set over them a new viceroy (see M. Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterth.* i. S. 697 f. and 707 f. and ii. S. 592 f., der 3 Aufl.). Afterwards, when Sennacherib met his death at the hand of his sons (2 Kings xix. 37; Isa. xxxvii. 38), his oldest son Esarhaddon, the viceroy of Babylon, advanced with his army, pursued the flying paricides, and after slaying them ascended the throne of Assyria, 680 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Of Esarhaddon, who reigned thirteen years (from 680 to 667), we learn from Ezra iv. 2, col. with 2 Kings xxiv. 17, that he brought colonists to Samaria from Babylon, Cutha, and other districts of his kingdom; and Abydenus relates of him, according to Berosus (in Euseb. *Chron.* i. p. 54), that Axerdis (i.e. without doubt Esarhaddon) subdued Lower Syria, i.e. the districts of Syria bordering on the sea, to himself anew. From these we

<sup>1</sup> So Jul. Oppert, "die biblische Chronologie festgestellt nach den Assyrischen Keilschriften," in *d. Ztschr. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch.* (xxiii. S. 134), 1869, S. 144; while Duncker, *loc. cit.* i. S. 709, on the ground of the divergent statement of Berosus as to the reign of Esarhaddon, and according to other chronological combinations, gives the year 693 B.C.,—a date which harmonizes neither with Sennacherib's inscriptions, so far as these have yet been deciphered, nor with the statements of the *Kanon Ptol.*, nor with biblical chronology. It, moreover, makes it necessary to shorten the fifty-five years of Manasseh's reign to thirty-five, which is all the more arbitrary as the chronological data of the *Kanon Ptol.* harmonize with the biblical chronology and establish their accuracy, as I have already pointed out in my *apolog. Vers. über die Chron.* S. 429 f.



may, I think, conclude that not only the transporting of the colonists into the depopulated kingdom of the ten tribes is connected with this expedition against Syria, but that on this occasion also Assyrian generals took King Manasseh prisoner, and carried him away to Babylon, as Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. S. 678), and Duncker, S. 715, with older chronologists and expositors (Usher, des Vignoles, Calmet, Ramb., J. D. Mich., and others), suppose. The transport of Babylonian colonists to Samaria is said in *Seder Olam rab.* p. 67, ed. Meyer, and by D. Kimchi, according to Talmudic tradition, to have taken place in the twenty-second year of Manasseh's reign; and this statement gains confirmation from the fact—as was remarked by Jac. Cappell. and Usher—that the period of sixty-five years after which, according to the prophecy in Isa. vii. 8, Ephraim was to be destroyed so that it should no more be a people, came to an end with the twenty-second year of Manasseh, and Ephraim, *i.e.* Israel of the ten tribes, did indeed cease to be a people only with the immigration of heathen colonists into its land (cf. Del. on Isa. vii. 8). But the twenty-second year of Manasseh corresponds to the year 776 B.C. and the fourth year of Esarhaddon.

By this agreement with extra-biblical narratives in its statement of facts and in its chronology, the narrative in the Chronicle of Manasseh's captivity in Babylon is raised above every doubt, and is corroborated even by the Assyrian monuments. "We now know," remarks Duncker (ii. S. 92) in this connection, "that Esarhaddon says in his inscriptions that twenty-two kings of Syria hearkened to him: he numbers among them Minasi (Manasseh of Judah) and the kings of Cyprus." As to the details both of his capture and his liberation, we cannot make even probable conjectures, since we have only a few bare notices of Esarhaddon's reign; and even his building works, which might have given us some further information, were under the influence of a peculiarly unlucky star, for the palace built by him at Kalah or Nimrod remained unfinished, and was then destroyed by a great fire (cf. Spiegel in Herz's *Realencykl.* xx. S. 225). Yet, from the fact that in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1, as in 2 Kings xxi. 1, the duration of Manasseh's reign is stated to have been fifty-five years, without any mention being made of an interruption, we may probably draw this conclusion at least, that the captivity did not last long, and that he received his liberty upon a promise to pay tribute, although he appears not to have kept this promise, or only for a

short period. For that, in the period between Hezekiah and Josiah, Judah must have come into a certain position of dependence upon Assyria, cannot be concluded from 2 Kings xxiii. 19 (cf. ver. 15 with xvii. 28) and chap. xxiii. 29, as E. Gerlach thinks.

Vers. 18–20. Conclusion of Manasseh's history. His other acts, his prayer, and words of the prophets of the Lord against him, were recorded in the history of the kings of Israel; while special accounts of his prayer, and how it was heard (הִשְׁמָע, the letting Himself be entreated, i.e. how God heard him), of his sons, and the high places, altars, and images which he erected before his humiliation, were contained in the sayings of Hozai (see the Introduction, p. 30 f.).—Ver. 20. Manasseh was buried in his house, or, according to the more exact statement in 2 Kings xxi. 18, in the garden of his house—in the garden of Uzza; see on that passage.

Vers. 21–25. *The reign of Amon.* Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 19–26.—Both accounts agree; only in the Chronicle, as is also the case with Manasseh and Ahaz, the name of his mother is omitted, and the description of his godless deeds is somewhat more brief than in Kings, while the remark is added that he did not humble himself like Manasseh, but increased the guilt. In the account of his death there is nothing said of his funeral, nor is there any reference to the sources of his history. See the commentary on 2 Kings xxi. 19 ff.

CHAP. XXXIV. AND XXXV.—REIGN OF JOSIAH. CF. 2 KINGS  
XXII. AND XXIII. 1–80.

The account of Josiah in the Chronicle agrees in all essential points with the representation in 2 Kings xxii. and xxiii., but is chronologically more exact, and in many parts more complete than that. In the second book of Kings, the whole reform of the cultus carried out by Josiah is viewed in its connection with the discovery of the book of the law, on the occasion of the temple being repaired; and the narrative comprehends not only the repair of the temple, the discovery, the reading of the book of the law before the assembled people, and the renewal of the covenant, but also the extirpation of idolatry in Jerusalem and Judah and in all the cities of Israel, and the celebration of the passover in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign; see the intro-

ductory remarks to 2 Kings xxii. In the Chronicle, on the contrary, these events are more kept apart, and described according to their order in time. As early as in the eighth year of his reign, Josiah, still a youth, began to seek the God of his ancestor David, and in his twelfth year to purge Jerusalem and Judah of idolatry (xxxiv. 3). In the eighteenth year the book of the law was discovered in the temple, brought to the king, and read before him (vers. 8-18); whereupon he, deeply moved by the contents of the book which had been read, and by the answer of the prophetess Huldah when inquired of concerning it (vers. 19-28), went into the temple with the elders of the people, caused the law to be read to the whole people, and made a covenant before the Lord to obey the law (vers. 29-32). He then caused all the idolatrous abominations which were still to be found in the land of Israel to be removed (ver. 33), and prepared to hold the passover, as it had not been held since the days of Solomon (chap. xxxv. 1-19). In other respects the main difference between the two accounts is, that in 2 Kings the suppression of idolatry is narrated with greater minuteness; the passover, on the contrary, being only briefly noticed;—while in the Chronicle the purification of Jerusalem, Judah, and the kingdom of Israel is shortly summarized (xxxiv. 3-7), but the celebration of the passover is minutely described on its ceremonial side (xxxv. 1-19).

Chap. xxxiv.—Vers. 1 and 2. *Duration and spirit of Josiah's reign*; agreeing with 2 Kings xxii. 1 and 2, only the note as to Josiah's mother being here omitted.—Vers. 3-7. *Extirpation of idolatry*. In the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet a youth, being then only sixteen years old, Josiah began to seek the God of his ancestor David, and in the twelfth year of his reign he commenced to purify Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, Asherim, etc. The cleansing of the land of Judah from the numerous objects of idolatry is summarily described in vers. 4 and 5; and thereupon there follows (vers. 6 and 7) the destruction of the idolatrous altars and images in the land of Israel,—all that it seemed necessary to say on that subject being thus mentioned at once. For that all this was not accomplished in the twelfth year is clear from the *הָחֵל לְטַהֵר*, “he commenced to cleanse,” and is moreover attested by ver. 33. The description of this destruction of the various objects of idolatry is rhetorically expressed, only carved and cast images being mentioned, besides the

altars of the high places and the Asherim, without the enumeration of the different kinds of idolatry which we find in 2 Kings xxiii. 4–20.—On ver. 4, cf. xxxi. 1. **נִתְּצוּ**, they pulled down before him, *i.e.* under his eye, or his oversight, the altars of the Baals (these are the **בָּמוֹת**, ver. 3); and the sun-pillars (cf. xiv. 4) which stood upwards, *i.e.* above, upon the altars, he caused to be hewn away from them (**מִעֲלֵיהֶם**); the Asherim (pillars and trees of Asherah) and the carved and molten images to be broken and ground (**הִרְסָם**, cf. xv. 16), and (the dust of them) to be strewn upon the graves (of those) who had sacrificed to them. **הַזִּבְחִים** is connected directly with **הַקְּבָרִים**, so that the actions of those buried in them are poetically attributed to the graves. In 2 Kings xxiii. 6 this is said only of the ashes of the Asherah statue which was burnt, while here it is rhetorically generalized.—Ver. 5. And he burnt the bones of the priests upon their altars, *i.e.* he caused the bones of the idolatrous priests to be taken from their graves and burnt on the spot where the destroyed altars had stood, that he might defile the place with the ashes of the dead. In these words is summarized what is stated in 2 Kings xxiii. 13 and 14 as to the defilement of the places of sacrifice built upon the Mount of Olives by the bones of the dead, and in vers. 16–20 as to the burning of the bones of the high priests of Bethel, after they had been taken from their graves, upon their own altars. **מִבְּחֻתֵּיהֶם** is an orthographical error for **מִמְּבֻחֹתָם**.—Vers. 6 and 7 form a connected sentence: And in the cities of Manasseh . . . , in their ruins round about, there he pulled down the altars, etc. The tribe of Simeon is here, as in xv. 9, reckoned among the tribes of the kingdom of Israel, because the Simeonites, although they belonged geographically to the kingdom of Judah, yet in religion remained attached to the worship on the high places practised by the ten tribes; see on xv. 9. “And unto Naphtali” is added, to designate the kingdom of Israel in its whole extent to the northern frontier of Canaan. The form **בְּתֵּיָם** (in the Keth. divided into two words) gives no suitable sense. R. Sal. explains, *timentes in planitie habitare, sed fixerunt in monte domicilia*, rendering it “in their mountain-dwellings.” This the words cannot mean.<sup>1</sup> The Keri **בְּחֵרְבֵיהֶם**, “with their swords,” is suggested by Ezek. xxvi. 9, and is accepted by D. Kimchi, Abu Melech, and

<sup>1</sup> The LXX. translate *ἐν τοῖς τόποις αὐτῶν*, expressing merely the **בְּתֵּיָם**. The Targ. has **בְּבֵית צִדְיוֹתָהֶן**, *in domo (s. loco) desolationis eorum*.

others, and understood to denote instruments with which the altars, groves, and images were cut down. But this interpretation also is certainly incorrect. The word is rather to be pointed בְּחִרְבֵּיהֶם, in their wastes (ruins) (cf. Ps. cix. 10), and to be taken as an explanatory apposition to בָּעָרִי: in the cities of Manasseh . . . , namely, in their ruins round about; for the land had been deserted since the times of Shalmaneser, and its cities were in great part in ruins. The statement as to the locality precedes in the form of an absolute sentence, and that which is predicated of it follows in the form of an apodosis with ו consec. (וַיִּהְיֶה). בָּתַח לְהָרֵק, he dashed to pieces to crush; the form הָרֵק is not a perfect after ל, but an infinitive which has retained the vowel of the perfect; cf. Ew. § 238, d.

Vers. 8-18. *The cleansing and repairing of the temple, and the finding of the book of the law.* Cf. 2 Kings xxii. 3-10.—In the eighteenth year of his reign, when he was purging the land and the house (of God), he sent. לְמַהֵר does not indeed signify “after the purging” (De Wette, with the older expositors), but still less is it a statement of the object, “to purge” (Berth.); for that is decisively disposed of both by its position at the beginning of the sentence, where no statement of the object would stand, but still more by the fact that a statement of the object follows, לְהִיחָיֵהוּ. ל used of time denotes “about,” and so with the *inf.*, e.g. Jer. xlv. 13: at (his) coming = when he came. Shaphan was שֹׁפָן, state secretary, according to 2 Kings xxii. 3. With him the king sent the governor of the city Maaseiah, and the chancellor Joah. These two are not mentioned in 2 Kings xxii. 3, but have not been arbitrarily added by the chronicler, or invented by him, as Then. groundlessly supposes. “To repair the house of Jahve.” What these high royal officials had to do with it we learn from what follows.—Ver. 9 f. They, together with the high priest, gave the money which had been received for the repair of the temple to the overseers of the building, who then gave it to workmen to procure building materials and for wages, just as was done when the temple was repaired by Joash, chap. xxiv. 11-13. The Keri וְשֹׁבֵי is a correction resulting from a misinterpretation of the Keth. וְשֹׁבֵי, “and of the dwellers in Jerusalem.” The enumeration, “from the hand of Manasseh, Ephraim,” etc., is rhetorical. In וַיִּתְּנוּ, ver. 10, the verb of ver. 9 is again taken up: they handed it to the overseers of the building, and they to the workmen. עָשָׂה הֵם is a rare form of the

plur. עֲשֵׂי; see on 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. The overseers of the building (עֲשֵׂי—הַמְּבָקְרִים) are the subject of the second וַיִּתְּנוּ; and before the following עֲשֵׂי לְ, which stands in 2 Kings, is to be supplied. בָּרוּק is a *denom.* from בָּרַק, and signifies to repair what has been damaged. The statement of ver. 10 is made more definite by ver. 11: they gave it, namely, to the workers in stone and wood, and to the builders to buy hewn stones and timber for couplings, and for the beams of the houses (לְקִרְוֹת, to provide with beams; הַבְּתִיִּם are the various buildings of the temple and its courts), which the kings of Judah had allowed to decay (הַשְׁחִיָּה, not of designed destroying, but of ruining by neglect).—In ver. 12 we have still the remark that the people did the work with fidelity, and the money could consequently be given to them without reckoning, cf. 2 Kings xxii. 7; and then the names of the building inspectors follow. Two Levites of the family of Merari, and two of the family of Kohath, were overseers; לְיָנִיחַ, i.e. to lead in the building, to preside over it as upper overseers; and besides them, the Levites, all who were skilled in instruments of song (cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 6 ff.). As men who by their office and their art occupied a conspicuous place among the Levites, the oversight of the workmen in the temple was committed to them, not “that they might incite and cheer the workmen by music and song” (Berth.).—Ver. 13a is probably to be taken, along with ver. 12b, in the signification, “All the Levites who were skilled in music were over the bearers of burdens, and were overseers of all the workmen in reference to every work.” The ו before עַל הֵם appears certainly to go against this interpretation, and Berth. would consequently erase it to connect עַל הַמְּבָקְרִים with the preceding verse, and begin a new sentence with וַיִּנְחָלֵם: “and they led all the workmen.” But if we separate וַיִּנְחָלֵם from עַל הַמְּבָקְרִים, this mention of the bearers of burdens (סִבְרִים) comes awkwardly in between the subject and the predicate, or the statement as to the subject. We hold the text to be correct, and make the ו before עַל הֵם correspond to the ו before וַיִּנְחָלֵם, in the signification, *et—et*. The Levites, all who were skilled in instruments of song, were both over the bearers of burdens, and overseeing the workmen, or leading the workmen. Besides, of the Levites were, i.e. still other Levites were, scribes and officers and porters, i.e. were busied about the temple in the discharge of these functions.—Ver. 14. In bringing out the money that had been brought into the house of the Lord, the high priest found

the book of Moses' law. It is not clearly implied in the words, that he found it in the place where the money was laid up. The book of the law which was found is merely characterized as the book of the Mosaic law by the words בְּיַד־מֹשֶׁה, not necessarily as Moses' autograph. The communication of this discovery by the high priest to the state secretary Shaphan, and by him to the king, is narrated in vers. 15-18, just as in 2 Kings xxii. 8-10. The statement, ver. 16, "and Shaphan brought the book to the king," instead of the words, "and Shaphan the סֹפֵר came (went) to the king," involves no difference as to the facts; it rather makes the matter clear. For since in 2 Kings xxii. 10, immediately after the statement that Hilkiah gave him the book, it is said that Shaphan read from it to the king, he must have brought it to the king. With this elucidation, both the omission of וַיִּקְרָא (2 Kings xxii. 8), and the insertion of עָוָר after וַיֵּשֶׁב, ver. 16, is connected. The main thing, that which it concerned the author of the Chronicle to notice, was the fact that the book of the law which had been discovered was immediately brought and read to the king; while the circumstance that Shaphan, when the book was given him, also opened it and read in it, is omitted, as it had no further results. But since Shaphan did not go to the king merely to bring him the book, but rather, in the first place, to report upon the performance of the commission entrusted to him in respect of the money, this report required to be brought prominently forward by the עָוָר: He brought the book to the king, and besides, made his report to the king. All that has been committed to thy servants (נְתַן בְּיָד), that they do; they have poured out the money, etc. The עֲבָדִים are not Shaphan and the others mentioned in ver. 8, but in general those who were entrusted with the oversight of the repair of the temple, among whom, indeed, the chief royal officials were not included. After this report there follows in ver. 18 an account of the book which Shaphan had brought, and which, as we were informed in ver. 16, in anticipation of the event, he gave to the king.

Vers. 19-28. *The dismay of the king at the contents of the book which was read to him, and his inquiry of the prophetess Huldah as to the judgments threatened in the law.*—Compare with this the parallel account in 2 Kings xxii. 11-20, with the commentary there given, as both accounts agree with the exception of some unimportant variations in expression. Instead of Abdon ben Micah (ver. 20) we find in 2 Kings Achbor ben Micayah,

perhaps the correct reading. In ver. 21, the expression, "and for those that are left in Israel and Judah," *i.e.* for the remainder of the people who were left in Israel after the destruction of the kingdom, and in Judah after the divine chastisements inflicted, mainly by the Assyrians under Hezekiah and Manasseh, is clearer and more significant than that in 2 Kings xxii. 13, "and for the people, and for all Judah." נִתְּכָה, to pour itself forth (of anger), is quite as suitable as נִתְּתָה, inflame, kindle itself, in Kings, ver. 13. In ver. 22, those sent with the high priest Hilkiah are briefly designated by the words וְאִשְׁרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ, and whom the king, *scil.* had sent; in 2 Kings xxii. 14, on the contrary, the individual names are recorded (Ewald, *Gramm.* § 292, *b*, would supply אִשְׁרֵי, after the LXX.). The names of the ancestors of the prophetess Huldah also are somewhat different. כְּזוֹחַ, as the king had said to him, is omitted in 2 Kings.—In ver. 24, כָּל־הָאֲלוֹת, all the curses, is more significant than כָּל־דִּבְרֵי, 2 Kings xxii. 16. וַתִּשָּׁאֶר (ver. 25) is a statement of the result of the עֲקֹבוֹי: Because they have forsaken me, my anger pours itself forth. In ver. 27, the rhetorical expansion of the words which God had spoken of Jerusalem in the law, לֵהֱיוֹת לְשִׁמָּה וְגו', inserted in 2 Kings xxii. 19 as an elucidation, are omitted. After the preceding designation of these words as "the curses written in the law," any further elucidation was superfluous. On the contents of the saying of the prophetess Huldah, see the commentary on 2 Kings xxii. 16 ff.

Vers. 29–33. *The reading of the book of the law in the temple, and the solemn renewal of the covenant*, to which the king assembled the elders of Judah and Jerusalem, with all the people, after the saying of the prophetess Huldah had been reported to him, are recorded in 2 Kings xxiii. 1–3 as they are in the Chronicle, and have been commented upon at the former passage. Only ver. 32, the contents of which correspond to the words, "And the whole people entered into the covenant" (2 Kings xxiii. 3), will need explanation. וַיַּעֲמֵר is usually translated, "he caused the people to enter into the covenant" (after 2 Kings). This is in substance correct, but exegetically cannot be defended, since בְּבִרְיָה does not precede, so as to allow of its here being supplied from the context. וַיַּעֲמֵר only signifies, he caused all who were in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand, and they did according to the covenant of God; whence we can easily supply in the first clause, "and to do according to the covenant." The collocation, "in Jerusalem and in Benjamin," is an abbre-



violation of the complete formula, "in Jerusalem and Judah and Benjamin;" then in the following clause only the inhabitants of Jerusalem are named as representatives of the inhabitants of the whole kingdom.—Ver. 33. But not only his own subjects did Josiah induce to act towards God in accordance with the covenant; in all the districts of the sons of Israel he removed the idolatrous abominations, and compelled every one in Israel to serve Jahve. The "sons of Israel," as distinguished from the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Benjamin (ver. 32), are the remnant of the ten tribes in their land, where Josiah, according to ver. 6 f., had also destroyed the idolatrous places of worship and the images. The statement in our verse, with which the account of Josiah's cultus reform is concluded, refers to that. וַיַּעֲבִד לַעֲבֹד, he made to serve, compelled them to serve. By the abolition of idolatry he compelled them to worship Jahve. The last words of the verse are accordingly to be interpreted as signifying that Josiah, so long as he lived, allowed no open idolatry, but externally maintained the worship of Jahve. These measures could not effect a real, heartfelt conversion to God, and so the people fell again into open idolatry immediately after Josiah's death; and Jeremiah continually complains of the defection and corruption of Judah and Israel: cf. chap. xi., xiii., xxv., etc.

Chap. xxxv.—Vers. 1-19. *The solemnization of the passover.*—To ratify the renewal of the covenant, and to confirm the people in the communion with the Lord into which it had entered by the making of the covenant, Josiah, immediately after the finding of the book of the law and the renewal of the covenant, appointed a solemn passover to be held at the legal time, which is only briefly mentioned in 2 Kings xxiii. 21-23, but in the Chronicle is minutely described.—Ver. 1 contains the superscription-like statement, that Josiah held a passover to the Lord; and they held the passover in the 14th day of the first month, consequently at the time fixed in the law. It happened otherwise under Hezekiah (xxx. 2, 13, and 15). With ver. 2 commences the description of the festival: and first we have the preparations, the appointment of the priests and Levites to perform the various services connected with the festival (vers. 2-6), and the procuring of the necessary beasts for sacrifice (vers. 10-15); then the offering of the sacrifices and the preparation of the meals (vers. 10-15); and finally the characterization of the whole festival (vers. 16-19).—Ver. 2. He appointed the priests according to

their guards or posts, *i.e.* according to the service incumbent upon each division, and "he strengthened them for the service of the house of Jahve," namely, by encouraging speech, and by teaching as to the duties devolving upon them, according to the provisions of the law. Cf. the summons of Hezekiah, xxix. 5 ff.; and as to the מִלְּמָדִים, Neh. ii. 18.—Ver. 3. The Levites are designated "those teaching all Israel, those holy to the Lord," in reference to what is commanded them in the succeeding verses. The Keth. מְבָרָכִים does not elsewhere occur, and must be regarded as a substantive: the teachers; but it is probably only an orthographical error for מְבַרְכִים (Neh. viii. 7), as the Keri demands here also. As to the fact, cf. xvii. 8 f. The Levites had to teach the people in the law. Josiah said to them, "Set the ark in the house which Solomon did build; not is to you to bear upon the shoulder;" *i.e.*, ye have not any longer to bear it on your shoulders, as formerly on the journey through the wilderness, and indeed till the building of the temple, when the ark and the tabernacle had not yet any fixed resting-place (1 Chron. xvii. 5). The summons הָנִי אֶתְּאָרֶץ וְנִי is variously interpreted. Several Rabbins regard it as a command to remove the ark from its place in the most holy place into some subterranean chamber of the temple, so as to secure its safety in the event of the threatened destruction of the temple taking place. But this hypothesis needs no refutation, since it in no way corresponds to the words used. Most ancient and modern commentators, on the other hand, suppose that the holy ark had, during the reigns of the godless Manasseh and Amon, either been removed by them from its place, or taken away from the most holy place, from a desire to protect it from profanation, and hidden somewhere; and that Josiah calls upon the Levites to bring it back again to its place. Certainly this idea is favoured by the circumstance that, just as the book of the law, which should have been preserved in the ark of the covenant, had been lost, and was only recovered when the temple was being repaired, so the ark also may have been removed from its place. But even in that case the sacred ark would have been brought back to its place, according to the law, at the completion of the purification of the temple, before the king and people made the covenant with Jahve, after the law had been read to them in the temple, and could not have remained in its hiding-place until the passover. Still less probable is Bertheau's conjecture, "that the Levites bore the just reconsecrated ark upon their shoulders

at the celebration of the passover, under the idea that they were bound by the law to do so; but Josiah taught them that the temple built by Solomon had caused an alteration in that respect. They were no longer bearers of the ark; they might set it in its place, and undertake other duties." For the idea that the Levites bore the ark at the celebration of the passover is utterly inconsistent with the context, since vers. 3-6 do not treat of what was done at the passover, but merely of that which was to be done. But even if we were to alter "they bare" into "they wished to bear," yet there is no historic ground for the idea attributed by Bertheau to the Levites, that at the celebration of the passover the ark was to be brought forth from the most holy place, and carried in procession in the temple courts or elsewhere. Finally, the reasons stated for the call, *הָיָה וְנָתַן*, cannot be made to harmonize with the two views above mentioned. If it was only the bringing back of the ark to its ancient place in the most holy place which is here spoken of, why are the words "which Solomon built" added after *בְּבֵית*; and why is the command based upon the statement, "Ye have not to carry it any more upon your shoulders, but are to serve the Lord your God and His people in another way"? Both the additional clause and these reasons for the command show clearly that Josiah, in the words *הָיָה וְנָתַן*, did not command something which they were to do at the approaching passover, but merely introduces therewith the summons: "Serve now the Lord," etc. R. Sal. saw this, and has given the sense of the verse thus: *quum non occupemini amplius ullo labore vasa sacra portandi, Deo servite et populo ejus mactando et excoriando agnos paschales ver. 4 sqq.* It therefore only remains to ascertain how this signification is consistent with the words *הָיָה וְנָתַן אֶת-אֲרוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ בְּבֵית*. The exhortation, "Set the ark in the house," must certainly not be understood to mean, "Leave it in the place where it has hitherto stood," nor, "Bring the sacred ark back into the house;" for *נָתַן* with *בְּ* does not mean to bring back, but only to place anywhere, set; and is here used not of material placing, but of mental. "Set the ark in the house" is equivalent to, "Overlook, leave it in the temple; you have not any longer, since Solomon built a house for it, to bear it upon your shoulders;" i.e., Think not on that which formerly, before the building of the temple, belonged to your service, but serve the Lord and His people now in the manner described in ver. 4 ff. The interpretation of the words as denot-

ing a material setting or removing of the ark, is completely excluded by the facts, (1) that in the description of what the Levites did at the passover, "according to the command of the king," which follows (vers. 10-15), not a word is said of the ark; and (2) that the bearing of the ark into the most holy place was not the duty of the Levites, but of the priests. The duty of the Levites was merely to bear the ark when it had to be transported for great distances, after the priests had previously wrapped it up in the prescribed manner. In vers. 4-6 the matters in which they are to serve the Lord in the preparation of the passover are more fully stated. The Keth. הכוּט is *imper.* Niphal, הָכֹנֵט, Make yourselves ready according to your fathers'-houses, in your divisions, according to the writing of David. כִּי in בְּכִתְבֵּךְ, as in כְּמִצְוֹת, xxx. 25; but כִּי בְּכִתְבֵּךְ does not = כְּמִצְוֹת, but is to be understood of writings, in which the arrangements made by David and Solomon in reference to the service of the Levites were recorded.—Ver. 5. "Stand in the sanctuary for the divisions of the fathers'-houses of your brethren, the people of the nation, and indeed a part of a father's-house of the Levites;" i.e., Serve your brethren the laymen, according to their fathers'-houses, in the court of the temple, in such fashion that a division of the Levites shall fall to each father's-house of the laymen; cf. 12. So Bertheau correctly; but he would erase the ל before הָלַכְתָּ without sufficient reason. Older commentators have supplied the preposition ל before הָלַכְתָּ: Stand, according to the divisions of the fathers'-houses, and according to the division of a father's-house of the Levites; which gives the same sense, but can hardly be justified grammatically.—Ver. 6. Kill the passover, and sanctify yourselves, and prepare it (the passover) for your brethren (the laymen), doing according to the word of the Lord by Moses (i.e. according to the law of Moses). The sanctification mentioned between the killing and the preparation of the passover probably consisted only in this, that the Levites, after they had slain the lamb, had to wash themselves before they gave the blood to the priest to sprinkle upon the altar (cf. ver. 11 and xxx. 16). As to the slaying of the lamb by the Levites, cf. the remarks on xxx. 16.

Vers. 7-9. The bestowal of beasts for sacrifice on the part of the king and his princes.—Ver. 7. The king gave (יָתַן as in xxx. 24) to the sons of the people small cattle, viz. lambs and young goats, all for the passover-offerings, for all that

were present, to the number of 30,000 (head), and 3000 bullocks from the possession of the king (cf. xxxi. 3, xxxii. 29). **כָּל-הַיְּהוּדָא** is all the people who were present, who had come to the feast from Jerusalem and the rest of Judah without having brought lambs for sacrifice.—Ver. 8. And his princes (the king's princes, i.e. the princes of the kingdom) presented for a free-will offering to the people, the priests, and the Levites. **לְיָרְבָה** is not to be taken adverbially, as Berth. thinks: according to goodwill, but corresponds to the **לְפָסְחִים**, i.e. for free-will offerings, Lev. vii. 16. The number of these gifts is not stated. From the princes of the king we must distinguish the prefects of the house of God and the princes of the Levites, who are mentioned by name in vers. 8b and 9. Of these the first presented sheep and cattle for passover-sacrifices to the priests, the latter to the Levites. Of the three **נָיִידִים** of the house of God named in ver. 8b, Hilkiah is the high priest (xxxiv. 9), Zechariah perhaps the next to him (**בִּיהַן מִשְׁנֶה**, 2 Kings xxv. 18, Jer. lii. 24), and Jehiel is probably, as Berth. conjectures, the chief of the line of Ithamar, which continued to exist even after the exile (Ezra viii. 2). Of the Levite princes (ver. 9) six names are mentioned, three of which, Conaniah, Shemaiah, and Jozabad, are met with under Hezekiah in xxxi. 12-15, since in the priestly and Levitic families the same names recur in different generations. The Conaniah in Hezekiah's time was chief overseer of the temple revenues; the two others were under overseers. Besides the **פָּסְחִים** for which the king and the princes of the priests and of the Levites gave **אֵז**, i.e. lambs and young goats, **בָּקָר**, oxen, in considerable numbers, are mentioned as presents; 3000 from the king, 300 from the princes of the priests, and 500 from the princes of the Levites. Nothing is said as to the purpose of these, but from ver. 13 we learn that the flesh of them was cooked in pots and caldrons, and consequently that they were intended for the sacrificial meals during the seven days of the Mazzoth-feast; see on vers. 12 and 13.

Vers. 10-15. The preparation of the paschal sacrifice and the paschal meals.—Ver. 10 leads on to the carrying out of the arrangements. "So the service was prepared;" the preparation for the festival mentioned in vers. 3-9 was carried out. The priests stood at their posts (cf. xxx. 16), and the Levites according to their courses, according to the command of the king (in vers. 4 and 5).—Ver. 11. And they (the Levites, cf. ver. 6)

slew the passover (the lambs and young goats presented for the passover meal), and the priests sprinkled (the blood of the paschal lambs) from their hand (*i.e.* which the Levites gave them), while the Levites flayed them; as also under Hezekiah, xxx. 17.—Ver. 12. “And they took away the burnt-offerings, to give them to the divisions of the fathers’-houses of the sons of the people, to offer unto the Lord, as it is written in the book of Moses; and so also in regard to the oxen.” חֲסִיר signifies the taking off or separating of the pieces intended to be burnt upon the altar from the beasts slain for sacrifice, as in Lev. iii. 9 f., iv. 31. הָעֵלָה, in this connection, can only signify the parts of the paschal lamb which were to be burnt upon the altar, viz. the same parts which were separated from sheep and goats when they were brought as thank-offerings and burnt upon the altar (Lev. iii. 6–16). These pieces are here called הָעֵלָה, because they not only were wholly burnt like the burnt-offering, but also were burnt upon the flesh of the evening burnt-offering to God, for a savour of good pleasure; cf. Lev. iii. 11, 16, with Lev. i. 13. They cannot have been special burnt-offerings, which were burnt along with or at the same time with the fat of the paschal lambs; for there were no special festal burnt-offerings, besides the daily evening sacrifice, prescribed for the passover on the evening of the 14th Nisan; and the oxen given by the king and the princes for the passover are specially mentioned in the concluding clause of the verse, וַיִּבְנוּ לַבָּקָר, so that they cannot have been included in הָעֵלָה. The suffix in לַחֲתָם might be referred to הַפֶּסַח: to give the paschal lambs, after the עֵלָה had been separated from them, to the divisions of the people. But the following לַהֲקָרִיב לַיהוָה does not harmonize with that interpretation; and the statement in ver. 13, that the Levites gave the roasted and boiled flesh to the sons of the people, is still more inconsistent with it. We must consequently refer לַחֲתָם to the immediately preceding noun, הָעֵלָה: to give the parts separated from the paschal lambs to be burnt upon the altar to the divisions of the people, that they might offer them to the Lord. This can only mean that each division of the fathers’-houses of the people approached the altar in turn to give the portions set apart for the עֵלָה to the priests, who then offered them on the fire of the altar to the Lord. On פָּתְרֵיב בִּסְ Gusset. has already rightly remarked: *Lex Mosis hic allegatur non quasi omnia illa quæ præcedunt, exprimerentur in ipsa, sed respective seu respectu eorum quæ mandata erant; quibus salvis*

*adjungi potuerunt quidam modi agendi innocui et commodi ad legis jussa exsequenda.* וְכֵן לִבְשָׁר, and so was it done also with the oxen, which consequently were not offered as burnt-offerings, but as thank-offerings, only the fat being burnt upon the altar, and the flesh being used for sacrificial meals.—Ver. 13. The passover, *i.e.* the flesh of the paschal lamb, they roasted (בָּשָׂה בְּאֵשׁ, to make ready upon the fire, *i.e.* roast; see on Ex. xii. 9), according to the ordinance (as the law appointed); and “the sanctified (as they called the slaughtered oxen, cf. xxix. 33) they sod (בָּשָׂה, *sc.* בָּשָׂה, cf. Ex. xii. 9) in pots, caldrons, and pans, and brought it speedily to the sons of the people,” *i.e.* the laymen. From this Bertheau draws the conclusion, “that with the paschal lambs the oxen were also offered as thank-offerings; and the sacrificial meal consisted not merely of the paschal lamb, but also of the flesh of the thank-offerings: for these must have been consumed on the same day as they were offered, though the eating of them on the following day was not strictly forbidden, Lev. vii. 15-18.” But this conclusion is shown to be incorrect even by this fact, that there is no word to hint that the roasting of the paschal lambs and the cooking of the flesh of the oxen which were offered as thank-offerings took place simultaneously on the evening of the 14th Nisan. This is implied neither in the וְכֵן לִבְשָׁר, nor in the statement in ver. 14, that the priests were busied until night in offering the עֹלָה and the חֲלִיבִים. According to ver. 17, the Israelites held on that day, not only the passover, but also the Mazzoth-feast, seven days. The description of the offering and preparation of the sacrifices, partly for the altar and partly for the meal, vers. 13-15, refers, therefore, not only to the passover in its more restricted sense, but also to the seven days’ Mazzoth festival, without its being expressly stated; because both from the law and from the practice it was sufficiently well known that at the פֶּסַח meal only צֹאן (lambs or goats) were roasted and eaten; while on the seven following days of the Mazzoth, besides the daily burnt-offering, thank-offerings were brought and sacrificial meals were held; see on Deut. xvi. 1-8. The connecting, or rather the mingling, of the sacrificial meal prepared from the roasted lambs with the eating of the sodden flesh of oxen, would have been too great an offence against the legal prescriptions for the paschal meal, to be attributed either to King Josiah, to the priesthood, or to the author of the Chronicle, since the latter expressly remarks that the celebration was carried

out according to the prescription of the law of Moses, and according to the "right."—Ver. 14. And afterwards (אַחֲרַי, *postea*, after the passover had been prepared for the laymen in the way described) the Levites prepared it for themselves and for the priests; for the latter, however, only because they were busied with the offering of the *עֹלָה* and the *חֲלָבִים* till night. Most expositors understand by *עֹלָה* the fat of the paschal lambs, which was burnt upon the altar, as in ver. 12; and *חֲלָבִים*, the fat of oxen, which was likewise burnt upon the altar, "but was not, as it seems, designated by the expression *הָעֹלָה*" (Berth.). This interpretation certainly at first sight seems likely; only one cannot see why only the fat of the oxen, and not that of the paschal lambs also, should be called *חֲלָבִים*, since in the law the parts of all thank-offerings (oxen, sheep, and goats) which were burnt upon the altar are called *חֲלָבִים*. We will therefore be more correct if we take *חֲחֲלָבִים* to be a more exact definition of *הָעֹלָה*: the burnt-offering, viz. the fat which was offered as a burnt-offering; or we may take *הָעֹלָה* here to denote the evening burnt-offering, and *הַחֲלָבִים* the fat of the paschal lambs. But even if the first-mentioned interpretation were the only correct one, yet it could not thence be concluded that on the passover evening (the 14th Nisan) the fat not only of the 37,600 lambs and goats, but also of the 3800 oxen, were offered upon the altar; the words, that the priests were busied until night with the offering of the *עֹלָה* and the *חֲלָבִים*, are rather used of the sacrificing generally during the whole of the seven days' festival. For the compressed character of the description appears in ver. 15, where it is remarked that neither the singers nor the porters needed to leave their posts, because their brethren the Levites prepared (the meal) for them. With the words, "according to the command of David," etc., cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 1 and 6.

Vers. 16–19. The character of the passover and Mazzoth festivals.—Ver. 16. "So all the service of the Lord was prepared the same day, in regard to the preparing of the passover, and the offering of the burnt-offerings upon the altar, according to the command of the king." This statement, like that in ver. 10, summarizes all that precedes, and forms the transition to the concluding remarks on the whole festival. *בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא* is not to be limited to the one afternoon and evening of the fourteenth day of the month, but refers to the whole time of the festival, just as *יוֹם* in Gen. ii. 4 embraces the seven days of crea-



tion. "עֲלֹת are the עֹלֶה and the הֶלְבִּים (ver. 14)" (Berth.); but it by no means follows from that, that "at the passover, besides the regular burnt-offering (Num. xxviii. 4), no burnt-offering would seem to have been offered," but rather that the words have a more general signification, and denote the sacrifices at the passover and Mazzoth festivals.—Ver. 17. The duration of the festival. The Israelites who had come kept the passover "at that time (that is, according to ver. 1, on the fourteenth day of the first month), and the Mazzoth seven days," i.e. from the 15th to the 21st of the same month.—Ver. 18 contains the remark that the Israelites had not held such a passover since the days of the prophet Samuel and all the kings; cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 22, where, instead of the days of Samuel, the days of the judges are mentioned. On the points which distinguished this passover above others, see the remarks on 2 Kings xxiii. 22. In the concluding clause we have a rhetorical enumeration of those who participated in the festival, beginning with the king and ending with the inhabitants of Jerusalem. יִשְׂרָאֵל הַנִּמְצָא are the remnant of the kingdom of the ten tribes who had come to the festival; cf. xxxiv. 33.—In ver. 19 the year of this passover is mentioned in conclusion. The statement, "in the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah," refers back to the same date at the beginning of the account of the cultus reform (xxxiv. 8 and 2 Kings xxii. 3), and indicates that Josiah's cultus reform culminated in this passover. Now since the passover fell in the middle of the first month of the year, and, according to chap. xxxiv. and 2 Kings xxii., the book of the law was also found in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, many commentators have imagined that the eighteenth year of the king is dated from the autumn; so that all that is narrated in 2 Chronicles, from xxxiv. 8—xxxv. 19, happened within a period of six months and a half. This might possibly be the case; since the purification and repair of the temple may have been near their completion when the book of the law was found, so that they might hold the passover six months afterwards. But our passage does not require that the years of the king's reign should be dated from the autumn, and there are not sufficient grounds for believing that such was the case. Neither in our narrative, nor in 2 Kings xxii. and xxiii., is it said that the passover was resolved upon or arranged in consequence of the finding of the book of the law. Josiah may therefore have thought of closing and ratifying the

restoration of the Jahve-worship by a solemn passover festival, even before the finding of the book; and the two events need not be widely separated from each other. But from the way in which the account in 2 Kings xxii. and xxiii. is arranged, it is not improbable that the finding of the book of the law may have occurred before the beginning of the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, and that date may have been placed at the beginning and end of the narrative, because the cultus reform was completed with the celebration of the passover in his eighteenth year.<sup>1</sup>

Vers. 20-27. *The end of Josiah's reign; his death in battle against Pharaoh Necho.* Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 25-30.—The catastrophe in which the pious king found his death is in 2 Kings introduced by the remark, that although Josiah returned unto the Lord with all his heart and all his soul and all his strength, and walked altogether according to the law, so that there was no king before him, and none arose after him, who was like him, yet the Lord did not turn away from the fierceness of His great wrath against Judah, and resolved to remove Judah also out of His sight, because of the sins of Manasseh. This didactic connecting of the tragical end of the pious king with the task of his reign, which he followed out so zealously, viz. to lead his people back to the Lord, and so turn away the threatened destruction, is not found in the Chronicle. Here the war with Necho, in which Josiah fell, is introduced by the simple formula: After all this, that Josiah had prepared the house, i.e. had restored and ordered the temple worship, Necho the king of Egypt came up to fight at Carchemish on the Euphrates, and Josiah went out against him. For further information as to Necho and his campaign, see on 2 Kings xxiii. 29.—Ver. 21. Then he (Pharaoh Necho) sent messengers to him, saying, "What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? Not against thee, thee, (do I come) to-day (now), but against my hereditary enemy; and God has said that I must make haste: cease from God, who is with me, that I destroy thee not." וְהָיָה לְךָ כְּמִיּוֹתָיִם, see Judg. xi. 12, 2 Sam. xvi. 10.

<sup>1</sup> The addition of the LXX. to 2 Kings xxii. 3, "in the eighth month," to which Thenius and Berth. attach some weight, as a proof that the years of Josiah's reign are dated from autumn, is utterly useless for that purpose. For even were that addition more than a worthless gloss, it would only prove the contrary, since the eighth month of the civil year, which is reckoned from autumn, corresponds to the second month of the ecclesiastical year, and would consequently carry us beyond the time of the passover.

אֶתֶּךָ is an emphatic repetition of the pronominal suffix; cf. Gesen. *Gr.* § 121. 3. הַיּוֹם, this day, that is, at present. בֵּית מִלְחָמָתִי does not signify, my warlike house, but, the house of my war, *i.e.* the family with which I wage war, equivalent to "my natural enemy in war, my hereditary enemy." This signification is clear from 1 Chron. xviii. 10 and 2 Sam. viii. 10, where "man of the war of Tou" denotes, the man who waged war with Tou.<sup>1</sup> The God who had commanded Pharaoh to make haste, and whom Josiah was not to go against, is not an Egyptian god, as the Targ. and many commentators think, referring to Herod. ii. 158, but the true God, as is clear from ver. 22. Yet we need not suppose, with the older commentators, that God had *sive per somnium sive per prophetam aliquem ad ipsum e Judæa missum* spoken to Pharaoh, and commanded him to advance quickly to the Euphrates. For even had Pharaoh said so in so many words, we could not here think of a divine message made known to him by a prophet, because God is neither called יהוה nor האֱלֹהִים, but merely אֱלֹהִים, and so it is only the Godhead in general which is spoken of; and Pharaoh only characterizes his resolution as coming from God, or only says: It was God's will that Josiah should not hinder him, and strive against him. This Pharaoh might say without having received any special divine revelation, and after the warning had been confirmed by the unfortunate result for Josiah of his war against Necho; the biblical historian also might represent Necho's words as come from God, or "from the mouth of God."—Ver. 22. But Josiah turned not his face from him, *i.e.* did not abandon his design, "but to make war against him he disguised himself." שָׁשׁ הִתְחַפֵּשׂ denotes elsewhere to disguise by clothing, to clothe oneself falsely (xviii. 29; 1 Kings xx. 38, xxii. 30),

<sup>1</sup> When Bertheau, on the contrary, denies this signification, referring to 1 Chron. xviii. 10 for support, he would seem not to have looked narrowly at the passage cited; and the conjecture, based upon 3 Esr. i. 25, which he, following O. F. Fritzsche, brings forward, אֶל-פֶּתַח מִלְחָמָתִי, "on the Euphrates is my war," gains no support from the passage quoted. For the author of this apocryphal book, which was written on the model of the LXX., has not translated the text he uses, but only paraphrased it: οὐχὶ πρὸς σὶ ἐξαπίσταλμαι, ὑπὸ κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὁ πόλεμος μου ἐστίν, καὶ κύριος μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπισπεύδων ἐστίν. Neither the LXX. nor Vulg. have read and translated פֶּתַח in their original text; for they run as follows: οὐκ ἐπὶ σὶ ἦκα (taking אֶתֶּךָ for אֶתָּה) σήμερον πόλεμον ποιῆσαι, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶν κατασπεύσαι με. Vulg.: *Non adversus te hodie venio, sed contra aliam pugno domum, ad quam me Deus festinato ire præcepit.*

and to disfigure oneself (Job xxx. 18). This signification is suitable here also, where the word is transferred to the mental domain: to disfigure oneself, *i.e.* to undertake anything which contradicts one's character. During his whole reign, Josiah had endeavoured to carry out the will of God; while in his action against Pharaoh, on the contrary, he had acted in a different way, going into battle against the will of God.<sup>1</sup> As to the motive which induced Josiah, notwithstanding Necho's warning, to oppose him by force of arms, see the remark on 2 Kings xxiii. 29 f. The author of the Chronicle judges the matter from the religious point of view, from which the undertaking is seen to have been against the will of God, and therefore to have ended in Josiah's destruction, and does not further reflect on the working of divine providence, exhibited in the fact that the pious king was taken away before the judgment, the destruction of the kingdom of Judah, broke over the sinful people. For further information as to the Valley of Megiddo, the place where the battle was fought, and on the death of Josiah, see 2 Kings xxiii. 29 f. The *הַעֲבִירֵי*, bring me forth (ver. 23), is explained in ver. 24: his servants took him, mortally wounded by an arrow, from the war-chariot, and placed him in a second chariot which belonged to him, and probably was more comfortable for a wounded man. — Ver. 25. The death of the pious king was deeply lamented by his people. The prophet Jeremiah composed a lamentation for Josiah; "and all the singing-men and singing-women spake in their lamentations of Josiah unto this day;" *i.e.* in the lamentation which they were wont to sing on certain fixed days, they sung also the lamentation for Josiah. "And they made them (these lamentations) an ordinance (a standing custom) in Israel, and they are written in the lamentations," *i.e.* in a collection of lamentations, in which, among others, that composed by Jeremiah on the death of Josiah was contained. This collection is, however, not to be identified with the Lamenta-

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau would alter *הַחֲזִיק* into *הִתְחַזַּק*, because the LXX., and probably also the Vulg., Syr., 3 Esr. i. 16, and perhaps also Josephus, have so read. But only the LXX. have *ἡπαρατίωθη*, Vulg. *præparavit*, 3 Esr. *ἡπαρατίωθη*; so that for *הַחֲזִיק* only the LXX. remain, whose translation gives no sufficient ground for an alteration of the text. *הַחֲזִיק*, to show oneself strong, or courageous, is not at all suitable; for the author of the Chronicle is not wont to regard enterprises undertaken against God's will, and unfortunate in their results, as proofs of physical or spiritual strength.

tions of Jeremiah over the destruction of Jerusalem and the kingdom of Judah, contained in our canon.—On ver. 26 f. cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 28. *הָסֵדוּ* as in xxxii. 32. *בְּפֶתַח בֵּית*, according to that which is written in the law of Moses, cf. xxxi. 3. *וְיִבְרִי* is the continuation of *יִתְרִי וְיִבְרִי* (ver. 26).

CHAP. XXXVI.—THE LAST KINGS OF JUDAH; THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM; JUDAH LED AWAY CAPTIVE; AND THE BABYLONIAN EXILE.

As the kingdom of Judah after Josiah's death advanced with swift steps to its destruction by the Chaldeans, so the author of the Chronicle goes quickly over the reigns of the last kings of Judah, who by their godless conduct hastened the ruin of the kingdom. As to the four kings who reigned between Josiah's death and the destruction of Jerusalem, he gives, besides their ages at their respective accessions, only a short characterization of their conduct towards God, and a statement of the main events which step by step brought about the ruin of the king and the burning of Jerusalem and the temple.

Vers. 1-4. *The reign of Jehoahaz.* Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 30b-35. —After Josiah's death, the people of the land raised his son Jehoahaz (Joahaz), who was then twenty-three years old, to the throne; but he had been king in Jerusalem only three months when the Egyptian king (Necho) deposed him, imposed upon the land a fine of 100 talents of silver and one talent of gold, made his brother Eliakim king under the name Jehoiakim, and carried Jehoahaz, who had been taken prisoner, away captive to Egypt. For further information as to the capture and carrying away of Jehoahaz, and the appointment of Eliakim to be king, see on 2 Kings xxiii. 31-35.

Vers. 5-8. *The reign of Jehoiakim.* Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 36-xxiv. 7.—Jehoiakim was at his accession twenty-five years of age, reigned eleven years, and did that which was evil in the eyes of Jahve his God.—Ver. 6 f. "Against him came Nebuchadnezzar (in inscriptions, Nabucudurriusur, *i.e.* *Nebo coronam servat*; see on Dan. S. 56) the king of Babylon, and bound him with brazen double fetters to carry him to Babylon." This campaign, Nebuchadnezzar's first against Judah, is spoken of also in 2 Kings xxiv. and Dan. i. 1, 2. The capture of Jerusalem, at which Jehoiakim was put in fetters, occurred, as we

learn from Dan. i. 1, *col. c.* Jer. xlvi. 2 and xxxvi. 7, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, *i.e.* in the year 606 B.C.; and with it commence the seventy years of the Chaldean servitude of Judah. Nebuchadnezzar did not carry out his purpose of deporting the captured king Jehoiakim to Babylon, but allowed him to continue to reign at Jerusalem as his servant (vassal). To alter the infin. לְהוֹלִיכוֹ into the perf., or to translate as the perf., is quite arbitrary, as is also the supplying of the words, "and he carried him away to Babylon." That the author of the Chronicle does not mention the actual carrying away, but rather assumes the contrary, namely, that Jehoiakim continued to reign in Jerusalem until his death, as well known, is manifest from the way in which, in ver. 8, he records his son's accession to the throne. He uses the same formula which he has used in the case of all the kings whom at their death their sons succeeded, according to established custom. Had Nebuchadnezzar de-throned Jehoiakim, as Necho deposed Jehoahaz, the author of the Chronicle would not have left the installation of Jehoiachin by the Chaldean king unmentioned. For the defence of this view against opposing opinions, see the commentary on 2 Kings xxiv. 1 and Dan. i. 1; and in regard to ver. 7, see on Dan. i. 2. The Chronicle narrates nothing further as to Jehoiakim's reign, but refers, ver. 8, for his other deeds, and especially his abominations, to the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, whence the most important things have been excerpted and incorporated in 2 Kings xxiv. 1-4. תַּעֲבֹדוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה Bertheau interprets of images which he caused to be prepared, and הַנִּמְצָא עָלָיו of his evil deeds; but in both he is incorrect. The passages which Bertheau cites for his interpretation of the first words, Jer. vii. 9 f. and Ezek. viii. 17, prove the contrary; for Jeremiah mentions as תַּעֲבֹדוֹת of the people, murder, adultery, false swearing, offering incense to Baal, and going after other gods; and Ezekiel, *loc. cit.*, uses עֲשׂוֹת תַּעֲבֹדוֹת of the idolatry of the people indeed, but not of the making of images—only of the worship of idols, the practice of idol-worship. The abominations, consequently, which Jehoiakim committed are both his evil deeds and crimes, *e.g.* the shedding of innocent blood (2 Kings xxiv. 4), as well as the idolatry which he had practised. הַנִּמְצָא עָלָיו, "what was found upon him," is a comprehensive designation of his whole moral and religious conduct and attitude; cf. xix. 3. Jehoiakim's revolt from Nebuchadnezzar after three years' servitude (2 Kings

xxiv. 1) is passed over by the author of the Chronicle, because the punishment of this crime influenced the fate of the kingdom of Judah only after his death. The punishment fell upon Jehoiachin; for the detachments of Arameans, Moabites, and Ammonites, which were sent by Nebuchadnezzar to punish the rebels, did not accomplish much.

Vers. 9 and 10. *The reign of Jehoiachin.* Cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 8-17.—Jehoiachin's age at his accession is here given as eight years, while in 2 Kings xxiv. 8 it is eighteen. It is so also in the LXX. and Vulg.; but a few Hebr. codd., Syr., and Arab., and many manuscripts of the LXX., have eighteen years in the Chronicle also. The number eight is clearly an orthographical error, as Thenius also acknowledges. Bertheau, on the contrary, regards the eight of our text as the original, and the number eighteen in 2 Kings as an alteration occasioned by the idea that eighteen years appeared a more fitting age for a king than eight years, and gives as his reason, "that the king's mother is named along with him, and manifestly with design, 2 Kings xxiv. 12, 15, and Jer. xxii. 26, whence we must conclude that she had the guardianship of the young king." A perfectly worthless reason. In the books of Kings the name of the mother is given in the case of all the kings after their accession has been mentioned, without any reference to the age of the kings, because the queen-mother occupied a conspicuous position in the kingdom. It is so in the case of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, 2 Kings xxiii. 36 and xxiv. 8. On account of her high position, the queen-mother is mentioned in 2 Kings xxiv. 12 and 15, and in Jeremiah, among those who submitted to Nebuchadnezzar and were carried away to Babylon. The correctness of the number eighteen is, however, placed beyond doubt by Ezek. xix. 5-9, where the prophet portrays Jehoiachin as a young lion, which devoured men, and knew widows, and wasted cities. The knowing of widows cannot apply to a boy of eight, but might well be said of a young man of eighteen. Jehoiachin ruled only three months and ten days in Jerusalem, and did evil in the eyes of Jahve. At the turn of the year, *i.e.* in spring, when campaigns were usually opened (cf. 1 Kings xx. 22; 2 Sam. xi. 1), Nebuchadnezzar sent his generals (2 Kings xxiv. 10), and brought him to Babylon, with the goodly vessels of the house of Jahve, and made his (father's) brother Zedekiah king in Judah. In these few words the end of Jehoiachin's short reign is recorded.

From 2 Kings xxiv. 10-16 we learn more as to this second campaign of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem, and its issues for Judah; see the commentary on that passage. Zidkiyah (Zedekiah) was, according to 2 Kings xxiv. 17, not a brother, but זר, uncle or father's brother, of Jehoiachin, and was called Mattaniah, a son of Josiah and Hamutal, like Jehoahaz (2 Kings xxiv. 18, cf. xxiii. 31), and is consequently *his* full brother, and a step-brother of Jehoiakim. At his appointment to the kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar he received the name Zidkiyah (Zedekiah). זדקיה, in ver. 10, is accordingly to be taken in its wider signification of blood-relation.

Vers. 11-21. *The reign of Zedekiah; the destruction of Jerusalem, and Judah carried away into exile.* Cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 18-xxv. 21.—Zedekiah, made king at the age of twenty-one years, reigned eleven years, and filled up the measure of sins, so that the Lord was compelled to give the kingdom of Judah up to destruction by the Chaldeans. To that Zedekiah brought it by the two main sins of his evil reign,—namely, by not humbling himself before the prophet Jeremiah, from the mouth of Jahve (ver. 12); and by rebelling against King Nebuchadnezzar, who had caused him to swear by God, and by so hardening his neck (being stiff-necked), and making stout his heart, that he did not return to Jahve the God of Israel. Zedekiah's stiffness of neck and hardness of heart showed itself in his refusing to hearken to the words which Jeremiah spoke to him from the mouth of God, and his breaking the oath he had sworn to Nebuchadnezzar by God. The words, "he humbled himself not before Jeremiah," recall Jer. xxxvii. 2, and the events narrated in Jer. xxxvii. and xxxviii., and xxi. 4-xxii. 9, which show how the chief of the people ill-treated the prophet because of his prophecies, while Zedekiah was too weak and languid to protect him against them. The rebellion against Nebuchadnezzar, to whom he had sworn a vassal's oath of fidelity, is mentioned in 2 Kings xxiv. 30, and Ezek. xvii. 13 ff. also, as a great crime on the part of Zedekiah and the chief of the people; see the commentary on both passages. In consequence of this rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar marched against Judah with a powerful army; and after the capture of the fenced cities of the land, he advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, which ended in its capture and destruction, 2 Kings xxv. 1-10. Without further noticing these results of this breach of faith, the author of the Chronicle proceeds to



depict the sins of the king and of the people. In the first place, he again brings forward, in ver. 13b, the stiffness of neck and obduracy of the king, which manifested itself in the acts just mentioned: he made hard his neck, etc. Bertheau would interpret the words 'וַיִּקְשֶׁהוּ' according to Deut. ii. 30, thus: "Then did God make him stiff-necked and hardened his heart; so that he did not return to Jahve the God of Israel, notwithstanding the exhortations of the prophets." But although hardening is not seldom represented as inflicted by God, there is here no ground for supposing that with וַיִּקְשֶׁהוּ the subject is changed, while the bringing forward of the hardening as an act of God does not at all suit the context. And, moreover, הִקְשָׁה עֹרְוֹ, making hard the neck, is nowhere ascribed to God, it is only said of men; cf. 2 Kings xvii. 14, Dent. x. 16, Jer. xix. 15, etc. To God only הִקְשָׁה אֶת-לֵב or אֶת-רִגְלוֹ is attributed, Ex. vii. 3, Dent. ii. 30.—Ver. 14. "And all princes of the priests and the people increased faithless transgressions, like to all the abominations of the heathen, and defiled the house of the Lord which He had consecrated in Jerusalem." Bertheau would refer this censure of their idolatry and the profanation of the temple to the guilt incurred by the whole people, especially in the time of Manasseh, because, from all we know from the book of Jeremiah, the reproach of idolatry did not at all, or at least did not specially, attach to the princes of the priests and the people in the time of Zedekiah. But this reason is neither tenable nor correct; for from Ezek. viii. it is perfectly manifest that under Zedekiah, not only the people, but also the priesthood, were deeply sunk in idolatry, and that even the courts of the temple were defiled by it. And even though that idolatry did not take its rise under Zedekiah, but had been much practised under Jehoiakim, and was merely a revival and continuation of the idolatrous conduct of Manasseh and Amon, yet the reference of our verse to the time of Manasseh is excluded by the context; for here only that which was done under Zedekiah is spoken of, without any reference to earlier times.

Meanwhile God did not leave them without exhortation, warning, and threatening.—Ver. 15 f. Jahve sent to them by His messengers, from early morning onwards continually, for He spared His people and His dwelling-place; but they mocked the messengers of God, despised His words, and scoffed at His prophets. שְׁלַח בֵּיד, to send a message by any one, to make a

sending. The object is to be supplied from the verb. **הִשְׁמַח** exactly as in Jer. xxvi. 5, xxix. 19. For He spared His people, etc., viz. by this, that He, in long-suffering, again and again called upon the people by prophets to repent and return, and was not willing at once to destroy His people and His holy place. **מְלָאכִים** is ἀπ. λεγ., in Syr. it signifies *subsannavit*; the Hithp. also, **מִתְחַמֵּץ** (from חָמַץ), occurs only here as an intensive: to launch out in mockery. The distinction drawn between **מְלָאכִים** (messengers) and **נְבִיאִים** (prophets) is rhetorical, for by the messengers of God it is chiefly prophets who are meant; but the expression is not to be confined to prophets in the narrower sense of the word, for it embraces all the men of God who, by word and deed, censured and punished the godless conduct of the idolaters. The statement in these two verses is certainly so very general, that it may apply to all the times of gradually increasing defection of the people from the Lord their God; but the author of the Chronicle had primarily in view only the time of Zedekiah, in which the defection reached its highest point. It should scarcely be objected that in the time of Zedekiah only Jeremiah is known as a prophet of the Lord, since Ezekiel lived and wrought among the exiles. For, in the first place, it does not hence certainly follow that Jeremiah and Ezekiel were the only prophets of that time; then, secondly, Jeremiah does not speak as an individual prophet, but holds up to the people the witness of all the earlier prophets (cf. e.g. xxvi. 4, 5), so that by him all the former prophets of God spoke to the people; and consequently the plural, His messengers, His prophets, is perfectly true even for the time of Zedekiah, if we always keep in mind the rhetorical character of the style. **עַד יָלֹחַ וְנָ**, until the anger of Jahve rose upon His people, so that there was no healing (deliverance) more.

Ver. 17 ff. When the moral corruption had reached this height, judgment broke upon the incorrigible race. As in vers. 12-16 the transgressions of the king and people are not described according to their historical progression, but are portrayed in rhetorical gradation; so, too, in vers. 17-21 the judgment upon the sinful people and kingdom is not represented in its historical details, but only rhetorically in its great general outlines. "Then brought He upon them the king of the Chaldeans, who slew their young men with the sword in their sanctuary, and spared not the youth and the maiden, the old man

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and the grey-headed; he gave everything into his hand." Prophetic utterances form the basis of this description of the fearful judgment, *e.g.* Jer. xv. 1-9, xxxii. 3 f., Ezek. ix. 6; and these, again, rest upon Deut. xxxii. 25. The subject in the first and last clause of the verse is Jahve. Bertheau therefore assumes that He is also the subject of the intermediate sentence: "and God slew their young men in the sanctuary;" but this can hardly be correct. As in the expansion of the last clause, "he gave everything into his hand," which follows in ver. 18, not Jahve but the king of Babylon is the subject; so also in the expansion of the first clause, which 'וַיְהִי introduces, the king of the Chaldeans is the subject, as most commentators have rightly recognised. By בְּבֵית מִקְדָּשָׁם the judgment is brought into definite relationship to the crime: because they had profaned the sanctuary by idolatry (ver. 14), they themselves were slain in the sanctuary. On הָפֶל נָתַן ב', cf. Jer. xxvii. 6, xxxii. 3, 4. הָפֶל includes things and persons, and is specialized in vers. 18-20.—Ver. 18. All the vessels of the house of God, the treasures of the temple, and of the palace of the king and of the princes, all he brought to Babylon.—Ver. 19. They burnt the house of God; they pulled down the walls of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces of the city with fire, and all the costly vessels were devoted to destruction. On לְהַשְׁחִית, cf. xii. 12.—Ver. 20. He who remained from the sword, *i.e.* who had not been slain by the sword, had not fallen and died in war, Nebuchadnezzar carried away to Babylon into captivity; so that they became servants to him and to his sons, as Jeremiah (xxvii. 7) prophesied, until the rise of the kingdom of the Persians. These last words also are an historical interpretation of the prophecy, Jer. xxvii. 7. All this was done (ver. 21) to fulfil (מִלֵּא instead of מִלֵּא, as in 1 Chron. xxix. 5), that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, he having prophesied (xxv. 11 f., xxix. 10) the seventy years' duration of Judah's desolation and the Babylonian captivity, while the king and people had not regarded his words (ver. 12). This period, which according to ver. 20 came to an end with the rise of the kingdom of the Persians, is characterized by the clause עַד הָרָצָה וְגו' as a time of expiation of the wrong which had been done the land by the non-observance of the sabbath-years, upon the basis of the threatening (Lev. xxvi. 34), in which the wasting of the land during the dispersion of the unrepentant

people among the heathen was represented as a compensation for the neglected sabbaths. From this passage in the law the words are taken, to show how the Lord had inflicted the punishment with which the disobedient people had been threatened as early as in the time of Moses. עַד רַעְתָּהּ is not to be translated, "until the land had made up its years of rest;" that signification רַעְתָּהּ has not; but, "until the land had enjoyed its sabbath-years," i.e. until it had enjoyed the rest of which it had been deprived by the non-observance of the sabbaths and the sabbath-years, contrary to the will of its Creator; see on Lev. xxvi. 34. That this is the thought is placed beyond doubt by the succeeding circumstantial clause, taken word for word from Lev. xxvi. 34: "all days (i.e. the whole time) of its desolation did it hold it" (שָׁבַתָהּ, it kept sabbath). "To make full the seventy years;" which Jeremiah, *ll. cc.*, had prophesied.

This connecting of Jeremiah's prophecy with the declaration in Lev. xxvi. 34 does not justify us in supposing that the celebration of the sabbath-year had been neglected seventy times, or that for a period of 490 years the sabbath-year had not been observed. Bertheau, holding this view, fixes upon 1000 B.C., i.e. the time of Solomon, or, as we cannot expect any very great chronological exactitude, the beginning of the kingly government in Israel, as the period after which the rest-years ceased to be regarded. He is further of opinion that chap. xxxv. 18 harmonizes with this view; according to which passage the pass-over was not celebrated in accordance with the prescription of the law until the end of the period of the judges. According to this chronological calculation, the beginning of this neglect of the observance of the sabbath-year would fall in the beginning of the judgeship of Samuel.<sup>1</sup> But this is itself unlikely; and still more unlikely is it, that in the time of the judges the sabbath-year had been regularly observed until Samuel; and that during the reigns of the kings David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, this celebration remained wholly in abeyance. But even apart from that, the words, that the land, to make full the seventy years prophesied by Jeremiah, kept the

<sup>1</sup> The seventy years' exile began in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, i.e. in the year 606 B.C., or 369 years after the division of the kingdom; see the Chronol. Tables at 1 Kings xii. (ii. 3, S. 141), to which the eighty years of the reigns of David and Solomon, and the times of Saul and Samuel, must be added to make up the 490 years (see the comment. on Judges).

whole time of the desolation holy, or enjoyed a sabbath rest such as Moses had proclaimed in Lev. xxvi. 34, do not necessarily involve that the land had been deprived of its sabbath rest seventy times in succession, or during a period of 490 years, by the sin of the people. The connection between the prophecy of Jeremiah and the provision of the law is to be understood theologically, and does not purport to be calculated chronologically. The thought is this: By the infliction of the punishment threatened against the transgressors of the law by the carrying of the people away captive into Babylon, the land will obtain the rest which the sinful people had deprived it of by their neglect of the sabbath observance commanded them. By causing it to remain uncultivated for seventy years, God gave to the land a time of rest and refreshment, which its inhabitants, so long as they possessed it, had not given it. But that does not mean that the time for which this rest was granted corresponded to the number of the sabbath-years which had not been observed. From these theological reflections we cannot calculate how often in the course of the centuries, from the time of Joshua onwards till the exile, the sabbath-year had not been observed; and still less the time after which the observation of the sabbath-year was continuously neglected. The passage xxxv. 8 has no bearing on this question, because it neither states that the passover had been held according to the precepts of the law till towards the end of the time of the judges, nor that it was no longer celebrated in accordance with the precept from that time until Josiah; it only contains the thought that such a passover as that in Josiah's reign had not been held since the time of the judges: see on the passage.

Vers. 22 and 23. To point out still further how exactly God had fulfilled His word by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, it is in conclusion briefly mentioned that God, in the first year of Coresh king of Persia, stirred up the spirit of this king to cause a command to go forth in all his kingdom, that Jahve, the God of heaven, who had given him all the kingdoms of the earth, had commanded him to build again His temple in Jerusalem, and that whoever belonged to the people of God might go up to Jerusalem. With this comforting prospect for the future, the author of the Chronicle closes his consideration of the præ-exilic history of the people of God without completely communicating the contents of the royal edict of Cyrus, since he purposed to

narrate the history of the restoration of Judah to their own land in a separate work. This we have in the book of Ezra, which commences by giving us the whole of the edict of Cyrus the king of the Persians (Ezra i. 1-3), and then narrates the return of a great part of the people to Jerusalem and Judah, the rebuilding of the temple, and the re-settlement in the land of their fathers of those who had returned.

THE END.

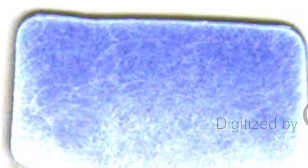


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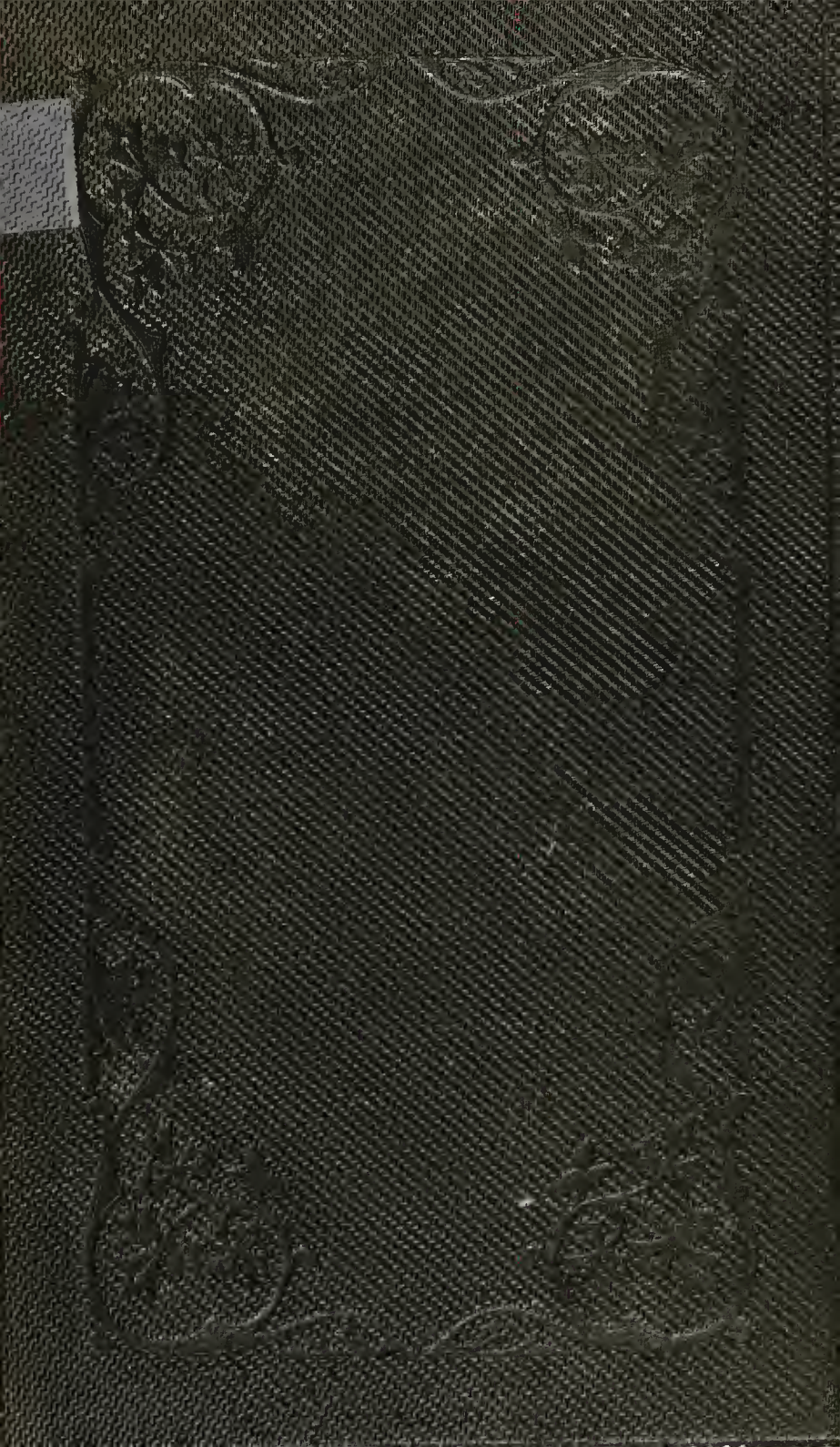
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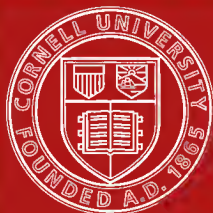
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# BIBLICAL COMMENTARY

ON

## THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY

C. F. KEIL, D.D., AND F. DELITZSCH, D.D.,

PROFESSORS OF THEOLOGY.

THE BOOKS OF EZRA, NEHEMIAH, AND ESTHER,

BY

C. F. KEIL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

SOPHIA TAYLOR.

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# THE BOOK OF EZRA.

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## INTRODUCTION.

### § 1. NAME AND CONTENTS, OBJECT AND PLAN OF THE BOOK OF EZRA.



THE book of Ezra derives its name of עֶזְרָא in the Hebrew Bible, of *Ἑσδρας* in the Septuagint, and of *Liber Esdræ* in the Vulgate, from Ezra, עֶזְרָא, the priest and scribe who, in chap. vii.—x., narrates his return from captivity in Babylon to Jerusalem, and the particulars of his ministry in the latter city. For the sake of making the number of the books contained in their canon of Scripture correspond with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, the Jews had from of old reckoned the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as *one*; whilst an apocryphal book of Ezra, composed of passages from the second book of Chronicles, the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and certain popular legends, had long been current among the Hellenistic Jews together with the canonical book of Ezra. Hence our book of Ezra is called, in the catalogues of the Old Testament writings handed down to us by the Fathers (see the statements of Origen, of the Council of Laodicea, Can. 60, of Cyril, Jerome, and others, in the *Lehrbuch der Einleitung*, § 216, Not. 11, 13), *Ἑσδρας πρῶτος* (α), and the book of Nehemiah *Ἑσδρας δεύτερος* (β), and consequently separated as I. Ezra from the book of Nehemiah as II. Ezra; while the Greek book of Ezra is called III. Ezra, to which was subsequently added the falsely so-called book of Ezra as

iv. Ezra. In the Septuagint, the *Vet. Itala*, and the Syriac, on the contrary (comp. *Libri V. T. apocryphi syriace e recogn. de Lagarde*), we find the Greek book of Ezra placed as "*Εσδρας πρῶτον*" before the canonical book, and the latter designated "*Εσδρας δεύτερον*."

The book of Ezra consists of two parts. The first part, comprising a period anterior to Ezra, begins with the edict of Coresh (Cyrus), king of Persia, permitting the return to their native land of such Jews as were exiles in Babylon, and prescribing the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem (i. 1-4); and relates that when the heads of the nation, the priests and Levites, and many of the people, made preparations for returning, Cyrus had the sacred vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from Jerusalem brought forth and delivered to Sheshbazzar (Zerubbabel), prince of Judah (i. 5-11). Next follows a list of the names of those who returned from captivity (chap. ii.), and the account of the building of the altar of burnt-offerings, the restoration of divine worship, and the laying of the foundation of the temple (chap. iii.). Then the manner in which the rebuilding of the temple was hindered by the Samaritans is narrated; and mention made of the written accusation sent by the adversaries of the Jews to the kings Ahashverosh and Artachshasta (iv. 1-7): the letter sent to the latter monarch, and his answer thereto, in consequence of which the rebuilding of the temple ceased till the second year of Darius, being inserted in the Chaldee original (iv. 24). It is then related (also in Chaldee) that Zerubbabel and Joshua, undertaking, in consequence of the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, the rebuilding of the temple, were immediately interrogated by Tatnai the Persian governor and his companions as to who had commanded such rebuilding; that the reply of the Jewish rulers was reported in writing to the king, whereupon the latter caused search to be made for the edict of Cyrus, and gave command for the continuance and furtherance of the building in compliance therewith (v. 1-vi. 13); that hence the Jews were enabled to complete the work, solemnly to dedicate their



now finished temple (vi. 14–18), and (as further related, vers. 19–22, in the Hebrew tongue) to celebrate their pass-over with rejoicing. In the second part (vii.–x.), the return of Ezra the priest and scribe, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, from Babylon to Jerusalem, with a number of priests, Levites, and Israelites, is related; and (vii. 1–10) a copy of the royal decree, in virtue of which Ezra was entrusted with the ordering of divine worship, and of the administration of justice as prescribed in the law, given in the Chaldee original (vii. 11–26), with a postscript by Ezra (ver. 27 sq.). Then follows a list of those who went up with Ezra (viii. 1–14); and particulars given by Ezra himself concerning his journey, his arrival at Jerusalem (viii. 14–36), and the energetic proceedings by which he effected the separation of the heathen women from the congregation (ix. 1–x. 17); the book concluding with a list of those who were forced to put away their heathen wives (x. 18–44).

The first year of the rule of Cyrus king of Persia corresponding with the year 536 B.C., and the seventh year of Artaxerxes (Longimanus) with 458 B.C., it follows that this book comprises a period of at least eighty years. An interval of fifty-six years, extending from the seventh year of Darius Hystaspis, in which the passover was celebrated after the dedication of the new temple (vi. 19–22), to the seventh of Artaxerxes, in which Ezra went up from Babylon (vii. 6), separates the events of the first part from those of the second. The narrative of the return of Ezra from Babylon in vii. 1 is nevertheless connected with the celebration of the passover under Darius by the usual formula of transition, “Now after these things,” without further comment, because nothing had occurred in the intervening period which the author of the book felt it necessary, in conformity with the plan of his work, to communicate.

Even this cursory notice of its contents shows that the *object* of Ezra was not to give a history of the re-settlement in Judah and Jerusalem of the Jews liberated by Cyrus from the Babylonian captivity, nor to relate all the memorable events which took place from the departure and the arrival

in Judah of those who returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua, until his own return and his ministry in Jerusalem. For he tells us nothing at all of the journey of the first band of returning exiles, and so little concerning their arrival in Jerusalem and Judah, that this has merely a passing notice in the superscription of the list of their names; while at the close of this list he only mentions the voluntary gifts which they brought with them for the temple service, and then just remarks that they—the priests, Levites, people, etc.—dwelt in their cities (ii. 70). The following chapters (iii.–vi.), moreover, treat exclusively of the building of the altar of burnt-offering and the temple, the hindrances by which this building was delayed for years, and of the final removal of these hindrances, the continuation and completion of the building, and the dedication of the new temple, by means of which the tribe of Judah was enabled to carry on the worship of God according to the law, and to celebrate the festivals in the house of the Lord. In the second part, indeed, after giving the decree he had obtained from Artaxerxes, he speaks in a comparatively circumstantial manner of the preparations he made for his journey, of the journey itself, and of his arrival at Jerusalem; while he relates but a single incident of his proceedings there,—an incident, indeed, of the utmost importance with respect to the preservation of the returned community as a covenant people, viz. the dissolution of the marriages with Canaanites and other Gentile women, forbidden by the law, but contracted in the period immediately following his arrival at Jerusalem. Of his subsequent proceedings there we learn nothing further from his own writings, although the king had given him authority, “after the wisdom of his God, to set magistrates and judges” (vii. 25); while the book of Nehemiah testifies that he continued his ministry there for some years in conjunction with Nehemiah, who did not arrive till thirteen years later: comp. Neh. viii.–x. and xii. 36, 38.

Such being the nature of the contents of this book, it is evident that the *object* and *plan* of its author must have been

to collect only such facts and documents as might show the manner in which the Lord God, after the lapse of the seventy years of exile, fulfilled His promise announced by the prophets, by the deliverance of His people from Babylon, the building of the temple at Jerusalem, and the restoration of the temple worship according to the law, and preserved the re-assembled community from fresh relapses into heathen customs and idolatrous worship by the dissolution of the marriages with Gentile women. Moreover, the restoration of the temple and of the legal temple worship, and the separation of the heathen from the newly settled community, were necessary and indispensable conditions for the gathering out of the people of God from among the heathen, and for the maintenance and continued existence of the nation of Israel, to which and through which God might at His own time fulfil and realize His promises made to their forefathers, to make their seed a blessing to all the families of the earth, in a manner consistent both with His dealings with this people hitherto, and with the further development of His promises made through the prophets. The significance of the book of Ezra in sacred history lies in the fact that it enables us to perceive how the Lord, on the one hand, so disposed the hearts of the kings of Persia, the then rulers of the world, that in spite of all the machinations of the enemies of God's people, they promoted the building of His temple in Jerusalem, and the maintenance of His worship therein; and on the other, raised up for His people, when delivered from Babylon, men like Zerubbabel their governor, Joshua the high priest, and Ezra the scribe, who, supported by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, undertook the work to which they were called, with hearty resolution, and carried it out with a powerful hand.

## § 2. UNITY AND COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK OF EZRA.

Several modern critics (Zunz, Ewald, Bertheau, and others) have raised objections both to the single authorship and to the independent character of this book, and declared

it to be but a fragment of a larger work, comprising not only the book of Nehemiah, but that of Chronicles also. The section of this work which forms our canonical book of Ezra is said to have been composed and edited by some unknown author about 200 years after Ezra, partly from an older Chaldee history of the building of the temple and of the walls of Jerusalem, partly from a record drawn up by Ezra himself of his agency in Jerusalem, and from certain other public documents. The evidence in favour of this hypothesis is derived, first, from the fact that not only the official letters to the Persian kings, and their decrees (iv. 8-22, v. 6-17, vi. 6-12, vii. 12-26), but also a still longer section on the building of the temple (v. 23-vi. 18), are written in the Chaldee, and the remaining portions in the Hebrew language; next, from the diversity of its style, its lack of internal unity, and its want of finish; and, finally, from the circumstance that the book of Ezra had from of old been combined with that of Nehemiah as one book. These reasons, however, upon closer consideration, prove too weak to confirm this view. For, to begin with the historical testimony, Nägelsbach, in *Herzog's Realencycl.* iv. p. 166, justly finds it "incomprehensible" that Bertheau should appeal to the testimony of the Talmud, the Masora, the most ancient catalogues of Old Testament books in the Christian church, the Cod. Alexandr., the Cod. Friderico Aug., and the LXX., because the comprehension of the two books in one in these authorities is entirely owing to the Jewish mode of computing the books of the Old Testament. Even Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 8) reckons twenty-two books, which he arranges, in a manner peculiar to himself, into five books of Moses, thirteen of the prophets, and four containing hymns to God and moral precepts for man; and Jerome says, in *Prolog. Gal.*, that the Hebrews reckon twenty-two canonical books, whose names he cites, after the number of the letters of their alphabet, but then adds that some reckoned Ruth and Lamentations separately, thus making twenty-four, because the Rabbis distinguished between װ and ן, and received a double Jod (װ) into the alphabet for the sake of including in

it the name יהוה, which when abbreviated is written יי. The number twenty-four is also found in *Baba bathr.* fol. 14. Hence we also find these numbers and computations in the Fathers and in the resolutions of the councils, but with the express distinction of I. and II. Ezra. This distinction is not indeed mentioned in the Talmud; and *Baba bathr.*, l.c., says: *Esra scripsit librum suum et genealogias librorum Chron. usque ad sua tempora.* But what authority can there be in such testimony, which also declares Moses to have been the author not only of the Pentateuch, but also of the book of Job, and Samuel the author of the books of Judges, Ruth, and Samuel? The authority, too, of Cod. Alex. and Cod. Frid. Aug. is opposed to that of Cod. Vatic. and of the LXX., in which the books Ezra and Nehemiah are separated, as they likewise are in the Masoretic text, although the Masoretes regarded and reckoned both as forming but one book.<sup>1</sup> This mode of computation, however, affords no ground for the supposition that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah originally formed one work. For in this case we should be obliged to regard the books of the twelve minor prophets as the work of one author. If the number of books was to be reduced to twenty-two or twenty-four, it was necessary to combine smaller works of similar character. The single authorship of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah is most decidedly negatived, not only by the superscription of the latter book, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן-יְחִזְקִיָּה, there being in the entire Old Testament no other instance of a single portion or section of a longer work being distinguished from its other portions by a similar superscription, with the name of the author; but also by the fact already brought forward in the introduction to Chronicles, p. 23, that no reason or motive whatever can

<sup>1</sup> Though Zunz and Ewald appeal also to the Greek book of Ezra, in which portions of Chronicles and of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are comprised, it is not really to be understood how any critical importance can be attributed to this apocryphal compilation. Besides, even if it possessed such importance, the circumstance that only the two last chapters of Chronicles, and only vii. 73–viii. 13 of Nehemiah, are comprised in it, says more against than in favour of the assumed single authorship of the three canonical books.

be perceived for a subsequent division of the historical work in question into three separate books, on account of its reception into the canon.

The contents, too, and the form of this book, present us with nothing incompatible either with its single authorship or independence. The use of the Chaldee tongue for the official documents of the Persian kings and their subordinates cannot surprise us, this being the official language in the provinces of the Persian empire west of the Euphrates, and as current with the returning Jews as their Hebrew mother tongue. It is true that the use of the Chaldee language is not in this book confined merely to official documents, but continued, iv. 8-22, in the narrative of the building of the temple down to the dedication of the rebuilt temple, iv. 23-vi. 18; and that the Hebrew is not employed again till from vi. 19 to the conclusion of the book, with the exception of vii. 12-26, where the commission given by Artaxerxes to Ezra is inserted in the Chaldee original. We also meet, however, with the two languages in the book of Daniel, chap. ii., where the Magi are introduced, ver. 4, as answering the king in Aramaic, and where not only their conversation with the monarch, but also the whole course of the event, is given in this dialect, which is again used chap. iii.-vii. Hence it has been attempted to account for the use of the Chaldee in the narrative portions of the book of Ezra, by the assertion that the historian, after quoting Chaldee documents, found it convenient to use this language in the narrative combined therewith, and especially because during its course he had to communicate other Chaldee documents (chap. v. 6-17 and vi. 3-12) in the original. But this explanation is not sufficient to solve the problem. Both here and in the book of Daniel, the use of the two languages has a really deeper reason; see § 14 sq. on Daniel. With respect to the book in question, this view is, moreover, insufficient; because, in the first place, the use of the Chaldee tongue does not begin with the communication of the Chaldee documents (iv. 11), but is used, ver. 8, in the paragraph which introduces them. And then, too, the narrator of the

Chaldee historical section, chap. v. 4, gives us to understand, by his use of the first person, "Then said *we* unto them," that he was a participator in the work of rebuilding the temple under Darius; and this, Ezra, who returned to Jerusalem at a much later period, and who relates his return (chap. vii. 27) in the first person, could not himself have been. These two circumstances show that the Chaldee section, iv. 8-vi. 18, was composed by an eye-witness of the occurrences it relates; that it came into the hands of Ezra when composing his own work, who, finding it adapted to his purpose as a record by one who was contemporary with the events he related, and a sharer in the building of the temple, included it in his own book with very slight alteration. The mention of Artachshasta, besides Coresh and Darjavesch, in vi. 14, seems opposed to this view. But since neither Ezra, nor a later author of this book, contemporary with Darius Hystaspis, could cite the name of Artaxerxes as contributing towards the *building* of the temple, while the position of the name of Artaxerxes after that of Darius, as well as its very mention, contradicts the notion of a predecessor of King Darius, the insertion of this name in vi. 14 may be a later addition made by Ezra, in grateful retrospect of the splendid gifts devoted by Artaxerxes to the temple, for the purpose of associating him with the two monarchs whose favour rendered the rebuilding of the temple possible (see on vi. 14). In this case, the mention of Artaxerxes in the passage just cited, offers no argument against the above-mentioned view of the origin of the Chaldee section. Neither is any doubt cast upon the single authorship of the whole book by the notion that Ezra inserted in his book not only an authentic list of the returned families, chap. ii., but also a narrative of the building of the temple, composed in the Chaldee tongue by an eye-witness.

All the other arguments brought forward against the unity of this book are quite unimportant. The variations and discrepancies which Schrader, in his treatise on the duration of the second temple, in the *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1867, p. 460 sq., and in De Wette's *Einleitung*, 8th

edit. § 235, supposes he has discovered in the Chaldee section, first between chap. iv. 8-23 and v. 1-6, 14<sup>a</sup>, 15, on the one hand, and chap. iv. 24 on the other, and then between these passages and the remaining chapters of the first part, chap. i., iii., iv. 1, vii. 24, and chap. vi. 14<sup>b</sup>, 16-18, 19-22, can have no force of argument except for a criticism which confines its operations to the words and letters of the text of Scripture, because incapable of entering into its spiritual meaning. If the two public documents iv. 8-23 differ from what precedes and follows them, by the fact that they speak not of the building of the temple but of the building of the walls of Jerusalem, the reason may be either that the adversaries of the Jews brought a false accusation before King Artachshashta, and for the sake of more surely gaining their own ends, represented the building of the temple as a building of the fortifications, or that the complaint of their enemies and the royal decree really relate to the building of the walls, and that section iv. 8-23 is erroneously referred by expositors to the building of the temple. In either case there is no such discrepancy between these public documents and what precedes and follows them as to annul the single authorship of this Chaldee section; see the explanation of the passage. Still less does the circumstance that the narrative of the continuation and completion of the temple-building, v. 1-vi. 15, is in a simply historical style, and not interspersed with reflections or devotional remarks, offer any proof that the notice, iv. 24, "Then ceased the work of the house of God which is at Jerusalem, so it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia," and the information, vi. 16-18, that the Jews brought offerings at the dedication of the temple, and appointed priests and Levites in their courses for the service of God, cannot proceed from the same historian, who at the *building* of the temple says nothing of the offerings and ministrations of the priests and Levites. Still weaker, if possible, is the argument for different authorship derived from characteristic expressions, viz. that in iv. 8, 11, 23, v. 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 17, and vi. 1, 3, 12, 13, the Persian kings are simply called "the



king," and not "king of Persia," as they are designated by the historian in iv. 7, 24, and elsewhere. For a thoughtful reader will scarcely need to be reminded that, in a letter to the king, the designation king of Persia would be not only superfluous, but inappropriate, while the king in his answer would have still less occasion to call himself king of Persia, and that even the historian has in several places—*e.g.* v. 5, 6, vi. 1 and 13—omitted the addition "of Persia" when naming the king. Nor is there any force in the remark that in v. 13 Coresh is called king of Babylon. This epithet, *הַמֶּלֶךְ הַבָּבֶלִי*, would only be objected to by critics who either do not know or do not consider that Coresh was king of Persia twenty years before he became king of Babylon, or obtained dominion over the Babylonian empire. The title king of Persia would here be misleading, and the mere designation king inexact,—Cyrus having issued the decree for the rebuilding of the temple not in the first year of his reign or rule over Persia, but in the first year of his sway over Babylon.

In Part II. (chap. vii.—x.), which is connected with Part I. by the formula of transition *אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה*, it is not indeed found "striking" that the historian should commence his narrative concerning Ezra by simply relating his doings (vii. 1–10), his object being first to make the reader acquainted with the person of Ezra. It is also said to be easy to understand, that when the subsequent royal epistles are given, Ezra should be spoken of in the third person; that the transition to the first person should not be made until the thanksgiving to God (vii. 27); and that Ezra should then narrate his journey to and arrival at Jerusalem, and his energetic proceedings against the unlawful marriages, in his own words (chap. viii. and ix.). But it is said to be "striking," that in the account of this circumstance Ezra is, from ch. x. 1 onwards, again spoken of in the third person. This change of the person speaking is said to show that the second part of the book was not composed by Ezra himself, but that some other historian merely made use of a record by Ezra, giving it verbally in chap. viii. and ix., and in chap. vii. and x.

relating Ezra's return from Babylon, and the conclusion of the transaction concerning the unlawful marriages, in his own words, but with careful employment of the said record. This view, however, does not satisfactorily explain the transition from the first to the third person in the narrative. For what could have induced the historian, after giving Ezra's record verbally in chap. viii. and ix., to break off in the midst of Ezra's account of his proceedings against the unlawful marriages, and, instead of continuing the record, to relate the end of the transaction in his own words? Bertheau's solution of this question, that the author did this for the sake of brevity, is of no force; for chap. x. shows no trace of brevity, but, on the contrary, the progress and conclusion of the affair are related with the same circumstantiality and attention to details exhibited in its commencement in viii. and ix. To this must be added, that in other historical portions of the Old Testament, in which the view of different authorship is impossible, the narrator, as a person participating in the transaction, frequently makes the transition from the first to the third person, and *vice versa*. Compare, *e.g.*, Isa. vii. 1 sq. ("Then said the Lord unto Isaiah, Go forth," etc.) with viii. 1 ("Moreover, the Lord said unto me, Take thee a great roll," etc.); Jer. xx. 1-6, where Jeremiah relates of himself in the third person, that he had been smitten by Pashur, and had prophesied against him, with ver. 7 sq., where, without further explanation, he thus continues: "O Lord, Thou hast persuaded me, and I was persuaded;" or Jer. xxviii. 1 ("Hananiah . . . spake unto me . . . the Lord said to me") with ver. 5 ("Then the prophet Jeremiah said to the prophet Hananiah"), and also ver. 6; while in the verse (7) immediately following, Jeremiah writes, "Hear thou now this word which I speak in thine ears." As Jeremiah, when here narrating circumstances of his own ministry, suddenly passes from the third to the first person, and then immediately returns to the third; so, too, might Ezra, after speaking (vii. 1-10) of his return to Jerusalem in the third person, proceed with a subsequent more circumstantial description of his journey to and arrival

at Jerusalem, and narrate his acts and proceedings there in the first person (chap. viii. and ix.), and then, after giving his prayer concerning the iniquity of his people (chap. ix.), take up the objective form of speech in his account of what took place in consequence of this prayer; and instead of writing, "Now when I had prayed," etc., continue, "Now when Ezra had prayed," and maintain this objective form of statement to the end of chap. x. Thus a change of author cannot be proved by a transition in the narrative from the first to the third person. As little can this be inferred from the remark (vii. 6) that "Ezra was a ready scribe in the law of Moses," by which his vocation, and the import of his return to Jerusalem, are alluded to immediately after the statement of his genealogy.

The reasons, then, just discussed are not of such a nature as to cast any real doubt upon the single authorship of this book; and modern criticism has been unable to adduce any others. Neither is its independence impeached by the circumstance that it breaks off "unexpectedly" at chap. x., without relating Ezra's subsequent proceedings at Jerusalem, although at chap. vii. 10 it is said not only that "Ezra had prepared his heart . . . to teach in Israel statutes and judgments," but also that Artaxerxes in his edict (vii. 12-26) commissioned him to uphold the authority of the law of God as the rule of action; nor by the fact that in Neh. viii.-x. we find Ezra still a teacher of the law, and that these very chapters form the necessary complement of the notices concerning Ezra in the book of Ezra (Bertheau). For though the narrative in Neh. viii.-x. actually does complete the history of Ezra's ministry, it by no means follows that the book of Ezra is incomplete, and no independent work at all, but only a portion of a larger book, because it does not contain this narrative. For what justifies the assumption that "Ezra purposed to give an account of all that he effected at Jerusalem?" The whole book may be sought through in vain for a single peg on which to hang such a theory. To impute such an intention to Ezra, and to infer that, because his ministry is spoken of in the book of Nehemiah also, the

book of Ezra is but a fragment, we should need far more weighty arguments in proof of the single authorship of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah than the defenders of this hypothesis are able to bring forward. In respect of diction, nothing further has been adduced than that the expression *בְּיָד אֱלֹהֵי עֲלִי*, so frequently recurring in Ezra (Ezra vii. 28; compare vii. 6, 9, viii. 18, 22, 31), is also once found in Nehemiah (ii. 8). But the single occurrence of this one expression, common to himself and Ezra, in the midst of the very peculiar diction and style of Nehemiah, is not the slightest proof of the original combination of the two books; and Neh. ii. 8 simply shows that Nehemiah appropriated words which, in his intercourse with Ezra, he had heard from his lips.—With respect to other instances in which the diction and matter are common to the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, we have already shown, in the introduction to Chronicles, that they are too trifling to establish an identity of authorship in the case of these three books; and at the same time remarked that the agreement between the closing verses of Chronicles and the beginning of Ezra does but render it probable that Ezra may have been the author of the former book also.

### § 3. COMPOSITION AND HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF EZRA.

If this book is a single one, *i.e.* the work of one author, there can be no reasonable doubt that that author was Ezra, the priest and scribe, who in chap. vii.–x. narrates his return from Babylon to Jerusalem, and the circumstances of his ministry there, neither its language nor contents exhibiting any traces of a later date. Its historical character, too, was universally admitted until Schrader, in his before-named treatise, p. 399, undertook to dispute it with respect to the first part of this book. The proofs he adduced were, first, that the statement made by the author, who lived 200 years after the building of the temple, in this book, *i.e.* in the chronicle of the foundation of the temple in the second

year after the return from Babylon, concerning the cessation of the building till the second year of Darius, and its resumption in that year, is unhistorical, and rests only upon the insufficiently confirmed assumption that the exiles, penetrated as they were with ardent love for their hereditary religion, full of joy that their deliverance from Babylon was at last effected, and of heartfelt gratitude to God, should have suffered fifteen years to elapse before they set to work to raise the national sanctuary from its ruins; secondly, that the accounts both of the rearing of the altar, iii. 2 and 3, and of the proceedings at laying the foundations of the temple, together with the names, dates, and other seemingly special details found in chap. iii., iv. 1-5, 24, vi. 14, are not derived from ancient historical narratives, but are manifestly due to the imagination of the chronicler drawing upon the documents given in the book of Ezra, upon other books of the Old Testament, and upon his own combinations thereof. This whole argument, however, rests upon the assertion, that neither in Ezra v. 2 and 16, in Hagg. i. 2, 4, 8, 14, ii. 12, nor in Zech. i. 16, iv. 9, vi. 12, 13, viii. 9, is the resumption of the temple building in the second year of the reign of Darius spoken of, but that, on the contrary, the laying of its foundations in the said year of Darius is in some of these passages assumed, in others distinctly stated. Such a conclusion can, however, only be arrived at by a misconception of the passages in question. When it is said, Ezra v. 2, "Then (*i.e.* when the prophets Haggai and Zechariah prophesied) rose up Zerubbabel and Jeshua . . . and began to build the house of God" (שָׂרְיָו לְבִנְיָהּ), there is no need to insist that בָּנָה often signifies to rebuild, but the word may be understood strictly of beginning to build. And this accords with the fact, that while in chap. iii. and iv. nothing is related concerning the building of the temple, whose foundations were laid in the second year of the return, it is said that immediately after the foundations were laid the Samaritans came and desired to take part in the building of the temple, and that when their request was refused, they weakened the hands of the people, and deterred them from

building (iv. 1-5). Schrader can only establish a discrepancy between v. 2 and chap. iii. and iv. by confounding building with foundation-laying, two terms which neither in Hebrew nor German have the same signification. Still less can it be inferred from the statement of the Jewish elders (Ezra v. 16), when questioned by Tatnai and his companions as to who had commanded them to build the temple, "Then came the same Sheshbazzar and laid the foundation of the house of God, which is in Jerusalem, *and since that time even until now hath it been in building*," that the building of the temple proceeded *without intermission* from the laying of its foundations under Cyrus till the second year of Darius. For can we be justified in the supposition that the Jewish elders would furnish Tatnai with a detailed statement of matters for the purpose of informing him what had been done year by year, and, by thus enumerating the hindrances which had for an interval put a stop to the building, afford the Persian officials an excuse for consequently declaring the question of resuming the building non-suited? For Tatnai made no inquiry as to the length of time the temple had been in building, or whether this had been going on uninterruptedly, but only who had authorized them to build; and the Jewish elders replied that King Cyrus had commanded the building of the temple, and delivered to Sheshbazzar, whom he made governor, the sacred vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away to Babylon, whereupon Sheshbazzar had begun the work of building which had been going on from then till now. Moreover, Schrader himself seems to have felt that not much could be proved from Ezra v. 2 and 16. Hence he seeks to construct the chief support of his theory from the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah. In this attempt, however, he shows so little comprehension of prophetic diction, that he expounds Haggai's reproofs of the indifference of the people in building the temple, Hagg. i. 2, 4, 8, as stating that as yet nothing had been done, not even the foundations laid; transforms the words, Hagg. i. 14, "they came and did work in the house of the Lord" (יָעֲשׂוּ מִלְאָכָה בַּבַּיִת), into "they began to build;"

makes Hagg. ii. 18, by a tautological view of the words לִמָּן הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִפֹּר, mean that the foundations of the temple were not laid till the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month of the second year of Darius (see the true meaning of the passage in the commentary on Haggai); and finally, explains the prophecies of Zechariah (i. 16, iv. 9, vi. 12, viii. 9) concerning the rearing of a spiritual temple by Messiah as applying to the temple of wood and stone actually erected by Zerubabel. By such means he arrives at the result that "neither does the Chaldee section of Ezra (chap. v.), including the official documents, say anything of a foundation of the temple in the second year after the return from Babylon; nor do the contemporary prophets Haggai and Zechariah make any mention of this earlier foundation in their writings, but, on the contrary, place the foundation in the second year of Darius: that, consequently, the view advocated by the author of the book of Ezra, that the building of the temple began in the days of Cyrus, and immediately after the return of the exiles, is wholly without documentary proof." This result he seeks further to establish by collecting all the words, expressions, and matters (such as sacrifices, Levites, priests, etc.) in Ezra iii. and iv. and vi. 16-22, to which parallels may be found in the books of Chronicles, for the sake of drawing from them the further conclusion that "the chronicler," though he did not indeed invent the facts related in Ezra iii. 1-4, v., and vi. 16-22, combined them from the remaining chapters of the book of Ezra, and from other books of the Old Testament,—a conclusion in which the chief stress is placed upon the supposed fact that the chronicler was sufficiently known to have been a compiler and maker up of history. Such handling of Scripture can, however, in our days no longer assume the guise of "scientific criticism;" this kind of critical produce, by which De Wette and his follower Gramberg endeavoured to gain notoriety sixty years ago, having long been condemned by theological science. Nor can the historical character of this book be shaken by such frivolous objections. Three events of fundamental importance to the restoration and continuance of Israel as a separate

people among the other nations of the earth are contained in it, viz.: (1) The release of the Jews and Israelites from the Babylonian captivity by Cyrus; (2) The re-settlement in Judah and Jerusalem, with the rebuilding of the temple; (3) The ordering of the re-settled flock according to the law of Moses, by Ezra. The actual occurrence of these three events is raised above all doubt by the subsequent historical development of the Jews in their own land; and the narrative of the manner in which this development was rendered possible and brought to pass, possesses as complete documentary authentication, in virtue of the communication of the official acts of the Persian kings Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes,—acts of which the whole contents are given after the manner, so to speak, of State papers,—as any fact of ancient history. The historical narrative, in fact, does but furnish a brief explanation of the documents and edicts which are thus handed down.

For the exegetical literature, see *Lehrb. der Einleitung*, p. 455; to which must be added, E. Bertheau, *die Bücher Esra, Nehemia, und Ester erkl.*, Lpz. (being the seventeenth number of the *kurzgef. exeget. Handbuchs zum A. T.*).



## EXPOSITION.

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### I.—THE RETURN OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON UNDER CYRUS. RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE AND OF THE WORSHIP OF GOD AT JERUSALEM.—CHAP. I.—VI.

**W**HEN the seventy years of the Babylonian captivity had elapsed, King Cyrus, by an edict published in the first year of his rule over Babylon, gave permission to all the Jews in his whole realm to return to their native land, and called upon them to rebuild the temple of God at Jerusalem. The execution of this royal and gracious decree by the Jews forms the subject of the first part of this book,—chap. i. and ii. treating of the return of a considerable number of families of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, under the conduct of Zerubbabel the prince and Joshua the high priest, to Jerusalem and Judæa; the remaining chapters, iii.—vi., of the restoration of the worship of God, and of the rebuilding of the temple.

#### CHAP. I.—THE EDICT OF CYRUS, THE DEPARTURE FROM BABYLON, THE RESTITUTION OF THE SACRED VESSELS.

In the first year of his rule over Babylon, Cyrus king of Persia proclaimed throughout his whole kingdom, both by voice and writing, that the God of heaven had commanded him to build His temple at Jerusalem, and called upon the Jews living in exile to return to Jerusalem, and to build there the house of the God of Israel. At the same time, he exhorted all his subjects to facilitate by gifts the journey of

the Jews dwelling in their midst, and to assist by free-will offerings the building of the temple (1-4). In consequence of this royal decree, those Jews whose spirit God had raised up prepared for their return, and received from their neighbours gifts and free-will offerings (5 and 6). Cyrus, moreover, delivered to Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judab, the vessels of the temple which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem to Babylon.

Vers. 1-4. *The edict of Cyrus*.—Ver. 1. The opening word, “*And in the first year,*” etc., is to be explained by the circumstance that what is here recorded forms also, in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 and 23, the conclusion of the history of the kingdom of Judah at its destruction by the Chaldeans, and is transferred thence to the beginning of the history of the restoration of the Jews by Cyrus. כִּי־יָרֵשׁ is the Hebraized form of the ancient Persian Kurus, as *Kûros*, Cyrus, is called upon the monuments, and is perhaps connected with the Indian title Kuru; see Delitzsch on Isa. xlv. 28. The first year of Cyrus is the first year of his rule over Babylon and the Babylonian empire.<sup>1</sup> פָּרַס—in the better editions, such as that of Norzi and J. H. Mich., with Pathach under ר, and only pointed פָּרַס with a graver pause, as with Silluk, iv. 3, in the cuneiform inscriptions Pâraça—signifies in biblical phraseology the Persian empire; comp. Dan. v. 28, vi. 9, etc. לְכִלּוֹת, that the word of Jahve might come to an end. בָּלָה, to be completed, 2 Chron. xxix. 34. The word of the Lord is completed when its fulfilment takes place; hence in the Vulg. *ut completeretur*, i.e. לְמַלְאוֹת, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. Here, however, כָּלּוֹת is more appropriate, because the notion of the lapse or termination of the seventy years predominates. The statement of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. xxv. 11, etc., xxix. 10; comp. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21) concerning the desolation and servitude of Judah is here intended. These seventy years commenced with the first taking of Jerusalem by

<sup>1</sup> *Duplex fuit initium, Cyri Persarum regis; prius Persicum, idque antiquius, posterius Babylonicum, de quo Hesdras; quia dum Cyrus in Perside tantum regnaret, regnum ejus ad Judæos, qui in Babylonia erant, nihil adtinuit.*—Cleric: ad Esr. i. 1.

Nebuchadnezzar, when Daniel and other youths of the seed-royal were carried to Babylon (Dan. i. 1, 2) in the fourth year of King Jehoiakim; see the explanation of Dan. i. 1. This year was the year 606 B.C.; hence the seventy years terminate in 536 B.C., the first year of the sole rule of Cyrus over the Babylonian empire. Then "Jahve stirred up the spirit of Coresh," *i.e.* moved him, made him willing; comp. with this expression, 1 Chron. v. 26 and Hagg. i. 14. **וַיַּעֲבֵר-קוֹל**, "he caused a voice to go forth," *i.e.* he proclaimed by heralds; comp. Ex. xxxvi. 6, 2 Chron. xxx. 5, etc. With this is zengmatically combined the subsequent **וַיִּבְרָא**, so that the general notion of proclaiming has to be taken from **וַיַּעֲבֵר קוֹל**, and supplied before these words. The sense is: he proclaimed throughout his whole realm by heralds, and also by written edicts.

Ver. 2. The proclamation—"Jahve the God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and He hath charged me to build Him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah"—corresponds with the edicts of the great kings of Persia preserved in the cuneiform inscriptions, inasmuch as these, too, usually begin with the acknowledgment that they owe their power to the god Ahuramazdâ (Ormuzd), the creator of heaven and earth.<sup>1</sup> In this edict, however, Cyrus expressly calls the God of heaven by His Israelitish name Jahve, and speaks of a commission from this God to build Him a temple at Jerusalem. Hence it is manifest that Cyrus consciously entered into the purposes of Jahve, and sought, as far as he was concerned, to fulfil them. Bertheau thinks, on the contrary, that it is impossible to dismiss the conjecture that our historian, guided by an uncertain tradition, and induced by his own historical prepossessions,

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *e.g.* the inscription of Elvend in three languages, explained in Joach. Méant, *Exposé des éléments de la grammaire assyrienne*, Paris 1868, p. 302, whose Aryan text begins thus: *Deus magnus Auramazdâ, qui maximus deorum, qui hanc terram creavit, qui hoc cœlum creavit, qui homines creavit, qui potentiam (?) dedit hominibus, qui Xerxem regem fecit*, etc. An inscription of Xerxes begins in a similar manner, according to Lassen, in *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, Bonn 1836, p. 172.

remodelled the edict of Cyrus. There is, however, no sufficient foundation for such a conjecture. If the first part of the book of Ezra is founded upon contemporary records of the events, this forbids an *à priori* assertion that the matter of the proclamation of Cyrus rests upon an uncertain tradition, and, on the contrary, presupposes that the historian had accurate knowledge of its contents. Hence, even if the thoroughly Israelitish stamp presented by these verses can afford no support to the view that they faithfully report the contents of the royal edict, it certainly offers as little proof for the opinion that the Israelite historian remodelled the edict of Cyrus after an uncertain tradition, and from historical prepossessions. Even Bertheau finds the fact that Cyrus should have publicly made known by a written edict the permission given to the Jews to depart, probable in itself, and corroborated by the reference to such an edict in chap. v. 17 and vi. 3. This edict of Cyrus, which was deposited in the house of the rolls in the fortress of Achmetha, and still existed there in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, contained, however, not merely the permission for the return of the Jews to their native land, but, according to vi. 3, the command of Cyrus to build the house of God at Jerusalem; and Bertheau himself remarks on chap. vi. 3, etc.: "There is no reason to doubt the correctness of the statement that Cyrus, at the time he gave permission for the re-settlement of the community, also commanded the expenses of rebuilding the temple to be defrayed from the public treasury." To say this, however, is to admit the historical accuracy of the actual contents of the edict, since it is hence manifest that Cyrus, of his own free will, not only granted to the Jews permission to return to the land of their fathers, but also commanded the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. Although, then, this edict was composed, not in Hebrew, but in the current language of the realm, and is reproduced in this book only in a Hebrew translation, and although the occurrence of the name Jahve therein is not corroborated by chap. vi. 3, yet these two circumstances by no means justify Bertheau's conclusion, that "if Cyrus in this edict called

the universal dominion of which he boasted a gift of the god whom he worshipped as the creator of heaven and earth, the Israelite translator, who could not designate this god by his Persian name, and who was persuaded that the God of Israel had given the kingdom to Cyrus, must have bestowed upon the supreme God, whom Cyrus mocked, the name of Jahve, the God of heaven. When, then, it might further have been said in the document, that Cyrus had resolved, not without the consent of the supreme God, to provide for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem,—and such a reference to the supreme God might well occur in the announcement of a royal resolution in a decree of Cyrus,—the Israelite translator could not again but conclude that Cyrus referred to Jahve, and that Jahve had commanded him to provide for the building of the temple.” For if Cyrus found himself impelled to the resolution of building a temple to the God of heaven in Jerusalem, *i.e.* of causing the temple destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar to be rebuilt, he must have been acquainted with this God, have conceived a high respect for Him, and have honoured Him as the God of heaven. It was not possible that he should arrive at such a resolution by faith in Ahuramazdâ, but only by means of facts which had inspired him with reverence for the God of Israel. It is this consideration which bestows upon the statement of Josephus, *Antt.* xi. 1. 1,—that Cyrus was, by means of the predictions of Isaiah, chap. xli. 25 sq., xlv. 28, xlv. 1 sq., who had prophesied of him by name 200 years before, brought to the conviction that the God of the Jews was the Most High God, and was on this account impelled to this resolution,—so high a degree of probability that we cannot but esteem its essence as historical. For when we consider the position held by Daniel at the court of Darius the Mede, the father-in-law of Cyrus,—that he was there elevated to the rank of one of the three presidents set over the 120 satraps of the realm, placed in the closest relation with the king, and highly esteemed by him (*Dan.* vi.),—we are perfectly justified in adopting the opinion that Cyrus had been made acquainted with the God of the Jews, and with the prophecies of Isaiah

concerning Coresh, by Daniel.<sup>1</sup> Granting, then, that the edict of Cyrus may have been composed in the current language of the realm, and not rendered word for word in Hebrew by the biblical author of the present narrative, its essential contents are nevertheless faithfully reproduced; and there are not sufficient grounds even for the view that the God who had inspired Cyrus with this resolution was in the royal edict designated only as the God of heaven, and not expressly called Jahve. Why may not Cyrus have designated the God of heaven, to whom as the God of the Jews he had resolved to build a temple in Jerusalem, also by His name Jahve? According to polytheistic notions, the worship of this God might be combined with the worship of Ahuramazdâ as the supreme God of the Persians.—On 'וַיִּקְרָא עָלָיו יְהוָה, J. H. Mich. well remarks: *Mandavit mihi, nimirum dudum ante per Jesajam* xliv. 24–28, xlv. 1–13, *forte etiam per Danielelem, qui annum hunc Cyri primum vivendo attigit* (Dan. i. 21, vi. 29) *et Susis in Perside vixit* chap. viii. 2 (in saying which, he only infers too much from the last passage; see on Dan. viii. 2).

Ver. 3. In conformity with the command of God, Cyrus not only invites the Jews to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild the temple, but also requires all his subjects to assist the returning Jews, and to give free-will offerings for the

<sup>1</sup> Hence not only ancient expositors, but also in very recent times Pressel (*Herzog's Realencycl.* iii. p. 232), and A. Koehler, *Haggai*, p. 9, etc., defend the statement of Josephus, *l.c.*, ταῦτ' (viz. the previously quoted prophecy, Isa. xlv. 28) οὐκ ἀναγνόντα καὶ θαυμάσαντα τὸ θεῖον ὁρμητὶς ἔλαβε καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ ποιῆσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα, as historically authentic. Pressel remarks, "that Holy Scripture shows what it was that made so favourable an impression upon Cyrus, by relating the rôle played by Daniel at the overthrow of the Babylonian monarchy, Dan. v. 28, 30. What wonder was it that the fulfiller of this prediction should have felt himself attracted towards the prophet who uttered it, and should willingly restore the vessels which Belshazzar had that night committed the sin of polluting?" etc. The remark of Bertheau, on the contrary, "that history knows of no Cyrus who consciously and voluntarily honours Jahve the God of Israel, and consciously and voluntarily receives and executes the commands of this God," is one of the arbitrary *dicta* of neological criticism.

temple. **מִי בְכֶם**, who among you of all his people, refers to all those subjects of his realm to whom the decree was to be made known; and all the people of Jahve is the whole nation of Israel, and not Judah only, although, according to ver. 5, it was mainly those only who belonged to Judah that availed themselves of this royal permission. **יְהִי אֱלֹהָיו עִמּוֹ**, his God be with him, is a wish for a blessing: comp. Josh. i. 17; 1 Esdras ii. 5, *ἔστω*; while in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23 we find, on the other hand, **יְהִי יְהוָה** for **יְהִי**. This wish is followed by the summons to go up to Jerusalem and to build the temple, the reason for which is then expressed by the sentence, "He is the God which is in Jerusalem."

Ver. 4. **וְכָל-הַנִּשְׁאָר וְגו'** are all belonging to the people of God in the provinces of Babylon, all the captives still living: comp. Neh. i. 2 sq.; Hagg. ii. 3. These words stand first in an absolute sense, and **מִכָּל-הַמְּקוֹמֹת וְגו'** belongs to what follows: In all places where he (*i.e.* each man) sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with gold, etc. The men of his place are the non-Israelite inhabitants of the place. **וַיָּשָׂא**, to assist, like 1 Kings ix. 1. **רָכִישׁ** specified, besides gold, silver, and cattle, means moveable, various kinds. **עִם-הַנִּדְבָּה**, with, besides the free-will offering, *i.e.* as well as the same, and is therefore supplied in ver. 6 by **לְבָר עַל**. Free-will offerings for the temple might also be gold, silver, and vessels: comp. viii. 28; Ex. xxxv. 21.

Vers. 5 and 6. In consequence of this royal summons, the heads of the houses of Judah and Benjamin, of the priests and Levites,—in short, all whose spirit God stirred up,—rose to go up to build the house of God. The **ל** in **לְבָר** serves to comprise the remaining persons, and may therefore be rendered by, in short, or namely; comp. Ewald, § 310, *a*. The relative sentence then depends upon **כָּל** without **אֲשֶׁר**. The thought is: All the Jews were called upon to return, but those only obeyed the call whom God made willing to build the temple at Jerusalem, *i.e.* whom the religious craving of their hearts impelled thereto. For, as Josephus says, *Antt.* xi. 1: πολλοὶ κατέμειναν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι, τὰ κτήματα καταλιπεῖν οὐ θέλοντες.—Ver. 6. All their surrounders assisted them with

gifts. The surrounders are the people of the places where Jews were making preparations for returning; chiefly, therefore, their heathen neighbours (ver. 4), but also those Jews who remained in Babylon. **הַיּוֹקִי בִּידֵיהֶם** is not identical in meaning with **יָדָהּ**, to strengthen, *e.g.* Jer. xxiii. 14, Neh. ii. 18; but with **הִחֲזִיק בְּיָד**, the Piel here standing instead of the elsewhere usual Hiphil: to grasp by the hand, *i.e.* to assist; comp. Lev. xxv. 34. **לְבַד עַל**, separated to, besides; elsewhere joined with **בְּ**, Ex. xii. 37, etc. **הַתְּנִיב** connected with **בָּל** without **אֶשֶׁר**, as the *verbum fin.* in ver. 5, 1 Chron. xxix. 3, and elsewhere. **לְבִית הָאֱלֹהִים** must, according to ver. 4, be supplied mentally; comp. ii. 68, iii. 5, 1 Chron. xxix. 9, 17.

Vers. 7–10. King Cyrus, moreover, caused those sacred vessels of the temple which had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar to be brought forth, and delivered them by the hand of his treasurer to Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah, for the use of the house of God which was about to be built. **הוֹצִיא**, to fetch out from the royal treasury. The “vessels of the house of Jahve” are the gold and silver vessels of the temple which Nebuchadnezzar, at the first taking of Jerusalem in the reign of Jehoiakim, carried away to Babylon, and lodged in the treasure-house of his god (2 Chron. xxxvi. 7 and Dan. i. 2). For those which he took at its second conquest were broken up (2 Kings xxiv. 13); and the other gold and silver goods which, as well as the large brazen implements, were taken at the third conquest, and the destruction of the temple (2 Kings xxv. 14 sq.; Jer. lii. 18 sq.), would hardly have been preserved by the Chaldeans, but rather made use of as valuable booty. —Ver. 8. Cyrus delivered these vessels **עַל יָד**, into the hand of the treasurer, to whose care they were entrusted; *i.e.* placed them under his inspection, that they might be faithfully restored. **מִתְּרַדָּת** is Mithridates. **נֹזֶבֶר**, answering to the Zend *gazabara*, means treasurer (see com. on Dan. p. 45, note 1). This officer counted them out to the prince of Judah Sheshbazzar, undoubtedly the Chaldee name of Zerubbabel. For, according to v. 14, 16, **שֵׁשֶׁבַצַּר** was the governor (**פָּחָה**) placed



by Cyrus over the new community in Judah and Jerusalem, and who, according to ver. 11 of the present chapter, returned to Jerusalem at the head of those who departed from Babylon; while we are informed (chap. ii. 2, iii. 1, 8, and iv. 3, v. 2) that Zerubbabel was not only at the head of the returning Jews, but also presided as secular ruler over the settlement of the community in Judah and Jerusalem. The identity of Sheshbazzar with Zerubbabel, which has been objected to by Schrader and Nöldeke, is placed beyond a doubt by a comparison of v. 16 with iii. 8, etc., v. 2: for in v. 16 Sheshbazzar is named as he who laid the foundation of the new temple in Jerusalem; and this, according to v. 2 and iii. 8, was done by Zerubbabel. The view, too, that Zerubbabel, besides this his Hebrew name, had, as the official of the Persian king, also a Chaldee name, is in complete analogy with the case of Daniel and his three companions, who, on being taken into the service of the Babylonian king, received Chaldee names (Dan. i. 7). Zerubbabel, moreover, seems, even before his appointment of חֲזַקְיָהּ to the Jewish community in Judah, to have held some office in either the Babylonian or Persian Court or State; for Cyrus would hardly have entrusted this office to any private individual among the Jews. The meaning of the word שֶׁשְׁבַצְאָר is not yet ascertained: in the LXX. it is written *Σασαβασάρ*, *Σαβαχασάρ*, and *Σαναβάσσορος*; 1 Esdras has *Σαμανασσάρ*, or, according to better MSS., *Σαναβασσάρ*; and Josephus, *i.e.*, *Ἀβασσάρ*.—Vers. 9-11. The enumeration of the vessels: 1. אֲנָרִיִּים of gold 30, and of silver 1000. The word occurs only here, and is translated in the Septuagint *ψυκτῆρες*; in 1 Esdr. ii. 11, *σπονδεῖα*. The Talmudic explanation of Aben Ezra, "vessels for collecting the blood of the sacrificed lambs," is derived from אָנַר, to collect, and אֲנָרִי, a lamb, but is certainly untenable. אֲנָרִיִּים is probably connected with אֲנָרִי, the rabbinical אֲנָרִי, the Syriac ܐܢܪܝܐ, the Greek *κάρταλος* or *κάρταλος*, a basket (according to Suidas), *κάρταλος* having no etymology in Greek; but can hardly be derived, as by Meier, *hebr. Wurzelwörterbuch*, p. 683, from the Syriac

נִדְּבִית, *nudavit*, to make bare, the Arabic عرطل, to make empty, to hollow, with the sense of hollow basins. 2. מִחֲלָפִים. 29. This word also occurs only here. The Sept. has παραλαγμένα (interpreting etymologically after חָלַף), 1 Esdr. θύσσαι, the Vulg. *cultri*, sacrificial knives, according to the rabbinical interpretation, which is based upon חָלַף, in the sense of to pierce, to cut through (Judg. v. 26; Job xx. 24). This meaning is, however, certainly incorrect, being based linguistically upon a mere conjecture, and not even offering an appropriate sense, since we do not expect to find knives between vessels and dishes. Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. p. 88), from the analogy of מִחֲלָפִים (Judg. xvi. 13, 19), plaits, supposes vessels ornamented with plaited or net work; and Bertheau, vessels bored after the manner of a grating for censuring, closed fire-pans with holes and slits. All is, however, uncertain. 3. כַּפֹּרִים, goblets (goblets with covers; comp. 1 Chron. xv. 18) of gold, 30; and of silver, 410. The word מְשָׁנִים is obscure; connected with כַּפֹּרִי בְּדָף it can only mean goblets of a second order (comp. 1 Chron. xv. 18). Such an addition appears, however, superfluous; the notion of a second order or class being already involved in their being of silver, when compared with the golden goblets. Hence Bertheau supposes מְשָׁנִים to be a numeral corrupted by a false reading; and the more so, because the sum-total given in ver. 11 seems to require a larger number than 410. These reasons, however, are not insuperable. The notion of a second order of vessels need not lie in their being composed of a less valuable metal, but may also be used to define the sort of implement; and the difference between the separate numbers and the sum-total is not perfectly reconciled by altering מְשָׁנִים into אֵלֶּפֶים, 2000. 4. 1000 other vessels or implements.

Ver. 11. "All the vessels of gold and of silver were five thousand and four hundred." But only 30 + 1000 אֵלֶּפֶים, 29 מִחֲלָפִים, 30 + 410 covered goblets, and 1000 other vessels are enumerated, making together 2499. The same numbers are found in the LXX. Ancient interpreters reconciled

the difference by the supposition that in the separate statements only the larger and more valuable vessels are specified, while in the sum-total the greater and lesser are reckoned together. This reconciliation of the discrepancy is, however, evidently arbitrary, and cannot be justified by a reference to 2 Chron. xxxvi. 18, where the taking away of the greater and lesser vessels of the temple at the destruction of Jerusalem is spoken of. In ver. 11 it is indisputably intended to give the sum-total according to the enumeration of the separate numbers. The difference between the two statements has certainly arisen from errors in the numbers, for the correction of which the means are indeed wanting. The error may be supposed to exist in the sum-total, where, instead of 5400, perhaps 2500 should be read, which sum may have been named in round numbers instead of 2499.<sup>1</sup> עַם הָעֵלֹת הַנּוֹלָה, at the bringing up of the carried away, *i.e.* when they were brought up from Babylon to Jerusalem. The infinitive Niphal הָעֵלֹת, with a passive signification, occurs also Jer. xxxvii. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. p. 88) and Bertheau think they find in 1 Esdr. ii. 12, 13, a basis for ascertaining the correct number. In this passage 1000 golden and 1000 silver σπονδεῖα, 29 silver θύσκαί, 30 golden and 2410 silver φιάλαι, and 1000 other vessels, are enumerated (1000 + 1000 + 29 + 30 + 2410 + 1000 = 5469); while the total is said to be 5469. But 1000 golden σπονδεῖα bear no proportion to 1000 silver, still less do 30 golden φιάλαι to 2410 silver. Hence Bertheau is of opinion that the more definite statement 30, of the Hebrew text, is to be regarded as original, instead of the first 1000; that, on the other hand, instead of the 30 golden כַּפְּזִים, 1000 originally stood in the text, making the total 5469. Ewald thinks that we must read 1030 instead of 1000 golden אֲנִרְטָלִים (σπονδεῖα), and make the total 5499. In opposition to these conjectures, we prefer abiding by the Hebrew text; for the numbers of 1 Esdras are evidently the result of an artificial, yet unskilful reconciliation of the discrepancy. It cannot be inferred, from the fact that Ezra subsequently, at his return to Jerusalem, brought with him 20 golden כַּפְּזִים, that the number of 30 such כַּפְּזִים given in this passage is too small.

CHAP. II.—LIST OF THOSE WHO RETURNED FROM BABYLON  
WITH ZERUBBABEL AND JOSHUA.

The title (vers. 1 and 2) announces that the list which follows it (vers. 3-67) contains the number of the men of the people of Israel who returned to Jerusalem and Judah from the captivity in Babylon, under the conduct of Zerubbabel, Joshua, and other leaders. It is composed of separate lists: of the families of the people, 3-35; of the priests and Levites, 36-42; of the Nethinims and servants of Solomon, 43-58; of families who could not prove their Israelite descent, and of certain priests whose genealogy could not be found, 59-63; and it closes with the sum-total of the persons, and of their beasts of burden, 64-67. This is followed by an enumeration of the gifts which they brought with them for the temple (vers. 68 and 69), and by a final statement with regard to the entire list (ver. 70). Nehemiah also, when he desired to give a list of the members of the community at Jerusalem, met with the same document, and incorporated it in the book which bears his name (chap. vii. 6-73). It is also contained in 1 Esdr. v. 7-45. The three texts, however, exhibit in the names, and still more so in the numbers, such variations as involuntarily arise in transcribing long lists of names and figures. The sum-total of 42,360 men and 7337 servants and maids is alike in all three texts; but the addition of the separate numbers in the Hebrew text of Ezra gives only 29,818, those in Nehemiah 31,089, and those in the Greek Esdras 30,143 men. In our elucidation of the list, we shall chiefly have respect to the differences between the texts of Ezra and Nehemiah, and only notice the variations in 1 Esdras so far as they may appear to conduce to a better understanding of the matter of our text.

Vers. 1 and 2. *The title.*—"These are the children of the province that went up out of the captivity, of the carrying away (*i.e.* of those which had been carried away), whom Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon had carried away unto Babylon, and who returned to Jerusalem and Judah, every

one to his city." In Neh. vii. 6 לְבָבֶל is omitted, through an error of transcription caused by the preceding בָּבֶל; and לְיִהוּדָה stands instead of יִהוּדָה, which does not, however, affect the sense. הַמְּדִינָה is the province whose capital was Jerusalem (Neh. xi. 3), *i.e.* the province of Judæa as a district of the Persian empire; so v. 8, Neh. i. 2. The *Chethiv* נְבוּכַדְרֶזֶר is similar to the form Nebucadrezor, Jer. xlix. 28, and is nearer to the Babylonian form of this name than the usual biblical forms *Nebucadnezzar* or *Nebucadrezzar*. For further remarks on the various forms of this name, see on Dan. i. 1. They returned "each to his city," *i.e.* to the city in which he or his ancestors had dwelt before the captivity. Bertheau, on the contrary, thinks that, "though in the allotment of dwelling-places some respect would certainly be had to the former abode of tribes and families, yet the meaning cannot be that every one returned to the locality where his forefathers had dwelt: first, because it is certain (?) that all memorial of the connection of tribes and families was frequently obliterated, comp. below, v. 59–63; and then, because a small portion only of the former southern kingdom being assigned to the returned community, the descendants of dwellers in those towns which lay without the boundaries of the new state could not return to the cities of their ancestors." True, however, as this may be, the city of each man cannot mean that "which the authorities, in arranging the affairs of the community, assigned to individuals as their domicile, and of which they were reckoned inhabitants in the lists then drawn up for the sake of levying taxes," etc. (Bertheau). This would by no means be expressed by the words, "*they returned each to his own city.*" We may, on the contrary, correctly say that the words hold good *à potiori*, *i.e.* they are used without regard to exceptions induced by the above-named circumstance. אֲשֶׁר־בָּאוּ, ver. 2, corresponds with the הָעֲלִיּוֹת of ver. 1; hence in Neh. vii. 7 we find also the participle בָּאִים. They came with Zerubbabel, etc., that is, under their conduct and leadership. Zerubbabel (*Ζεροβάβελ*, זְרֻבָּבֶל or זְרֻבְבָּל, probably abbreviated from בָּבֶל זְרֻעַ, *in Babylonia satus seu genitus*) the son of Shealtiel was a descendant of the captive king Jehoia-

chin (see on 1 Chron. iii. 17), and was probably on account of this descent made leader of the expedition, and royal governor of the new settlement, by Cyrus. Jeshua (יֵשׁוּעַ, the subsequently abbreviated form of the name Jehoshua or Joshua, which is used Neh. viii. 17 also for Joshua the son of Nun, the contemporary of Moses) the son of Josedeck (Hagg. i. 1), and the grandson of Seraiah the high priest, who was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, was the first high priest of the restored community; see on 1 Chron. v. 41. Besides those of Zerubbabel and Joshua, nine (or in Nehemiah more correctly ten) names, probably of heads of families, but of whom nothing further is known, are placed here. 1. Nehemiah, to be distinguished from the well-known Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah, Neh. i. 1; 2. Seraiah, instead of which we have in Neh. vii. 7 Azariah; 3. Reeliah, in Nehemiah Raamiah; 4. Nahamani in Nehemiah, *Εὐνηνός* in Esdras v. 8, omitted in the text of Ezra; 5. Mordecai, not the Mordecai of the book of Esther (ii. 5 sq.); 6. Bilshan; 7. Mispar, in Nehemiah Mispereth; 8. Bigvai; 9. Rehum, in 1 Esdras *Ροῦμος*; 10. Baanah. These ten, or reckoning Zerubbabel and Joshua, twelve men, are evidently intended, as leaders of the returning nation, to represent the new community as the successor of the twelve tribes of Israel. This is also unmistakably shown by the designation, the people of Israel, in the special title, and by the offering of twelve sin-offerings, according to the number of the tribes of Israel, at the dedication of the new temple, vii. 16. The genealogical relation, however, of these twelve representatives to the twelve tribes cannot be ascertained, inasmuch as we are told nothing of the descent of the last ten. Of these ten names, one meets indeed with that of Seraiah, Neh. x. 3; of Bigvai, in the mention of the sons of Bigvai, ver. 14, and viii. 14; of Rehum, Neh. iii. 17, xii. 3; and of Baanah, Neh. x. 28; but there is nothing to make the identity of these persons probable. Even in case they were all of them descended from members of the former kingdom of Judah, this is no certain proof that they all belonged also to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, since even in the reign of Reho-

boam pious Israelites of the ten tribes emigrated thither, and both at and after the destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes, many Israelites might have taken refuge and settled in Judah. The last words, ver. 2, "The number of the men of the people of Israel," contain the special title of the first division of the following list, with which the titles in vers. 36, 40, 43, and 55 correspond. They are called the people of *Israel*, not the people of Judah, because those who returned represented the entire covenant people.

Vers. 3-35. *List of the houses and families of the people.* Comp. Neh. vii. 8-38.—To show the variations in names and numbers between the two texts, we here place them side by side, the names in Nehemiah being inserted in parentheses.

EZRA II.		EZRA II. NEH. VII.	
1.	The sons of Parosh, . . .	2172	2172
2.	" " Shephatiah, . . .	372	372
3.	" " Arah, . . .	775	652
4.	" " Pahath Moab, of the sons of Joshua and Joab, .	2812	2818
5.	" " Elam, . . .	1254	1254
6.	" " Zattu, . . .	945	845
7.	" " Zaccai, . . .	760	760
8.	" " Bani (Binnui), . .	642	648
9.	" " Bebai, . . .	623	628
10.	" " Azgad, . . .	1222	2322
11.	" " Adonikam, . . .	666	667
12.	" " Bigvai, . . .	2056	2067
13.	" " Adin, . . .	454	655
14.	" " Ater of Hezekiah, .	98	98
15.	" " Bezai, . . .	323	324
16.	" " Jorah (Harif), . .	112	112
17.	" " Hashum, . . .	223	328
18.	" " Gibbar (Gibeon), .	95	95
19.	" " Bethlehem, . . .	123	188
20.	The men of Netophah, . . .	56	
21.	" " Anathoth, . . .	128	128
22.	The sons of Azmaveth (men of Beth- Azmaveth), . . .	42	42
23.	" " Kirjath-arim, Chephirah, and Beeroth, . . .	743	743
24.	" " Ramah and Gaba, . .	621	621
25.	The men of Michmas, . . .	122	122

EZRA II.		EZRA II. NEH. VII.	
26.	The men of Bethel and Ai, . . .	223	123
27.	The sons of Nebo (Acher), . . .	52	52
28.	„ „ Magbish, . . .	156	wanting.
29.	„ „ the other Elam, . . .	1254	1254
30.	„ „ Harim, . . .	320	320
31.	„ „ Lod, Hadid, and Ono, . . .	725	721
32.	„ „ Jericho, . . .	345	345
33.	„ „ Senaah, . . .	3630	3930
Total,		24,144	25,406

The differences in the names are unimportant. In ver. 6 the ו copulative inserted between the names יִשָּׁע and יוֹאָב, both in Nehemiah and 1 Esdras, is wanting; the name בְּנֵי (ver. 10) is written בְּנֵי in Nehemiah (ver. 15); for יוֹרָה (ver. 18), Neh. vii. 24 has הָרִיף, evidently another name for the same person, Jorah having a similarity of sound with יוֹרָה, harvest-rain, and הָרִיף with הָרִיף, harvest; for גִּבְעֹן (ver. 20), Neh. vii. 25 more correctly reads גִּבְעֹן, the name of the town; and for קְרִיַת עֲרִים (ver. 25), Neh. vii. 29 has the more correct form קְרִיַת יְעֲרִים: the sons of Azmaveth (ver. 24) stands in Nehemiah as the men of Beth-Azmaveth; while, on the other hand, for the sons of Nebo (ver. 29), we have in Nehemiah (ver. 33) the men of Nebo Acher, where אָחֵר seems to have been inserted inadvertently, Elam Acher so soon following.<sup>1</sup> The names Bezai, Jorah, and Hashum (vers. 17–19) are transposed in Nehemiah (vers. 22–24) thus, Hashum, Bezai, and Harif; as are also Lod, etc., and Jericho, (vers. 33, 34) into Jericho and Lod, etc. (Nehemiah, vers. 36, 37). Lastly, the sons of Magbish (ver. 30) are omitted in Nehemiah; and the sons of Bethlehem and the men of Netophah (vers. 21 and 22) are in Nehemiah (ver. 26) reckoned together, and stated to be 188 instead of 123 + 56 = 179. A glance at the names undoubtedly shows that those numbered 1–17 are names of races or houses: those from 18–27, and from 31–33, are as certainly names of

<sup>1</sup> This view is more probable than the notion of Dietrich, in *A. Merx, Archiv für wissensch. Forschung des A. T.*, No. 3, p. 345, that by the addition אָחֵר in Nehemiah, the Nebo in Judah is distinguished from the Nebo in Reuben.



towns; here, therefore, inhabitants of towns are named. This series is, however, interrupted by Nos. 28-30; Harim being undoubtedly, and Magbish very probably, names not of places, but of persons; while the equality of the number of the other, Elam 1254, with that of Elam (No. 6), seems somewhat strange. To this must be added, that Magbish is wanting both in Nehemiah and 2 Esdras, and the other Elam in 1 Esdras; while, in place of the sons of Harim 320, we have in 1 Esdr. v. 16, in a more appropriate position, *υἱοὶ Ἀρωμ* 32. Hence Bertheau infers that Nos. 28 and 29, sons of Magbish and sons of Elam Acher (vers. 30 and 31), are spurious, and that Harim should be written *Ἀρώμ*, and inserted higher up. The reasons for considering these three statements doubtful have certainly some weight; but considering the great untrustworthiness of the statements in the first book of Esdras, and the other differences in the three lists arising, as they evidently do, merely from clerical errors, we could not venture to call them decisive.

Of the names of houses or races (Nos. 1-17 and 30), we meet with many in other lists of the time of Ezra and Nehemiah;<sup>1</sup> whence we perceive, (1) that of many houses only a portion returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua, the remaining portion following with Ezra; (2) that heads of houses are entered not by their personal names, but by that of the house. The names, for the most part, descend undoubtedly from the time anterior to the captivity, although we do not meet with them in the historical books of that epoch, because those books give only the genealogies of those more important

<sup>1</sup> In the list of those who went up with Ezra (chap. viii.), the sons of Parosh, Pahath-Moab, Adin, Elam, Shephatiah, Joab, Bebai, Azgad, Adonikam, Bigvai, and, according to the original text (Ezra viii. 8, 10), also the sons of Zattu and Bani. In the lists of those who had taken strange wives (chap. x.) we meet with individuals of the sons of Parosh, Elam, Zattu, Bebai, Bani, Pahath-Moab, Harim, Hashum, and of the sons of Nebo. Finally, in the lists of the heads of the people in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. x. 15 sq.) appear the names of Parosh, Pahath-Moab, Elam, Zattu, Bani, Azgad, Bebai, Bigvai, Adin, Ater, Hashum, Bezai, Harif, Harim, Anathoth, together with others which do not occur in the list we are now treating of.

personages who make a figure in history. Besides this, the genealogies in Chronicles are very incomplete, enumerating for the most part only the families of the more ancient times. Most, if not all, of these races or houses must be regarded as former inhabitants of Jerusalem. Nor can the circumstance that the names given in the present list are not found in the lists of the inhabitants of Jerusalem (1 Chron. ix. and Neh. xi.) be held as any valid objection; for in those lists only the heads of the great races of Judah and Benjamin are named, and not the houses which those races comprised. The names of cities, on the other hand (Nos. 18-33), are for the most part found in the older books of the Old Testament: Gibeon in Josh. ix. 3; Bethlehem in Ruth i. 2, Mic. v. 1; Netophah, 2 Sam. xxiii. 28 — see comm. on 1 Chron. ii. 54; Anathoth in Josh. xxi. 18, Jer. i. 1; Kirjath-jearim, Chephirah, and Beeroth, as cities of the Gibeonites, in Josh. ix. 17; Ramah and Geba, which often occur in the histories of Samuel and Saul, also in Josh. xviii. 24, 25; Michmash in 1 Sam. xiii. 2, 5, Isa. x. 28; Bethel and Ai in Josh. vii. 2; and Jericho in Josh. v. 13, and elsewhere. All these places were situate in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and were probably taken possession of by former inhabitants or their children immediately after the return. Azmaveth or Beth-Azmaveth (Neh. vii. 28) does not occur in the earlier history, nor is it mentioned out of this list, except in Neh. xii. 29, according to which it must be sought for in the neighbourhood of Geba. It has not, however, been as yet discovered; for the conjecture of Ritter, *Erdk.* xvi. p. 519, that it may be el-Hizme, near Anâta, is unfounded. Nor can the position of Nebo be certainly determined, the mountain of that name (Num. xxxii. 3) being out of the question. Nob or Nobe (1 Sam. xxi. 2) has been thought to be this town. Its situation is suitable; and this view is supported by the fact that in Neh. xi. 31 sq., Nob, and not Nebo, is mentioned, together with many of the places here named; in Ezra x. 43, however, the sons of Nebo are again specified. As far as situation is concerned, Nuba, or Beit-Nuba (Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, p. 189),

may, as Bertheau thinks, correspond with this town. Magbish was by many older expositors regarded as the name of a place, but is certainly that of a person; and no place of such a name is known. The localities Lod, Hadid, and Ono (ver. 33) first occur in the later books of the Old Testament. On Lod and Ono, see comm. on 1 Chron. viii. 12. לֹד is certainly Ἀδιδά (1 Macc. xii. 38, xiii. 13), not far from Lydda, where there is still a place called el-Hadithe, الحديثة (Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, p. 186).

מִגְדָּל־סֵנָא, ver. 35, is identified by older expositors with Σεννά, νῦν Μαγδαλσεννά, which Jerome describes as *terminus Judæ, in septimo lapide Jerichus contra septentrionalem plagam* (*Onom. ed. Lars. et Parth.* p. 332 sq.); in opposition to which, Robinson, in his above-cited work, identifies Magdal-Senna with a place called Mejdel, situate on the summit of a high hill about eighteen miles north of Jericho. The situation, however, of this town does not agree with the distance mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, and the name Mejdel, i.e. tower, is not of itself sufficient to identify it with Magdal-Senna. The situation of the Senaah in question is not as yet determined; it must be sought for, however, at no great distance from Jericho. Of the towns mentioned in the present list, we find that the men of Jericho, Senaah, and Gibeon, as well as the inhabitants of Tekoa, Zanoah, Beth-hacerem, Mizpah, Beth-zur, and Keilah, assisted at the building of the walls of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 2, 3, 7). A larger number of towns of Judah and Benjamin is specified in the list in Neh. xi. 25-35, whence we perceive that in process of time a greater multitude of Jews returned from captivity and settled in the land of their fathers.

Vers. 36-39. The list of the priests is identical, both in names and numbers, with that of Neh. vii. 39-42. These are :

The sons of Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua, .	973
„ „ Immer, . . . .	1052
„ „ Pashur, . . . .	1247
„ „ Harim, . . . .	1017
Total,	4289

Jedaiah is the head of the second order of priests in 1 Chron. xxiv. 7. If, then, Jedaiah here represents this order, the words "of the house of Jeshua" must not be applied to Jeshua the high priest; the second order belonging in all probability to the line of Ithamar, and the high-priestly race, on the contrary, to that of Eleazar. We also meet the name Jeshua in other priestly families, *e.g.* as the name of the ninth order of priests in 1 Chron. xxiv. 11, so that it may be the old name of another priestly house. Since, however, it is unlikely that no priest of the order from which the high priest descended should return, the view that by Joshua the high priest is intended, and that the sons of Jedaiah were a portion of the house to which Joshua the high priest belonged, is the more probable one. In this case Jedaiah is not the name of the second order of priests, but of the head of a family of the high-priestly race. Immer is the name of the sixteenth order of priests, 1 Chron. xxiv. 14. Pashur does not occur among the orders of priests in 1 Chron. xxiv.; but we find the name, 1 Chron. ix. 12, and Neh. xi. 12, among the ancestors of Adaiah, a priest of the order of Malchijah; the Pashur of Jer. xx. and xxi. being, on the contrary, called the son of Immer, *i.e.* a member of the order of Immer. Hence Bertheau considers Pashur to have been the name of a priestly race, which first became extensive, and took the place of an older and perhaps extinct order, after the time of David. Gershom of the sons of Phinehas, and Daniel of the sons of Ithamar, are said, viii. 2, to have gone up to Jerusalem with Ezra, while the order to which they belonged is not specified. Among the priests who had married strange wives (x. 18-22) are named, sons of Jeshua, Immer, Harim, Pashur; whence it has been inferred "that, till the time of Ezra, only the four divisions of priests here enumerated had the charge of divine worship in the new congregation" (Bertheau). On the relation of the names in vers. 36-39 to those in Neh. x. 3-9 and xii. 1-22, see remarks on these passages.

Vers. 40-58. *Levites, Nethinim, and Solomon's servants.*  
Comp. Neh. vii. 43-60.

	EZRA.	NEH.
Levites: the sons of Jeshua and Kadmiel, of the sons of Hodaviah, . . . . .	74	74
Singers: sons of Asaph, . . . . .	128	148
Sons of the door-keepers; sons of Shallum, Ater, etc.,	139	138
Nethinim and servants of Solomon, in all, . . . . .	392	392
Total,	733	752

The Levites are divided into three classes: Levites in the stricter sense of the word, *i.e.* assistants of the priests in divine worship, singers, and door-keepers; comp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 20-31, xxv., and xxvi. 1-19. Of Levites in the stricter sense are specified the sons of Jeshua and Kadmiel of the sons of Hodaviah (הֹדָוְיָהּ and הֹדְוִיָּהּ of our text are evidently correct readings; and הֹדְוִיָּהּ and הֹדָוְיָהּ, Keri להֹדְוִיָּהּ, Neh. vii. 43, errors of transcription). The addition, "of the sons of Hodaviah," belongs to Kadmiel, to distinguish him from other Levites of similar name. Jeshua and Kadmiel were, according to iii. 9, chiefs of two orders of Levites in the times of Zerubbabel and Joshua. These names recur as names of orders of Levites in Neh. x. 10. We do not find the sons of Hodaviah in the lists of Levites in Chronicles.—Ver. 41. Of singers, only the sons of Asaph, *i.e.* members of the choir of Asaph, returned. In Neh. xi. 17 three orders are named, Bakbukiah evidently representing the order of Heman.—Ver. 42. Of door-keepers, six orders or divisions returned, among which those of Shallum, Talmon, and Akkub dwelt, according to 1 Chron. ix. 17, at Jerusalem before the captivity. Of the sons of Ater, Hatita and Shobai, nothing further is known.—Ver. 43. The Nethinim, *i.e.* temple-bondsmen, and the servants of Solomon, are reckoned together, thirty-five families of Nethinim and ten of the servants of Solomon being specified. The sum-total of these amounting only to 392, each family could only have averaged from eight to nine individuals. The sons of Akkub, Hagab and Asnah (vers. 45, 46, and 50), are omitted in Nehemiah; the name Shamlai (ver. 46) is in Neh. vii. 48 written Salmai; and for נְפִישִׁים, ver. 50, Neh. vii. 52 has נְפִישִׁים, a form combined from נְפִישִׁים and נְפִישִׁים. All other variations relate only to differ-

ences of form. Because Ziha (צִיחָא, ver. 43) again occurs in Neh. xi. 21 as one of the chiefs of the Nethinim, and the names following seem to stand in the same series with it, Bertheau insists on regarding these names as those of divisions. This cannot, however, be correct; for Ziha is in Neh. xi. 21 the name of an individual, and in the present list also the proper names are those of individuals, and only the sons of Ziha, Hasupha, etc., can be called families or divisions. Plural words alone, Mehunim and Nephisim, are names of races or nations; hence the sons of the Mehunim signify individuals belonging to the Mehunim, who, perhaps, after the victory of King Uzziah over that people, were as prisoners of war made vassals for the service of the sanctuary. So likewise may the sons of the Nephisim have been prisoners of war of the Ishmaelite race נִפְיִשׁ. Most of the families here named may, however, have been descendants of the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 21, 27). The servants of Solomon must not be identified with the Canaanite bond-servants mentioned 1 Kings ix. 20 sq., 2 Chron. viii. 7 sq., but were probably prisoners of war of some other nation, whom Solomon sentenced to perform, as bondsmen, similar services to those imposed upon the Gibeonites. The sons of these servants are again mentioned in Neh. xi. 3. In other passages they are comprised under the general term Nethinim, with whom they are here computed. Among the names, that of פִּכְרֵת הַצִּבְיִים (ver. 57), *i.e.* catcher of gazelles, is a singular one; the last name, אֶמֶן, is in Neh. vii. 59 אֶמֶן.

Vers. 59 and 60. Those who went up with, but could not prove that they pertained to, the nation of Israel. Comp. Neh. vii. 61 and 62.—Three such families are named, consisting of 652, or according to Nehemiah of 642, persons. These went up, with those who returned, from Tel-melah (Salthill) and Tel-harsa (Thicket or Forest Hill), names of Babylonian districts or regions, the situations of which cannot be ascertained. The words also which follow, בְּרֹיב אֶדֶן אֶמֶר, are obscure, but are certainly not the names of individuals, the persons who went up not being specified till ver. 60. The words are names of places, but it is uncertain whether

the three are used to express one or three places. In favour of the notion that they designate but one locality, may be alleged that in ver. 60 only three races are named, which would then correspond with the districts named in ver. 59: Tel-melah, Tel-harsa, and Cherub-Addan-Immer; a race from each district joining those who went up to Jerusalem. The three last words, however, may also designate three places in close proximity, in which one of the races of ver. 60 might be dwelling. These could not show their father's house and their seed, *i.e.* genealogy, whether they were of Israel. הָם, as well as the suffixes of יִרְעָם and בֵּית-אֲבוֹתָם, refers to the persons named in ver. 60. They could not show that the houses of Delaiah, Tobiah, and Nekoda, after which they were called, belonged to Israel, nor that they themselves were of Israelitish origin. Cler. well remarks: *Judaicam religionem dudum sequebantur, quam ob rem se Judæos censebant; quamvis non possent genealogicas ullas tabulas ostendere, ex quibus constaret, ex Hebræis oriundos esse.* One of these names, Nekoda, ver. 48, occurring among those of the Nethinim, Bertheau conjectures that while the sons of Nekoda here spoken of claimed to belong to Israel, the objection was made that they might belong to the sons of Nekoda mentioned ver. 48, and ought therefore to be reckoned among the Nethinim. Similar objections may have been made to the two other houses. Although they could not prove their Israelite origin, they were permitted to go up to Jerusalem with the rest, the rights of citizenship alone being for the present withheld. Hence we meet with none of these names either in the enumeration of the heads and houses of the people, Neh. x. 15-28, or in the list Ezra x. 25-43.

Vers. 61-63. *Priests* who could not prove themselves members of the priesthood. Comp. Neh. vii. 63-65.—Three such families are named: the sons of Habaiah, the sons of Hakkoz, the sons of Barzillai. These could not discover their family registers, and were excluded from the exercise of priestly functions. Of these three names, that of Hakkoz occurs as the seventh order of priests; but the names

alone did not suffice to prove their priesthood, this being also borne by other persons. Comp. Neh. iii. 4. The sons of Barzillai were the descendants of a priest who had married a daughter, probably an heiress (Num. xxxvi.), of Barzillai the Gileadite, so well known in the history of David (2 Sam. xvii. 27, xix. 32-39; 1 Kings ii. 7), and had taken her name for the sake of taking possession of her inheritance (the suffix שָׁמָם refers to בָּנוּת; see on Num. xxvii. 1-11). That by contracting this marriage he had not renounced for himself and his descendants his priestly privileges, is evident from the fact, that when his posterity returned from captivity, they laid claim to these privileges. The assumption, however, of the name of Barzillai might have cast such a doubt upon their priestly origin as to make it necessary that this should be proved from the genealogical registers, and a search in these did not lead to the desired discovery. פְּתָרָם is their סֵפֶר יְחִישׁ, Neh. vii. 5, the book or record in which their genealogy was registered. The title of this record was הַמְתִּירָשִׁים, the Enregistered: the word is in apposition to פְּתָרָם, and the plural נִמְצְאוּ agrees with it, while in Neh. vii. 64 the singular נִמְצָא agrees with בְּרַבָּם. They were declared to be polluted from the priesthood, *i.e.* they were excluded from the priesthood as polluted or unclean. The construction of the Pual יִנָּאֲלוּ with מִן is significant.—Ver. 63. The Tirshatha, the secular governor of the community, *i.e.*, as is obvious from a comparison of Neh. vii. 65 with ver. 70, Zerubbabel, called Hagg. i. 1 פַּחַת יְהוּדָה. תִּרְשָׁתָא, always used with the article, is undoubtedly the Persian designation of the governor or viceroy. Nehemiah is also so called in Neh. viii. 9 and x. 2, and likewise הַפָּקֵה, Neh. xii. 26. The meaning of the word is still matter of dispute. Some derive it from the Persian ترسیدن, to fear, and ترس, fear = the feared or respected one (Meier, *Wurzelb.* p. 714); others from ترش, *acer, auster*, the strict ruler; others, again (with Benfey, *die Monatsnamen*, p. 196), from the Zend. *thvôrestar* (nom. *thvôresta*), *i.e.* *præfectus, penes quem est imperium*: comp. Gesenius, *thes.* p. 1521. The Tirshatha decided that



they were not to eat of the most holy things till there should arise a priest with Urim and Thummim, *i.e.* to give a final decision by means of Urim and Thummim. אֲמַר, according to the later usage of the language, is equivalent to אָמַר; comp. Dan. viii. 83, xi. 2, and other places. The prohibition to eat of the most holy things (comp. on Lev. ii. 3) involved the prohibition to approach the most holy objects, *e.g.* the altar of burnt-offering (Ex. xxix. 37, xxx. 10), and to enter the most holy place, and thus excludes from specific priestly acts; without, however, denying a general inclusion among the priestly order, or abolishing a claim to the priestly revenues, so far as these were not directly connected with priestly functions. On Urim and Thummim, see on Ex. xxviii. 30. From the words, "till a priest shall arise," etc., it is evident that the then high priest was not in a position to entreat, and to pronounce, the divine decision by Urim and Thummim. The reason of this, however, need not be sought in the personality of Joshua (Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 95), nor supposed to exist in such a fact as that he might not perhaps have been the eldest son of his father, and therefore not have had full right to the priesthood. This conjecture rests upon utterly erroneous notions of the Urim and Thummim, upon a subjectivistic view, which utterly evaporates the objective reality of the grace with which the high priest was in virtue of his office endowed. The obtainment of the divine decision by Urim and Thummim presupposes the gracious presence of Jahve in the midst of His people Israel. And this had been connected by the Lord Himself with the ark of the covenant, and with its cherubim-overshadowed mercy-seat, from above which He communed with His people (Ex. xxv. 22). The high priest, bearing upon his breast the breastplate with the Urim and Thummim, was to appear before Jahve, and, bringing before Him the judgment of Israel, to entreat the divine decision (Ex. xxviii. 30; Num. xxvii. 21). The ark of the covenant with the mercy-seat was thus, in virtue of the divine promise, the place of judgment, where the high priest was to inquire of the Lord by means of the Urim and Thummim. This ark, however, was

no longer in existence, having been destroyed when Solomon's temple was burned by the Chaldeans. Those who returned with Zerubbabel were without the ark, and at first without a temple. In such a state of affairs the high priest could not appear before Jahve with the breastplate and the Urim and Thummim to entreat His decision. The books of Samuel, indeed, relate cases in which the divine will was consulted by Urim and Thummim, when the ark of the covenant was not present for the high priest to appear before (comp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 4, 6, 9, etc., xiv. 18); whence it appears that the external or local presence of the ark was not absolutely requisite for this purpose. Still these cases occurred at a time when the congregation of Israel as yet possessed the ark with the Lord's cherubim-covered mercy-seat, though this was temporarily separated from the holy of holies of the tabernacle. Matters were in a different state at the return from the captivity. Then, not only were they without either ark or temple, but the Lord had not as yet re-manifested His gracious presence in the congregation; and till this should take place, the high priest could not inquire of the Lord by Urim and Thummim. In the hope that with the restoration of the altar and temple the Lord would again vouchsafe His presence to the returned congregation, Zerubbabel expected that a high priest would arise with Urim and Thummim to pronounce a final decision with regard to those priests who could not prove their descent from Aaron's posterity. This expectation, however, was unfulfilled. Zerubbabel's temple remained unconsecrated by any visible token of Jahve's presence, as the place where His name should dwell. The ark of the covenant with the cherubim, and the Shechinah in the cloud over the cherubim, were wanting in the holy of holies of this temple. Hence, too, we find no single notice of any declaration of the divine will or the divine decision by Urim and Thummim in the period subsequent to the captivity; but have, on the contrary, the unanimous testimony of the Rabbis, that after the Babylonian exile God no longer manifested His will by Urim and Thummim, this kind of divine revelation being reckoned by

them among the five things which were wanting in the second temple. Comp. Buxtorf, *exercitat. ad historiam Urim et Thummim*, c. 5; and Vitringa, *observat. ss. Lib. vi. c. 6*, p. 324 sq.

Vers. 64-67. The whole number of those who returned, their servants, maids, and beasts of burden. Comp. Neh. vii. 66-69.—The sum-total of the congregation (נְתִינִים, as one, *i.e.* reckoned together; comp. iii. 9, vi. 20) is the same in both texts, as also in 1 Esdras, viz. 42,360; the sums of the separate statements being in all three different, and indeed amounting in each to less than the given total. The separate statements are as follow:—

	According to Ezra.	According to Nehemiah.	According to 1 Esdras.
Men of Israel, . . . .	24,144	25,406	26,390
Priests, . . . .	4,289	4,289	2,388
Levites, . . . .	341	360	341
Nethinim and servants of Solomon,	392	392	372
Those who could not prove their Israelitish origin, . . .	652	642	652
Total,	29,818	31,089	30,143

These differences are undoubtedly owing to mere clerical errors, and attempts to reconcile them in other ways cannot be justified. Many older expositors, both Jewish and Christian (Seder olam, Raschi, Ussher, J. H. Mich., and others), were of opinion that only Jews and Benjamites are enumerated in the separate statements,\* while the sum-total includes also those Israelites of the ten tribes who returned with them. In opposing this notion, it cannot, indeed, be alleged that no regard at all is had to members of the other tribes (Bertheau); for the several families of the men of Israel are not designated according to their tribes, but merely as those whom Nebuchadnezzar had taken away to Babylon; and among these would certainly be included, as Ussher expressly affirms, many belonging to the other tribes who had settled in the kingdom of Judah. But the very circumstances, that neither in the separate statements nor in the sum-total is any allusion made to tribal relations,

and that even in the case of those families who could not prove their Israelitish origin the only question was as to whether they were of the houses and of the seed of Israel, exclude all distinction of tribes, and the sum-total is evidently intended to be the joint sum of the separate numbers. Nor can it be inferred, as J. D. Mich. conjectures, that because the parallel verse to ver. 64 of our present chapter, viz. 1 Esdr. v. 41, reads thus, "And all of Israel from twelve years old and upwards, besides the servants and maids, were 42,360," the separate statements are therefore the numbers only of those of twenty years old and upwards, while the sum-total includes those also from twelve to twenty years of age. The addition "from twelve years and upwards" is devoid of critical value; because, if it had been genuine, the particular "from twenty years old and upwards" must have been added to the separate statements. Hence it is not even probable that the author of the 1st book of Esdras contemplated a reconciliation of the difference by this addition. In transcribing such a multitude of names and figures, errors could scarcely be avoided, whether through false readings of numbers or the omission of single items. The sum-total being alike in all three texts, we are obliged to assume its correctness.

Ver. 65, etc. "Besides these, their servants and their maids, 7337." אֲלֵהֶם is, by the accent, connected with the preceding words. The further statement, "And there were to them (*i.e.* they had) 200 singing men and singing women," is striking. The remark of Bertheau, that by לָהֶם the property of the community is intended to be expressed, is incorrect; לָהֶם denotes merely computation among, and does not necessarily imply proprietorship. J. D. Mich., adopting the latter meaning, thought that oxen and cows originally stood in the text, and were changed by transcribers into singing men and singing women, "for both words closely resemble each other in appearance in the Hebrew." Berth., on the contrary, remarks that שָׁרִים, oxen, might easily be exchanged for שָׂרִים or מְשָׁרִים, but that שֹׂר has no feminine form for the plural, and that פָּרוֹת, cows, is very

different from מִשְׁרָרוֹת; that hence we are obliged to admit that in the original text שָׂוִירִים stood alone, and that after this word had been exchanged for מִשְׁרָרוֹת, מִשְׁרָרוֹת was added as its appropriate complement. Such fanciful notions can need no serious refutation. Had animals been spoken of as property, לָהֶם would not have been used, but a suffix, as in the enumeration of the animals in ver. 66. Besides, oxen and cows are not beasts of burden used in journeys, like the horses, mules, camels, and asses enumerated in ver. 66, and hence are here out of place. שָׂוִירִים וְשִׁירָיוֹת are singing men and singing women, in 1 Esdras ψάλλται καὶ ψαλτῶδοί, who, as the Rabbis already supposed, were found among the followers of the returning Jews, *ut lætior esset Israelitarum reditus*. The Israelites had from of old employed singing men and singing women not merely for the purpose of enhancing the cheerfulness of festivities, but also for the singing of lamentations on sorrowful occasions; comp. Eccles. ii. 8, 2 Chron. xxxv. 25: these, because they sang and played for hire, are named along with the servants and maids, and distinguished from the Levitical singers and players. Instead of 200, we find both in Nehemiah and 1 Esdras the number 245, which probably crept into the text from the transcriber fixing his eye upon the 245 of the following verse.—Ver. 66. The numbers of the beasts, whether for riding or baggage: horses, 736; mules, 245; camels, 435; and asses, 6720. The numbers are identical in Neh. vii. 68. In 1 Esdr. v. 42 the camels are the first named, and the numbers are partially different, viz., horses, 7036, and asses, 5525.

Vers. 68-70. *Contributions towards the rebuilding of the temple, and concluding remarks.* Comp. Neh. vii. 70-73.—Some of the heads of houses, when they came to the house of Jahve, i.e. arrived at the site of the temple, brought free-will offerings (הִתְנַדְּב; comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 5) to set it up in its place (הִצְמִיד, to set up, i.e. to rebuild; identical in meaning both here and ix. 9 with הִקִּים). After their ability (כִּכְוָחָם; comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 2) they gave unto the treasure of the work, i.e. of restoring the temple and its services,

61,000 darics of gold = £68,625, and 5000 mina of silver, above £30,000, and 100 priests' garments. The account of these contributions is more accurately given in Neh. vii. 70-72, according to which some of the heads of houses gave unto the work (מְקַצֵּץ as Dan. i. 2 and elsewhere); the Tirshatha gave to the treasure 1000 darics of gold, 50 sacrificial vessels (see on Ex. xxvii. 3), 30 priests' garments, and 500 . . . This last statement is defective; for the two numbers 30 and 500 must not be combined into 530, as in this case the hundreds would have stood first. The objects enumerated were named before 500, and are omitted through a clerical error, וְכֶסֶף מִנִּים, "and silver (500) mina." And some of the heads of houses (others than the Tirshatha) gave of gold 20,000 darics, of silver, 2200 mina; and that which the rest of the people gave was—gold, 20,000 darics, silver, 2000 mina, and 67 priests' garments. According to this statement, the Tirshatha, the heads of houses, and the rest of the people, gave together 41,000 darics in gold, 4200 mina in silver, 97 priests' garments, and 30 golden vessels. In Ezra the vessels are omitted; and instead of the  $30 + 67 = 97$  priests' garments, they are stated in round numbers to have been 100. The two other differences have arisen from textual errors. Instead of 61,000 darics, it is evident that we must read with Nehemiah, 41,000 ( $1000 + 20,000 + 20,000$ ); and in addition to the 2200 and 2000 mina, reckon, according to Neh. vii. 70, 500 more, in all 4700, for which in the text of Ezra we have the round sum of 5000. The account of the return of the first band of exiles concludes at ver. 70, and the narrative proceeds to the subsequent final statement: "So the priests, etc. . . . dwelt in their cities." וַיָּשְׁבוּ הָעָם, those of the people, are the men of the people of Israel of ver. 2, the laity as distinguished from the priests, Levites, etc. In Nehemiah the words are transposed, so that מִן הָעָם stand after the Levitical door-keepers and singers. Bertheau thinks this position more appropriate; but we cannot but judge otherwise. The placing of the people, *i.e.* the laity of Israel, between the consecrated servants of the temple (the

priests and their Levitical assistants in the sacrificial service) and the singers and door-keepers, seems to us quite consistent; while, on the other hand, the naming of the *שֹׁעֲרִים* before the *מִשְׁרָרִים* in Nehemiah seems inappropriate, because the performance of the choral service of the temple was a higher office than the guardianship of the doors. Neither can we regard Bertheau's view, that *בְּעֶרְיָהֶם*, which in the present verse follows *וְהַפְתִּינֵיהֶם*, should be erased, as a correct one. The word forms a perfectly appropriate close to the sentence beginning with *וַיָּשְׁבוּ*; and the sentence following, "And all Israel were in their cities," forms a well-rounded close to the account; while, on the contrary, the summing up of the different divisions by the words *כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל* in Nehemiah, after the enumeration of those divisions, has a rather heavy effect.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP. III. — THE ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING ERECTED,  
THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES CELEBRATED, AND THE  
FOUNDATIONS OF THE TEMPLE LAID.

On the approach of the seventh month, the people assembled in Jerusalem to restore the altar of burnt-offering and the sacrificial worship, and to keep the feast of tabernacles (vers. 1-7); and in the second month of the following year the foundations of the new temple were laid with due solemnity (vers. 8-13). Comp. 1 Esdr. v. 46-62.

Vers. 1-7. *The building of the altar, the restoration of the daily sacrifice, and the celebration of the feast of tabernacles.*

—Ver. 1. When the seventh month was come, and the children of Israel were in the cities, the people gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem. The year is not stated, but *the* year in which they returned from Babylon is intended, as appears from ver. 8, which tells us that the

<sup>1</sup> In 1 Esdr. v. 46, this verse, freely carrying out the texts of Ezra and Nehemiah, with regard also to Neh. xii. 27-30, runs thus: "And so dwelt the priests, and the Levites, and the people, in Jerusalem and in the country, the singers also and the porters, and all Israel in their villages."

foundations of the temple were laid in the second month of the second year of their return. The words, "and the children of Israel were in the cities," are a circumstantial clause referring to ii. 70, and serving to elucidate what follows. From the cities, in which each had settled in his own (ii. 1), the people came to Jerusalem as one man, *i.e.* not entirely (Bertheau), but unanimously (*ὁμοθυμαδόν*, 1 Esdr. v. 46); comp. Neh. viii. 1, Judg. xx. 1.<sup>1</sup>—Ver. 2. Then the two leaders of the people, Joshua the high priest and Zerubbabel the prince (see on ii. 2), with their brethren, *i.e.* the priests and the men of Israel (the laity), arose and built the altar, to offer upon it burnt-offerings, as prescribed by the law of Moses, *i.e.* to restore the legal sacrifices. According to ver. 6, the offering of burnt-offerings began on the first day of the seventh month; hence the altar was by this day already completed. This agrees with the statement, "When the seventh month approached" (ver. 1), therefore before the first day of this month.—Ver. 3. They reared the altar על־מִבְנוֹתָיו, upon its (former) place; not, upon its bases. The feminine מִבְנוֹתָ has here a like signification with the masculine form מִבְנוֹן, ii. 68, and מִבְנוֹתָ, Zech. v. 11. The Keri מִבְנוֹתָיו is an incorrect revision. "For fear was upon them, because of the people of those countries." The בָּ prefixed to יָמָה is the so-called בָּ *essentia*, expressing the being in a condition; properly, a being in fear had come or lay upon them. Comp. on בָּ *essentia*, Ewald, § 217, *f*, and 299, *b*, though in § 295, *f*, he seeks to interpret this passage differently. The "people of those countries" are the people dwelling in the neighbourhood of the new community; comp. ix. 1, x. 2. The notion is: They erected the altar and restored the worship of Jahve, for the purpose of securing the divine protection, because fear of the surrounding heathen population had fallen upon them. J. H. Mich. had already a correct notion of the verse when

<sup>1</sup> The more precise statement of 1 Esdr. v. 46, εἰς τὸ εὐρύχωρον τοῦ πρώτου πυλῶνος τοῦ πρὸς τῇ ἀνατολῇ, according to which Bertheau insists upon correcting the text of Ezra, is an arbitrary addition on the part of the author of this apocryphal book, and derived from Neh. viii. 1.



he wrote: *ut ita periculi metus eos ad Dei opem quærendam impulerit.*<sup>1</sup> Comp. the similar case in 2 Kings xvii. 25 sq., when the heathen colonists settled in the deserted cities of Samaria entreated the king of Assyria to send them a priest to teach them the manner of worshipping the God of the land, that thus they might be protected from the lions which infested it. The Chethiv ויעל must be taken impersonally: "one (they) offered;" but is perhaps only an error of transcription, and should be read ויעלו. On the morning and evening sacrifices, see on Ex. xxviii. 38 sq., Num. xxviii. 3 sq.—Ver. 4. They kept the feast of tabernacles as prescribed in the law, Lev. xxiii. 34 sq. "The burnt-offering day by day, according to number," means the burnt-offerings commanded for the several days of this festival, viz. on the first day thirteen oxen, on the second twelve, etc.; comp. Num. xxix. 13-34, where the words בְּמִסְפָּרָם בְּמִשְׁפָּט, vers. 18, 21, 24, etc., occur, which are written in our present verse בְּמִסְפָּר בְּמִשְׁפָּט, by number, i.e. counted; comp. 1 Chron. ix. 28, xxiii. 31, etc.—Ver. 5. And afterward, i.e. after the feast of tabernacles, they offered the continual, i.e. the daily, burnt-offering, and (the offerings) for the new moon, and all the festivals of the Lord (the annual feasts). עליו must be inserted from the context before לַחֲרָשִׁים to complete the sense. "And for every one that willingly offered a free-will offering to the Lord." נָדְבָה is a burnt-offering which was offered from free inclination. Such offerings might be brought on any day, but were chiefly presented at the annual festivals after the sacrifices prescribed by the law; comp. Num. xxix. 39.—In ver. 6 follows the supplementary remark, that the sacrificial worship began from the first day of the seventh month, but that the foundation of the temple of the Lord

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau, on the contrary, cannot understand the meaning of this sentence, and endeavours, by an alteration of the text after 1 Esdras, to make it signify that some of the people of the countries came with the purpose of obstructing the building of the altar, but that the Israelites were able to effect the erection because a fear of God came upon the neighbouring nations, and rendered them incapable of hostile interference.

was not yet laid. This forms a transition to what follows.<sup>1</sup>—Ver. 7. Preparations were also made for the rebuilding of the temple; money was given to hewers of wood and to masons, and meat and drink (*i.e.* corn and wine) and oil to the Sidonians and Tyrians (*i.e.* the Phœnicians; comp. 1 Chron. xxii. 4), to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa (*i.e.* to the coast of Joppa), as was formerly done by Solomon, 1 Kings v. 20 sq., 2 Chron. ii. 7 sq. בְּרִשְׁיוֹן, according to the grant of Cyrus to them, *i.e.* according to the permission given them by Cyrus, *sc.* to rebuild the temple. For nothing is said of any special grant from Cyrus with respect to wood for building. בְּרִשְׁיוֹן is in

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau, comparing ver. 6 with ver. 5, incorrectly interprets it as meaning: "From the first day of the seventh month the offering of *thank-offerings* began (comp. ver. 2); then, from the fifteenth day of the second month, during the feast of tabernacles, the burnt-offerings prescribed by the law (ver. 4); but the daily burnt-offerings were not recommenced till after the feast of tabernacles, etc. Hence it was not from the first day of the seventh month, but subsequently to the feast of tabernacles, that the worship of God, so far as this consisted in burnt-offerings, was fully restored." The words of the cursive manuscript, however, do not stand in the text, but their opposite. In ver. 2, not thank-offerings (זִבְחֵי חַלְבִּים or זִבְחֵי שְׁלָמִים), but burnt-offerings (עֹלֹת), are spoken of, and indeed those prescribed in the law, among which the daily morning and evening burnt-offering, expressly named in ver. 3, held the first place. With this, ver. 5, "After the feast of tabernacles they offered the continual burnt-offering, and the burnt-offerings for the new moon," etc., fully harmonizes. The offering of the continual, *i.e.* of the daily, burnt-offerings, besides the new moon, the feast-days, and the free-will offerings, is named again merely for the sake of completeness. The right order is, on the contrary, as follows: The altar service, with the daily morning and evening sacrifice, began on the first day of the seventh month; this daily sacrifice was regularly offered, according to the law, from then till the fifteenth day of the second month, *i.e.* till the beginning of the feast of tabernacles; all the offerings commanded in the law for the separate days of this feast were then offered according to the numbers prescribed; and after this festival the sacrifices ordered at the new moon and the other holy days of the year were offered, as well as the daily burnt-offerings,—none but these, neither the sacrifice on the new moon (the first day of the seventh month) nor the sin-offering on the tenth day of the same month, *i.e.* the day of atonement, having been offered before this feast of tabernacles.

the O. T. ἀπ. λεγ.; in Chaldee and rabbinical Hebrew, שָׁרָא and שָׂרָא mean *facultatem habere*; and שָׂרָא power, permission.

Vers. 8-13. *The foundation of the temple laid.*—Ver. 8. In the second year of their coming to the house of God at Jerusalem, *i.e.* after their arrival at Jerusalem on their return from Babylon, in the second month, began Zerubbabel and Joshua to appoint the Levites from twenty years old and upwards to the oversight of the work (the building) of the house of the LORD. That is to say, the work of building was taken in hand. Whether this second year of the return coincides with the second year of the rule of Cyrus, so that the foundations of the temple were laid, as *Theophil. Antioch. ad Autolic.* lib. 3, according to Berosus, relates, in the second year of Cyrus, cannot be determined. For nothing more is said in this book than that Cyrus, in the first year of his reign, issued the decree concerning the return of the Jews from Babylon, whereupon those named in the list, chap. ii., set out and returned, without any further notice as to whether this also took place in the first year of Cyrus, or whether the many necessary preparations delayed the departure of the first band till the following year. The former view is certainly a possible though not a very probable one, since it is obvious from ii. 1 that they arrived at Jerusalem and betook themselves to their cities as early as the seventh month of the year. Now the period between the beginning of the year and the seventh month, *i.e.* at most six months, seems too short for the publication of the edict, the departure, and the arrival at Jerusalem, even supposing that the first year of Cyrus entirely coincided with a year of the Jewish calendar. The second view, however, would not make the difference between the year of the rule of Cyrus and the year of the return to Jerusalem a great one, since it would scarcely amount to half a year. וַיִּתְּמִידוּ . . . הָחֵלּוּ, they began and appointed, etc., they began to appoint, *i.e.* they began the work of building the temple by appointing. Those enumerated are—1. Zerubbabel and Joshua, the two rulers: 2. The remnant of their brethren = their other brethren, viz. a, the priests and

Levites as brethren of Joshua ; *b*, all who had come out of captivity, *i.e.* the men of Israel, as brethren of Zerubbabel. These together formed the community who appointed the Levites to preside over, *i.e.* to conduct the building of the temple. For the expression, comp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 4–24. —Ver. 9. The Levites undertook this appointment, and executed the commission. The singular *יַעֲמֹד* stands before a plural subject, as is frequently the case when the verb precedes its subject. Three classes or orders of Levites are named : 1. Jeshua with his sons and brethren ; 2. Kadmiel with his sons, the sons of Hodaviah ; 3. The sons of Henadad, their sons and brethren. Jeshua and Kadmiel are the two heads of orders of Levites already named (ii. 40). From a comparison of these passages, we perceive that *בְּנֵי יְהוֹדָה* is a clerical error for *הוֹדָיָה* (or *הוֹדִיָּה*). This more precise designation is not “a comprehensive appellation for all hitherto enumerated” (Bertheau), but, as is undoubtedly obvious from ii. 40, only a more precise designation of the sons of Kadmiel. *בְּאֶחָדָם*, as one, *i.e.* all, without exception. The third class, the sons of Henadad, are not expressly named in ii. 40 among those who returned from Babylon ; but a son of Henadad appears, Neh. iii. 24 and x. 10, as head of an order of Levites. The naming of this order after the predicate, in the form of a supplementary notice, and unconnected by a *v* cop., is striking. Bertheau infers therefrom that the construction of the sentence is incorrect, and desires to alter it according to 1 Esdr. v. 56, where indeed this class is named immediately after the two first, but *בְּנֵי יְהוֹדָה* is separated from what precedes ; and of these *בְּנֵי יְהוֹדָה* is made a fourth class, *οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰωδά τοῦ Ἡλιαδούδου*. All this sufficiently shows that this text cannot be regarded as authoritative. The striking position or supplementary enumeration of the sons of Henadad may be explained by the fact to which the placing of *בְּאֶחָדָם* after *בְּנֵי יְהוֹדָה* points, viz. that the two classes, Jeshua with his sons and brethren, and Kadmiel with his sons, were more closely connected with each other than with the sons of Henadad, who formed a third class. The *הַלְוִיִּם*

at the end of the enumeration offers no argument for the transposition of the words, though this addition pertains not only to the sons of Henadad, but also to the two first classes. 'עֲשֵׂה הֵם is plural, and only an unusual reading for עָשִׂי; see on 1 Chron. xxiii. 24.—Ver. 10. When the builders laid the foundation of the temple of the LORD, they (Zerubbabel and Joshua, the heads of the community) set the priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites the sons of Asaph with cymbals, to praise the LORD after the ordinance of David. The perf. וַיִּסְּרוּ, followed by an imperf. connected by a *Vav* consecutive, must be construed: When they laid the foundations, then. מְלֻבָּשִׁים, clothed, *sc.* in their robes of office; comp. 2 Chron. v. 12, xx. 21. עַל יְרֵי as 1 Chron. xxv. 2. On ver. 11, comp. remarks on 1 Chron. xvi. 34, 41, 2 Chron. v. 13, vii. 3, and elsewhere. Older expositors (Clericus, J. H. Mich.), referring to Ex. xv. 21, understand וַיַּעֲנֵי בְּהִלָּל of the alternative singing of two choirs, one of which sang, "Praise the Lord, for He is good;" and the other responded, "And His mercy endureth for ever." In the present passage, however, there is no decided allusion to responsive singing; hence (with Bertheau) we take יַעֲנֵי in the sense of, "They sang to the Lord with hymns of thanksgiving." Probably they sang such songs as Ps. cvi., cvii., or cxviii., which commence with an invitation to praise the Lord because He is good, etc. All the people, moreover, raised a loud shout of joy. תְּרוּעָה גְדוֹלָה is repeated in ver. 13 by תְּרוּעַת הַשִּׁמְחָה. עַל הַיִּסָּד, on account of the founding, of the foundation-laying, of the house of the Lord. הַיִּסָּד as in 2 Chron. iii. 3.—Ver. 12. But many of the priests and Levites, and chief of the people, the old men who had seen (also) the former temple, at the foundation of this house before their eyes (*i.e.* when they saw the foundation of this house laid), wept with a loud voice. Solomon's temple was destroyed B.C. 588, and the foundation of the subsequent temple laid B.C. 535 or 534: hence the older men among those present at the latter event might possibly have seen the former house; indeed, some (according to Hagg. ii. 2) were still living in the second year of Darius

Hystaspis who had beheld the glory of the earlier building. Upon these aged men, the miserable circumstances under which the foundations of the new temple were laid produced so overwhelming an impression, that they broke into loud weeping. **בְּיָסְדּוֹ** is connected by its accents with the words preceding: the former temple in its foundation, *i.e.* in its stability. But this can scarcely be correct. For not only does no noun **יָסַד**, foundation, occur further on; but even the following words, "of this house before their eyes," if severed from **בְּיָסְדּוֹ**, have no meaning. Hence (with Aben Ezra, Cler., Berth., and others) we connect **בְּיָסְדּוֹ** with the parenthetical sentence following, "when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes;" and then the suffix of the infinitive **יָסַד** expressly refers to the object following, as is sometimes the case in Hebrew, *e.g.* 2 Chron. xxvi. 14, Ezra ix. 1, and mostly in Chaldee; comp. Ew. § 209, c, "But many were in rejoicing and joy to raise their voices," *i.e.* many so joyed and rejoiced that they shouted aloud.—Ver. 13. And the people could not discern (distinguish) the loud cry of joy in the midst of (beside) the loud weeping of the people; for the people rejoiced with loud rejoicings, and the sound was heard afar off. The meaning is not, that the people could not hear the loud weeping of the older priests, Levites, and heads of the people, because it was overpowered by the loud rejoicings of the multitude. The verse, on the contrary, contains a statement that among the people also (the assembly exclusive of priests, Levites, and chiefs) a shout of joy and a voice of weeping arose; but that the shouting for joy of the multitude was so loud, that the sounds of rejoicing and weeping could not be distinguished from each other. **הִבִּיר**, with the acc. and **לְ**, to perceive something in the presence of (along with) another, *i.e.* to distinguish one thing from another. "The people could not discern" means: Among the multitude the cry of joy could not be distinguished from the noise of weeping. **עַד לְמַרְחֹק** as 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

CHAP. IV.—HINDRANCES TO BUILDING THE TEMPLE.  
 ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE JEWS CONCERNING THE  
 BUILDING OF THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

Vers. 1-5. The adversaries of the Jews prevent the building of the temple till the reign of Darius (vers. 1, 2). When the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin heard that the community which had returned from captivity were beginning to rebuild the temple, they came to Zerubbabel, and to the chiefs of the people, and desired to take part in this work, because they also sacrificed to the God of Israel. These adversaries were, according to ver. 2, the people whom Esarhaddon king of Assyria had settled in the neighbourhood of Benjamin and Judah. If we compare with this verse the information (2 Kings xvii. 24) that the kings of Assyria brought men from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, and that they took possession of the depopulated kingdom of the ten tribes, and dwelt therein; then these adversaries of Judah and Benjamin are the inhabitants of the former kingdom of Israel, who were called Samaritans after the central-point of their settlement. בְּנֵי הַגּוֹלָה, sons of the captivity (vi. 19, etc., viii. 35, x. 7, 16), also shortly into הַגּוֹלָה, *e.g.* i. 11, are the Israelites returned from the Babylonian captivity, who composed the new community in Judah and Jerusalem. Those who returned with Zerubbabel, and took possession of the dwelling-places of their ancestors, being, exclusive of priests and Levites, chiefly members of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, are called, especially when named in distinction from the other inhabitants of the land, Judah and Benjamin. The adversaries give the reason of their request to share in the building of the temple in the words: "For we seek your God as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto Him since the days of Esarhaddon king of Assyria, which brought us up hither." The words וְלֹא אֲנִיחָנוּ זִבְחִים are variously explained. Older expositors take the Chethiv וְלֹא as a negative, and make זִבְחִים to mean the offering of sacrifices to idols, both because

לֹא is a negative, and also because the assertion that they had sacrificed to Jahve would not have pleased the Jews, *quia deficiente templo non debuerint sacrificare*; and sacrifices not offered in Jerusalem were regarded as equivalent to sacrifices to idols. They might, moreover, fitly strengthen their case by the remark: "Since the days of Esarhaddon we offer no sacrifices to idols." On the other hand, however, it is arbitrary to understand לֹא, without any further definition, of sacrificing to idols; and the statement, "We already sacrifice to the God of Israel," contains undoubtedly a far stronger reason for granting their request than the circumstance that they do not sacrifice to idols. Hence we incline, with older translators (LXX., Syr., Vulg., 1 Esdras), to regard לֹא as an unusual form of לֵא, occurring in several places (see on Ex. xxi. 8), the latter being also substituted in the present instance as Keri. The position also of לֹא before אֲנִי points the same way, for the negative would certainly have stood with the verb. On Esarhaddon, see remarks on 2 Kings xix. 37 and Isa. xxxvii. 38.—Ver. 3. Zerubbabel and the other chiefs of Israel answer, "It is not for you and for us to build a house to our God;" i.e., You and we cannot together build a house to the God who is our God; "but we alone will build it to Jahve the God of Israel, as King Cyrus commanded us." אֲנִי וְיָהוָה, we together, i.e. we alone (without your assistance). By the emphasis placed upon "our God" and "Jahve the God of Israel," the assertion of the adversaries, "We seek your God as ye do," is indirectly refuted. If Jahve is the God of Israel, He is not the God of those whom Esarhaddon brought into the land. The appeal to the decree of Cyrus (i. 3, comp. iii. 6, etc.) forms a strong argument for the sole agency of Jews in building the temple, inasmuch as Cyrus had invited those only who were of His (Jahve's) people (i. 3). Hence the leaders of the new community were legally justified in rejecting the proposal of the colonists brought in by Esarhaddon. For the latter were neither members of the people of Jahve, nor Israelites, nor genuine worshippers of Jahve. They were non-Israelites, and designated themselves



as those whom the king of Assyria had brought into the land. According to 2 Kings xvii. 24, the king of Assyria brought colonists from Babylon, Cuthah, and other places, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel. Now we cannot suppose that every Israelite, to the very last man, was carried away by the Assyrians; such a deportation of a conquered people being unusual, and indeed impossible. Apart, then, from the passage, 2 Chron. xxx. 6, etc., which many expositors refer to the time of the destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes, we find that in the time of King Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 9), when the foreign colonists had been for a considerable period in the country, there were still remnants of Manasseh, of Ephraim, and of all Israel, who gave contributions for the house of God at Jerusalem; and also that in 2 Kings xxiii. 15-20 and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6, a remnant of the Israelite inhabitants still existed in the former territory of the ten tribes. The eighty men, too, who (Jer. xli. 5, etc.) came, after the destruction of the temple, from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria, mourning, and bringing offerings and incense to Jerusalem, to the place of the house of God, which was still a holy place to them, were certainly Israelites of the ten tribes still left in the land, and who had probably from the days of Josiah adhered to the temple worship. These remnants, however, of the Israelite inhabitants in the territories of the former kingdom of the ten tribes, are not taken into account in the present discussion concerning the erection of the temple; because, however considerable their numbers might be, they formed no community independent of the colonists, but were dispersed among them, and without political influence. It is not indeed impossible "that the colonists were induced through the influence exercised upon them by the Israelites living in their midst to prefer to the Jews the request, 'Let us build with you;' still those who made the proposal were not Israelites, but the foreign colonists" (Bertheau). These were neither members of the chosen people nor worshippers of the God of Israel. At their first settlement (2 Kings xvii. 24, etc.) they evidently

feared not the Lord, nor did they learn to do so till the king of Assyria, at their request, sent them one of the priests who had been carried away to teach them the manner of worshipping the God of the land. This priest, being a priest of the Israelitish calf-worship, took up his abode at Bethel, and taught them to worship Jahve under the image of a golden calf. Hence arose a worship which is thus described, 2 Kings xvii. 29-33: Every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans, *i.e.* the former inhabitants of the kingdom of the ten tribes, had made, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt. And besides their idols Nergal, Asima, Nibhaz, Tartak, they feared Jahve; they sacrificed to all these gods as well as to Him. A mixed worship which the prophet-historian (2 Kings xvii. 34) thus condemns: "They fear not the Lord, and do after their statutes and ordinances, not after the law and commandment which the Lord commanded to the sons of Jacob." And so, it is finally said (ver. 41), do also their children and children's children unto this day, *i.e.* about the middle of the Babylonian captivity; nor was it till a subsequent period that the Samaritans renounced gross idolatry. The rulers and heads of Judah could not acknowledge *that* Jahve whom the colonists worshipped as a local god, together with other gods, in the houses of the high places at Bethel and elsewhere, to be the God of Israel, to whom they were building a temple at Jerusalem. For the question was not whether they would permit Israelites who earnestly sought Jahve to participate in His worship at Jerusalem,—a permission which they certainly would have refused to none who sincerely desired to turn to the Lord God,—but whether they would acknowledge a mixed population of Gentiles and Israelites, whose worship was more heathen than Israelite, and who nevertheless claimed on its account to belong to the people of God.<sup>1</sup> To such, the

<sup>1</sup> The opinion of Knobel, that those who preferred the request were not the heathen colonists placed in the cities of Samaria by the Assyrian king (2 Kings xvii. 24), but the priests sent by the Assyrian king to Samaria (2 Kings xvii. 27), has been rejected as utterly unfounded by

rulers of Judah could not, without unfaithfulness to the Lord their God, permit a participation in the building of the Lord's house.

Ver. 4. In consequence of this refusal, the adversaries of Judah sought to weaken the hands of the people, and to deter them from building. עַם הָאָרֶץ, the people of the land, *i.e.* the inhabitants of the country, the colonists dwelling in the land, the same who in ver. 1 are called the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin. וַיְהִי followed by the participle expresses the continuance of the inimical attempts. To weaken the hands of any one, means to deprive him of strength and courage for action; comp. Jer. xxxviii. 4. עַם יְהוּדָה are the inhabitants of the realm of Judah, who, including the Benjamites, had returned from captivity, Judah being now used to designate the whole territory of the new community, as before the captivity the entire southern kingdom; comp. ver. 6. Instead of the Chethiv מִבְּלָהִים, the Keri offers מִבְּהָלִים, from בהל, *Piel*, to terrify, to alarm, 2 Chron. xxxii. 18, Job xxi. 6, because the verb בָּלָה nowhere else occurs; but the noun בְּלָהָה, fear, being not uncommon, and presupposing the existence of a verb בָּלָה, the correctness of the Chethiv cannot be impugned.—Ver. 5. And they hired counsellors against them, to frustrate their purpose (of building the temple). וַיִּסְכְּרוּ still depends on the וַיְהִי of ver. 4. סָכַר is a later orthography of שָׂכַר, to hire, to bribe. Whether by the hiring of יוֹעֲצִים we are to understand the corruption of royal counsellors or ministers, or the appointment of legal agents to act against the Jewish community at the Persian court, and to endeavour to obtain an inhibition against the erection of the temple, does not appear. Thus much only is evident from the text, that the adversaries succeeded in frustrating the continuance of the building “all the days of Koresh,” *i.e.* the yet remaining five years of Cyrus, who was for the space of seven years sole ruler of Babylon; while the machinations against the building, begun immediately after the laying of

Bertheau, who at the same time demonstrates, against Fritzsche on 1 Esdr. v. 65, the identity of the unnamed king of Assyria (2 Kings xvii. 24) with Esarhaddon.

its foundations in the second year of the return, had the effect, in the beginning of the third year of Cyrus (judging from Dan. x. 2), of putting a stop to the work until the reign of Darius, —in all, fourteen years, viz. five years of Cyrus, seven and a half of Cambyzes, seven months of the Pseudo-Smerdis, and one year of Darius (till the second year of his reign).

Vers. 6–23. *Complaints against the Jews to Kings Ahashverosh and Artachshasta.*—The right understanding of this section depends upon the question, What kings of Persia are meant by Ahashverosh and Artachshasta? while the answer to this question is, in part at least, determined by the contents of the letter, 8–16, sent by the enemies of the Jews to the latter monarch.—Ver. 6. And in the reign of Ahashverosh, in the beginning of his reign, they wrote an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem. שְׁמֵנָה, not to mention the name of the well, Gen. xxvi. 21, occurs here only, and means, according to its derivation from שָׂנֵן, to bear enmity, the enmity; hence here, the accusation. שְׁמֵנָה על־יְשֵׁבֵי belongs to שְׁמֵנָה, not to בְּתָבֵי; the letter was sent, not to the inhabitants of Judah, but to the king against the Jews: The contents of this letter are not given, but may be inferred from the designation שְׁמֵנָה. The letter to Artachshasta then follows, 7–16. In his days, i.e. during his reign, wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their companions. בְּנֹתָי, for which the Keri offers the ordinary form בְּנֹתָי, occurs only here in the Hebrew sections, but more frequently in the Chaldee (comp. iv. 9, 17, 23, v. 3, and elsewhere), in the sense of companions or fellow-citizens; according to Gesenius, it means those who bear the same surname (Kunje) together with another, though Ewald is of a different opinion; see § 117, *b*, note. The singular would be written בְּנֵה (Ewald, § 187, *d*). And the writing of the letter was written in Aramæan (i.e. with Aramæan characters), and interpreted in (i.e. translated into) Aramæan. שְׁתִּתְּן is of Aryan origin, and connected with the modern

Persian نوشتن *nuwishten*, to write together; it signifies in Hebrew and Chaldee a letter: comp. ver. 18, where שְׁתִּתְּנָה

is used for אִנְרָתָא of ver. 11. Bertheau translates כְּתָב הַנִּשְׁתָּתֵן, copy of the letter, and regards it as quite identical with the Chaldee אִנְרָתָא פִּרְשָׁתָּן, ver. 11; he can hardly, however, be in the right. כְּתָב does not mean a transcript or copy, but only a writing (comp. Esth. iv. 8). This, too, does away with the inference "that the writer of this statement had before him only an Aramæan translation of the letter contained in the state-papers or chronicles which he made use of." It is not כְּתָב, the copy or writing, but הַנִּשְׁתָּתֵן, the letter, that is the subject of מִתְרַנֵּם אֲרָמִית, interpreted in Aramæan. This was translated into the Aramæan or Syrian tongue. The passage is not to be understood as stating that the letter was drawn up in the Hebrew or Samaritan tongue, and then translated into Aramæan, but simply that the letter was not composed in the native language of the writers, but in Aramæan. Thus Gesenius rightly asserts, in his *Thes.* p. 1264, *et lingua aramæa scripta erat*; in saying which חֲרָנָא does not receive the meaning *concepit, expressit*, but retains its own signification, to interpret, to translate into another language. The writers of the letter were Samaritans, who, having sprung from the intermingling of the Babylonian settlers brought in by Esarhaddon and the remnants of the Israelitish population, spoke a language more nearly akin to Hebrew than to Aramæan, which was spoken at the Babylonian court, and was the official language of the Persian kings and the Persian authorities in Western Asia. This Aramæan tongue had also its own characters, differing from those of the Hebrew and Samaritan. This is stated by the words כְּתָבִים אֲרָמִית, whence Bertheau erroneously infers that this Aramæan writing was written in other than the ordinary Aramæan, and perhaps in Hebrew characters. This letter, too, of Bishlam and his companions seems to be omitted. There follows, indeed, in ver. 8, etc., a letter to King Artachshasta, of which a copy is given in vers. 11-16; but the names of the writers are different from those mentioned in ver. 7. The three names, Bishlam, Mithredath, and Tabeel (ver. 7), cannot be identified with the two names Rehum and Shimshai (ver. 8).

When we consider, however, that the writers named in ver. 8 were high officials of the Persian king, sending to the monarch a written accusation against the Jews in their own and their associates' names, it requires but little stretch of the imagination to suppose that these personages were acting at the instance of the adversaries named in ver. 7, the Samaritans Bishlam, Mithredath, and Tabeel, and merely inditing the complaints raised by these opponents against the Jews. This view, which is not opposed by the וְהָיָה of ver. 7,—this word not necessarily implying an autograph,—commends itself to our acceptance, first, because the notion that the contents of this letter are not given finds no analogy in ver. 6, where the contents of the letter to Ahashverosh are sufficiently hinted at by the word שְׁלֵחָה; while, with regard to the letter of ver. 7, we should have not a notion of its purport in case it were not the same which is given in ver. 8, etc.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the statement concerning the Aramæan composition of this letter would have been utterly purposeless if the Aramæan letter following in ver. 8 had been an entirely different one. The information concerning the language in which the letter was written has obviously no other motive than to introduce its transcription in the original Aramæan. This conjecture becomes a certainty through the fact that the Aramæan letter follows in ver. 8 without a copula of any kind. If any other had been intended, the וְ copulative would no more have been omitted here than in ver. 7. The letter itself, indeed, does not begin till ver. 9,

<sup>1</sup> The weight of this argument is indirectly admitted by Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. p. 119) and Bertheau, inasmuch as both suppose that there is a long gap in the narrative, and regard the Aramæan letter mentioned in ver. 7 to have been a petition, on the part of persons of consideration in the community at Jerusalem, to the new king,—two notions which immediately betray themselves to be the expedients of perplexity. The supposed “long gaps, which the chronicler might well leave even in transcribing from his documents” (Ew.), do not explain the abrupt commencement of ver. 8. If a petition from the Jewish community to the king were spoken of in ver. 7, the accusation against the Jews in ver. 8 would certainly have been alluded to by at least a וְ adversative, or some other adversative particle.

while ver. 8 contains yet another announcement of it. This circumstance, however, is explained by the fact that the writers of the letters are other individuals than those named in ver. 7, but chiefly by the consideration that the letter, together with the king's answer, being derived from an Aramæan account of the building of the temple, the introduction to the letter found therein was also transcribed.

Ver. 8, etc. The writers of the letter are designated by titles which show them to have been among the higher functionaries of Artachshasta. Rehum is called רֶהוּם מַלְאָכָא, *dominus consilii v. decreti*, by others *consiliarius*, royal counsellor, probably the title of the Persian civil governor (erroneously taken for a proper name in LXX., Syr., Arab.); Shimshai, שִׁמְשַׁי, the Hebrew שׁוֹפֵר, scribe, secretary. שִׁמְשַׁי is interpreted by Rashi and Aben Ezra by בְּנֵי אֵשֶׁר נִאֲמַר, as we shall say; נִאֲמַר is in the Talmud frequently an abbreviation of נִאֲמַר or נִימַר, of like signification with לֵאמֹר: as follows. —Ver. 9. After this introduction we naturally look for the letter itself in ver. 9, instead of which we have (9 and 10) a full statement of who were the senders; and then, after a parenthetical interpolation, "This is the copy of the letter," etc., the letter itself in ver. 11. The statement is rather a clumsy one, the construction especially exhibiting a want of sequence. The verb to אֶרְדָּא is wanting; this follows in ver. 11, but as an anacoluthon, after an enumeration of the names in 9 and 10 with שְׁלַחֵי. The sentence ought properly to run thus: "Then (*i.e.* in the days of Artachshasta) Rehum, etc., sent a letter to King Artachshasta, of which the following is a copy: Thy servants, the men on this side the river," etc. The names enumerated in vers. 9 and 10 were undoubtedly all inserted in the superscription or preamble of the letter, to give weight to the accusation brought against the Jews. The author of the Chaldee section of the narrative, however, has placed them first, and made the copy of the letter itself begin only with the words, "Thy servants," etc. First come the names of the superior officials, Rehum and Shimshai, and the rest of their companions. The latter are then separately enumerated: the Dinaites,

LXX. *Δειναῖοι*,—so named, according to the conjecture of Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. p. 676), from the Median city long afterwards called Deinaver (Abulf. *Géogr.* ed. Paris, p. 414); the Apharsathchites, probably the Pharathiakites of Strabo (xv. 3. 12) (*Παρητακηνοί*, Herod. i. 101), on the borders of Persia and Media, described as being, together with the Elymaïtes, a predatory people relying on their mountain fastnesses; the Tarpelites, whom Junius already connects with the *Τάπουροι* dwelling east of Elymaïs (Ptol. vi. 2. 6); the Apharsites, probably the Persians (פרסיא with א prosthetic); the Archevites, probably so called from the city אַרְכָּה, Gen. x. 10, upon inscriptions Uruk, the modern Warka; the בַּבְּלָיִים, Babylonians, inhabitants of Babylon; the Shushanchites, *i.e.* the Susanites, inhabitants of the city of Susa; קֶרֶיִּיא, in the Keri קֶרֶיִּיא, the Dehavites, the Grecians (*Δάοι*, Herod. i. 125); and lastly, the Elamites, the people of Elam or Elymaïs. Full as this enumeration may seem, yet the motive being to name as many races as possible, the addition, “and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Osnapper brought over and set in the city of Samaria, and the rest that are on this side the river,” etc., is made for the sake of enhancing the statement. Prominence being given both here and ver. 17 to the city of Samaria as the city in which Osnapper had settled the colonists here named, the “nations brought in by Osnapper” must be identical with those who, according to ver. 2, and 2 Kings xvii. 24, had been placed in the cities of Samaria by King Esarhaddon. Hence Osnapper would seem to be merely another name for Esarhaddon. But the names Osnapper (LXX. *Ἀσσεναφάρ*) and Asarhaddon (LXX. *Ἀσαπαδάν*) being too different to be identified, and the notion that Osnapper was a second name of Asarhaddon having but little probability, together with the circumstance that Osnapper is not called king, as Asarhaddon is ver. 2, but only “the great and noble,” it is more likely that he was some high functionary of Asarhaddon, who presided over the settlement of eastern races in Samaria and the lands west of the Euphrates. “In the cities,” or at least the preposition בְּ, must be supplied from the preceding בְּקִרְיָה



before עֵבֶר נְהָרָה: שְׂאֵר עֵבֶר נְהָרָה: and in the rest of the territory, or in the cities of the rest of the territory, on this side of Euphrates. עֵבֶר, *trans*, is to be understood of the countries west of Euphrates; matters being regarded from the point of view of the settlers, who had been transported from the territories east, to those west of Euphrates. וּבְעֵנָה means "and so forth," and hints that the statement is not complete.

On comparing the names of the nations here mentioned with the names of the cities from which, according to 2 Kings xvii. 24, colonists were brought to Samaria, we find the inhabitants of most of the cities there named—Babylon, Cuthah, and Ava—here comprised under the name of the country as בְּבִלְיָא, Babylonians; while the people of Hamath and Sepharvaim may fitly be included among "the rest of the nations," since certainly but few colonists would have been transported from the Syrian Hamath to Samaria. The main divergence between the two passages arises from the mention in our present verse, not only of the nations planted in the cities of Samaria, but of all the nations in the great region on this side of Euphrates (עֵבֶר נְהָרָה). All these tribes had similar interests to defend in opposing the Jewish community, and they desired by united action to give greater force to their representation to the Persian monarch, and thus to hinder the people of Jerusalem from becoming powerful. And certainly they had some grounds for uneasiness lest the remnant of the Israelites in Palestine, and in other regions on this side the Euphrates, should combine with the Jerusalem community, and the thus united Israelites should become sufficiently powerful to oppose an effectual resistance to their heathen adversaries. On the anacoluthistic connection of ver. 11, see remarks above, p. 65. פֶּרְשֵׁן, vers. 11, 23, ch. v. 6, vii. 11, and frequently in the Targums and the Syriac, written פֶּרְשֵׁן Esth. iii. 14 and iv. 8, is derived from the Zendish *paiti* (Sanscr. *prati*) and *çenghana* (in Old-Persian *thanhana*), and signifies properly a counterword, *i.e.* counterpart, copy. The form with ך is either a corruption, or formed from a compound with *fra*; comp. Gildemeister in the *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl.* iv. p. 210, and Haug in Ewald's

*bibl. Jahrb.* v. p. 163, etc.—The copy of the letter begins with עֲבָדֶיךָ, thy servants, the men, etc. The Chethib עֲבָרֶיךָ is the original form, shortened in the Keri into עֲבָדֶיךָ. Both forms occur elsewhere; comp. Dan. ii. 29, iii. 12, and other passages. The וּבְעֵנָה, etc., here stands for the full enumeration of the writers already given in ver. 9, and also for the customary form of salutation.—Vers. 12–16. The letter. Ver. 12. “Be it known unto the king.” On the form לְהוֹיָא for יְהוֹיָא, peculiar to biblical Chaldee, see remarks on Dan. ii. 20. “Which are come up from thee,” *i.e.* from the territory where thou art tarrying; in other words, from the country beyond Euphrates. This by no means leads to the inference, as Schrader supposes, that these Jews had been transported from Babylon to Jerusalem by King Artachshasta. מְרִדָּה answers to the Hebrew עֲלָה, and is used like this of the journey to Jerusalem. “Are come to us, to Jerusalem.” עֲלֵינוּ, to us, that is, into the parts where we dwell, is more precisely defined by the words “to Jerusalem.” “They are building the rebellious and bad city, and are setting up its walls and digging its foundations.” Instead of מְרִדָּה (with Kamets and Metheg under ר) the edition of J. H. Mich. has מְרִדָּה, answering to the *stat. abs.* מְרִדָּה, ver. 15; on the other hand, the edition of Norzi and several codices read מְרִדָּה, the feminine of מְרִיד. For בְּאִישָׁתָא Norzi has בְּאִישָׁתָא, from בְּאִישׁ, a contraction of בְּאִישׁ. For שׁוּרֵי אֲשַׁכְּלֵלִי must be read, according to the Keri, שׁוּרֵי אֲשַׁכְּלֵלִי. The *Shaphel* שִׁכְלֵל, from כָּלַל, means to complete, to finish. אֲשִׁין, bases, foundations. יְחִיטוּ may be the imperf. Aphel of חָטַט, formed after the example of יִקְיִים for יִקְיִים, omitting the reduplication, יְחִיט. חָטַט means to sew, to sew together, and may, like רָפָא, be understood of repairing walls or foundations. But it is more likely to be the imperf. Aphel of חָטַט, in Syriac ܚܬܬ, and in the Talmud, to dig, to dig out, *fodit, excavavit*—to dig out the foundations for the purpose of erecting new buildings.—Ver. 13. “Now be it known unto the king, that if this city be built up and . . . they will not pay toll, tribute, and custom, and it (the city) will at last bring damage to the king.” The three

words **מִנְדָּה בְּלוּ וְהִלָּךְ** occur again, ver. 20 and vii. 24, in this combination as designating the different kinds of imposts. **מִנְדָּה**, with resolved *Dagesh forte*, for **מִדָּה** (ver. 20), signifies measure, then tax or custom measured to every one. **בְּלוּ**, probably a duty on consumption, excise; **וְהִלָּךְ**, a toll paid upon roads by travellers and their goods. The word **אֶפְחָם**, which occurs only here, and has not been expressed by old translators, depends upon the Pehlevi word **אֶוֹדֹם**: it is connected with the Sanscrit *apa*, in the superl. *apama*, and signifies at last, or in the future; comp. Haug, p. 156. **מִלְכִּים**, a Hebraized form for **מִלְכִּין**, ver. 15, is perhaps only an error of transcription.—Ver. 14. “Now, because we eat the salt of the palace, and it does not become us to see the damage of the king, we send (this letter) and make known to the king.” **מָלַח מֶלֶךְ**, to salt salt = to eat salt. To eat the salt of the palace is a figurative expression for: to be in the king’s pay. See this interpretation vindicated from the Syriac and Persian in Gesen. *thes.* p. 790.<sup>1</sup> **עֲרִיָה**, deprivation, emptying, here injury to the royal power or revenue. **אֶרִיָּה**, participle of **אָרַךְ**, answering to the Hebrew **עָרַךְ**, means fitting, becoming.—Ver. 15. “That search may be made in the book of the chronicles of thy fathers, so shalt thou find in the book of the Chronicles that this city has been a rebellious city, and hurtful to kings and countries, and that they have from of old stirred up sedition within it, on which account this city was (also) destroyed.” **יִבְקֹר** is used impersonally: let one seek, let search be made. **סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵינָא**, book of records, is the public royal chronicle in which the chief events of the history of the realm were recorded, called Esth. vi. 1 the book of the records of daily events. *Thy* fathers are the predecessors of the king, *i.e.* his predecessors in government; therefore not merely the Median and Persian, but the Chaldean and Assyrian kings, to whose dominions the Persian monarchs had succeeded. **אֶשְׁתַּדֵּר**, a verbal noun from the

<sup>1</sup> Luther, in translating “all we who destroyed the temple,” follows the Rabbis, who, from the custom of scattering salt upon destroyed places, Judg. ix. 45, understood these words as an expression figurative of destruction, and **הַיְכָלָא** as the temple.

Ithpeal of שָׁרַר, rebellion. מִן יוֹמָהּ עַלְמָא, from the days of eternity, *i.e.* from time immemorial. יוֹמָהּ is in the constructive state, plural, formed from the singular יוֹמָא. This form occurs only here and ver. 19, but is analogous with the Hebrew poetical form יָמֹת for יָמִים.—Ver. 16. After thus casting suspicion upon the Jews as a seditious people, their adversaries bring the accusation, already raised at the beginning of the letter, to a climax, by saying that if Jerusalem is rebuilt and fortified, the king will lose his supremacy over the lands on this side the river. לְקַבֵּל דְּנָה, on this account, for this reason, that the present inhabitants of the fortified city Jerusalem are like its former inhabitants, thou wilt have no portion west of Euphrates, *i.e.* thou wilt have nothing more to do with the countries on this side the river—wilt forfeit thy sway over these districts.

Vers. 17–22. The royal answer to this letter. פְּתוּנָמָא—a word which has also passed into the Hebrew, Eccles. viii. 11, Esth. i. 20—is the Zend. *patigama*, properly that which is to take place, the decree, the sentence; see on Dan. iii. 16. 'וּשְׂאֵר עִבְרֵי נ' still depends upon בָּ: those dwelling in Samaria and the other towns on this side the river. The royal letter begins with שָׁלֹם וְרַעְיָה, "Peace," and so forth. בָּעֵת is abbreviated from בְּעֵתָה.—Ver. 18. "The letter which you sent to us has been plainly read before me." מְפָרֵשׁ, part. pass. Pael, corresponds with the Hebrew part. Piel מְפָרֵשׁ, made plain, adverbially, plainly, and does not signify "translated into Persian."—Ver. 19. "And by me a command has been given, and search has been made; and it has been found that this city from of old hath lifted itself (risen) up against kings," etc. מִתְנַשֵּׂא, lifted itself up rebelliously, as (in Hebrew) in 1 Kings i. 5.—Ver. 20. "There have been powerful kings in Jerusalem, and (rulers) exercising dominion over the whole region beyond the river" (westward of Euphrates). This applies in its full extent only to David and Solomon, and in a less degree to subsequent kings of Israel and Judah. On ver. 20b, comp. ver. 13.—Ver. 21. "Give ye now commandment to hinder these people (to keep them from the work), that this city be not built until

command (*sc.* to build) be given from me." יִתְּשֶׁם, Ithpeal of שָׁם.—Ver. 22. "And be warned from committing an oversight in this respect," *i.e.* take heed to overlook nothing in this matter (יְהִיר, instructed, warned). "Why should the damage become great (*i.e.* grow), to bring injury to kings?"—Ver. 23. The result of this royal command. As soon as the copy of the letter was read before Rehum and his associates, they went up in haste to Jerusalem to the Jews, and hindered them by violence and force. אָרָרֶךְ with א prosthetic only here, elsewhere אָרָרֶךְ (= אָרָרֶךְ), arm, violence. Bertheau translates, "with forces and a host;" but the rendering of אָרָרֶךְ or אָרָרֶךְ by "force" can neither be shown to be correct from Ezek. xvii. 9 and Dan. xi. 15, 31, nor justified by the translation of the LXX., ἐν ἰπποῖς καὶ δυνάμει.

Ver. 24. "Then ceased the work of the house of God at Jerusalem. So it ceased unto the second year of Darius king of Persia." With this statement the narrator returns to the notice in ver. 5, that the adversaries of Judah succeeded in delaying the building of the temple till the reign of King Darius, which he takes up, and now adds the more precise information that it ceased till the *second year* of King Darius. The intervening section, vers. 6–23, gives a more detailed account of those accusations against the Jews made by their adversaries to kings Ahashverosh and Artachshasta. If we read vers. 23 and 24 as successive, we get an impression that the discontinuation to build mentioned in ver. 24 was the effect and consequence of the prohibition obtained from King Artachshasta, through the complaints brought against the Jews by his officials on this side the river; the אָרָרֶךְ of ver. 24 seeming to refer to the אָרָרֶךְ of ver. 23. Under this impression, older expositors have without hesitation referred the contents of vers. 6–23 to the interruption to the building of the temple during the period from Cyrus to Darius, and understood the two names Ahashverosh and Artachshasta as belonging to Cambyses and (Pseudo) Smerdis, the monarchs who reigned between Cyrus and Darius. Grave objections to this view have, however, been raised by Kleinert (in the *Beiträgen der Dorpater Prof. d.*

*Theol.* 1832, vol. i.) and J. W. Schultz (*Cyrus der Grosse*, in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1853, p. 624, etc.), who have sought to prove that none but the Persian kings Xerxes and Artaxerxes can be meant by Ahashverosh and Artachshasta, and that the section vers. 6-23 relates not to the building of the temple, but to the building of the walls of Jerusalem, and forms an interpolation or episode, in which the historian makes the efforts of the adversaries of Judah to prevent the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem under Xerxes and Artaxerxes follow immediately after his statement of their attempt to hinder the building of the temple, for the sake of presenting at one glance a view of all their machinations against the Jews. This view has been advocated not only by Vaihinger, "On the Elucidation of the History of Israel after the Captivity," in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1857, p. 87, etc., and Bertheau in his Commentary on this passage, but also by Hengstenberg, *Christol.* iii. p. 143, Auberlen, and others, and opposed by Ewald in the 2d edition of his *Gesch. Israels*, iv. p. 118, where he embraces the older explanation of these verses, and A. Koehler on Haggai, p. 20. On reviewing the arguments advanced in favour of the more modern view, we can lay no weight at all upon the circumstance that in 6-23 the building of the temple is not spoken of. The contents of the letter sent to Ahashverosh (ver. 6) are not stated; in that to Artachshasta (vers. 11-16) the writers certainly accuse the Jews of building the rebellious and bad city (Jerusalem), of setting up its walls and digging out its foundations (ver. 12); but the whole document is so evidently the result of ardent hatred and malevolent suspicion, that well-founded objections to the truthfulness of these accusations may reasonably be entertained. Such adversaries might, for the sake of more surely attaining their end of obstructing the work of the Jews, easily represent the act of laying the foundations and building the walls of the temple as a rebuilding of the town walls. The answer of the king, too (vers. 17-22), would naturally treat only of such matters as the accusers had mentioned. The argument derived from the names of the kings is of far more importance.

The name אֲחַשְׁוֶרֶשׁ (in ver. 6) occurs also in the book of Esther, where, as is now universally acknowledged, the Persian king Xerxes is meant; and in Dan. ix. 1, as the name of the Median king Kyaxares. In the cuneiform inscriptions the name is in Old-Persian *Ksayařsa*, in Assyrian *Hisiarsī*, in which it is easy to recognise both the Hebrew form Ahashverosh, and the Greek forms *Ξέρξης* and *Κυαξάρης*. On the other hand, the name Cambyses (Old-Persian *Kambudshja*) offers no single point of identity; the words are radically different, whilst nothing is known of Cambyses having ever borne a second name or surname similar in sound to the Hebrew Ahashverosh. The name Artachshasta, moreover, both in Esth. vii. and viii., and in the book of Nehemiah, undoubtedly denotes the monarch known as *Artaxerxes* (*Longimanus*). It is, indeed, in both these books written אֲרַתַחֲשַׁשְׁתָּא with ט, and in the present section, and in vi. 14, אֲרַתַחֲשַׁשְׁתָּא; but this slight difference of orthography is no argument for difference of person, אֲרַתַחֲשַׁשְׁתָּא seeming to be a mode of spelling the word peculiar to the author of the Chaldee section, Ezra iv.–vi. Two other names, indeed, of Smerdis, the successor of *Cambyses*, have been handed down to us. According to Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. 7, and Ktesias, *Pers. fr.* 8–13, he is said to have been called *Tanyoxares*, and according to *Justini hist.* i. 9, *Oropastes*; and Ewald is of opinion that the latter name is properly *Ortosastes*, which might answer to Artachshasta. It is also not improbable that Smerdis may, as king, have assumed the name of Artachshasta, *Ἀραξέρξης*, which Herodotus (vi. 98) explains by *μέγας ἀρχίος*. But neither this possibility, nor the opinion of Ewald, that *Ortosastes* is the correct reading for *Oropastes* in *Just. hist.* i. 9, can lay any claim to probability, unless other grounds also exist for the identification of Artachshasta with Smerdis. Such grounds, however, are wanting; while, on the other hand, it is *à priori* improbable that Ps. Smerdis, who reigned but about seven months, should in this short period have pronounced such a decision concerning the matter of building the temple of Jerusalem, as we read in the letter of Artachshasta, 17–22, even if the adversaries of the Jews

should, though residing in Palestine, have laid their complaints before him, immediately after his accession to the throne. When we consider also the great improbability of Ahashverosh being a surname of Cambyses, we feel constrained to embrace the view that the section 6-23 is an episode inserted by the historian, on the occasion of narrating the interruption to the building of the temple, brought about by the enemies of the Jews, and for the sake of giving a short and comprehensive view of all the hostile acts against the Jewish community on the part of the Samaritans and surrounding nations.

The contents and position of ver. 24 may easily be reconciled with this view, which also refutes as unfounded the assertion of Herzfeld, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, i. p. 303, and Schrader, p. 469, that the author of the book of Ezra himself erroneously refers the document given, vers. 6-23, to the erection of the temple, instead of to the subsequent building of the walls of Jerusalem. For, to say nothing of the contents of vers. 6-23, although it may seem natural to refer the וְהָיָה of ver. 24 to ver. 23, it cannot be affirmed that this reference is either necessary or the only one allowable. The assertion that וְהָיָה is "*always* connected with that which *immediately* precedes," cannot be strengthened by an appeal to v. 2, vi. 1, Dan. ii. 14, 46, iii. 3, and other passages. וְהָיָה, then (= at that time), in contradistinction to וְהָיָה, thereupon, only refers a narrative, in a general manner, to the time spoken of in that which precedes it. When, then, it is said, *then*, or at that time, the work of the house of God ceased (ver. 24), the *then* can only refer to what was before related concerning the building of the house of God, *i.e.* to the narrative vers. 1-5. This reference of ver. 24 to vers. 1-5 is raised above all doubt, by the fact that the contents of ver. 24 are but a recapitulation of ver. 5; it being said in both, that the cessation from building the temple lasted till the reign, or, as it is more precisely stated in ver. 24, till the second year of the reign, of Darius king of Persia. With this recapitulation of the contents of ver. 5, the narrative, ver. 24, returns to the point which it had



reached at ver. 5. What lies between is thereby characterized as an illustrative episode, the relation of which to that which precedes and follows it, is to be perceived and determined solely by its contents. If, then, in this episode, we find not only that the building of the temple is not spoken of, but that letters are given addressed to the Kings Ahashverosh and Artachshasta, who, as all Ezra's contemporaries would know, reigned not before but after Darius, the very introduction of the first letter with the words, "*And in the reign of Ahashverosh*" (ver. 6), after the preceding statement, "*until the reign of Darius king of Persia*" (ver. 5), would be sufficient to obviate the misconception that letters addressed to Ahashverosh and Artachshasta related to matters which happened in the period between Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis. Concerning another objection to this view of vers. 6-23, viz. that it would be strange that King Artaxerxes, who is described to us in Ezra vii. and in Nehemiah as very favourable to the Jews, should have been for a time so prejudiced against them as to forbid the building of the town and walls of Jerusalem, we shall have an opportunity of speaking in our explanations of Neh. i.—Ver. 24, so far, then, as its matter is concerned, belongs to the following chapter, to which it forms an introduction.

CHAP. V.—THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE CONTINUED,  
AND NOTICE THEREOF SENT TO KING DARIUS.

In the second year of Darius Hystaspis (Darajavus Viṣṭaṣpa) the prophets Zechariah and Haggai arose, and exhorted the people by words, both of reproof and encouragement, to assist in the work of rebuilding the house of God. In consequence of these prophetic admonitions, the rulers of the community resumed the work (vers. 1, 2); and the royal governor on this side the Euphrates allowed them, when in answer to his inquiries they appealed to the decree of Cyrus, to proceed with their building until the arrival of

a decision from King Darius, to whom he addressed a written report of the matter (3-17).

Vers. 1 and 2. "The prophets, Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo, prophesied to the Jews in Judah and Jerusalem, in the name of the God of Israel upon them." *הַנְּבִיאִים* without א, which this word occasionally loses in Hebrew also, comp. 1 Sam. x. 6, 13, Jer. xxvi. 9. The epithet *נְבִיאָה* added to the name of Haggai serves to distinguish him from others of the same name, and as well as *הַנְּבִיאִים*, Hagg. i. 1, 3, 12, and elsewhere, is used instead of the name of his father; hence, after Zechariah is named, the prophets, as designating the position of both, can follow. *עַל־יְהוּדָיָא*, they prophesied to (not against) the Jews; *עַל* as in Ezek. xxxvii. 4, = *אֶל*, Ezek. xxxvii. 9, xxxvi. 1. The Jews in *Judah and Jerusalem*, in contradistinction to Jews dwelling elsewhere, especially to those who had remained in Babylon. *עֲלֵיהֶן* belongs to *בְּשֵׁם אֱלֹהֵי*, in the name of God, who was upon them, who was come upon them, had manifested Himself to them. Comp. Jer. xv. 16.—Ver. 2. "Then rose up Zerubbabel . . . and Joshua . . . and began to build the house of God at Jerusalem, and with them the prophets of God helping them." The beginning to build is (iii. 6, etc.) the commencement of the building properly so called, upon the foundations laid, iii. 10; for what was done after this foundation-laying till a stop was put to the work, was so unimportant that no further notice is taken of it. The "prophets of God" are those mentioned ver. 1, viz. Haggai, and Zechariah the son, i.e. grandson, of Iddo, for his father's name was Berechiah (see Introd. to Zechariah). Haggai entered upon his work on the first day of the sixth month, in the second year of Darius; and his first address made such an impression, that Zerubbabel and Joshua with the people set about the intermitted work of building as early as the twenty-fourth day of the same month (comp. Hagg. i. 1 and 14 sq.). Two months later, viz. in the eighth month of the same year, Zechariah began to exhort the people to turn sincerely to the Lord their God, and not to relapse into the sins of their fathers.

Vers. 3-5. When the building was recommenced, the governor on this side Euphrates, and other royal officials, evidently informed of the undertaking by the adversaries of the Jews, made their appearance for the purpose of investigating matters on the spot.  $\text{אַתָּה עָלִיהֶן}$ , came to them, to the two above-named rulers of the community at Jerusalem. Tatnai (LXX. *Θαυθαυαί*) was  $\text{פָּתָה}$ , viceroy, in the provinces west of Euphrates, *i.e.*, as correctly expanded in 1 Esdras, of Syria and Phœnicia, to which Judæa with its *Pechá* Zerubbabel was subordinate. With him came Shethar-Boznai, perhaps his secretary, and their companions, their subordinates. The royal officials inquired: "Who has commanded you to build this house, and to finish this wall?" The form  $\text{לְבִנָּה}$  here and ver. 13 is remarkable, the infinitive in Chaldee being not  $\text{בָּנָה}$ , but  $\text{מְבִנָּה}$ ; compare vers. 2, 17, and vi. 8. Norzi has both times  $\text{לְבִנָּה}$ , as though the Dagesh *forte* were compensating for an omitted  $\text{מ}$ .  $\text{אַשְׁרָנָה}$ , which occurs only here and ver. 9, is variously explained. The Vulgate, the Syriac, and also the Rabbins, translate: these walls. This meaning best answers to the context, and is also linguistically the most correct. It can hardly, however, be derived (Gesenius) from  $\text{אַשֶׁר}$ , but rather from  $\text{אַשָׁן}$ , in Chaldee  $\text{אַשָׁן}$ , firm, strong—walls as the strength or firmness of the building. The form  $\text{אַשְׁרָנָה}$  has arisen from  $\text{אַשָׁנָה}$ , and is analogous to the form  $\text{בְּשָׁנָה}$ .<sup>1</sup>—Ver. 4. Then told we them after this manner ( $\text{בְּנִמָּה}$ , iv. 8), what were the names of the men who were building this building. From  $\text{אַמְרָנָה}$ , we said, it is obvious that the author of this account was an eye-witness of, and sharer in, the work of building. There is not a shadow of reason for altering  $\text{אַמְרָנָה}$  into  $\text{אַמְרִי}$ , or into the participle  $\text{אַמְרִין}$  (Ew., Berth., and others); the *εἰπосαν* of the LXX. being no critical authority for so doing. The answer in ver. 4 seems not to correspond with

<sup>1</sup> The interpretations of the LXX., *τὴν χορηγίαν ταύτην*, meaning these building materials, and of 1 Esdr. vi. 4, *τὴν στέγην ταύτην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα*, this roof and all besides, for which Bertheau decides, without considering that  $\text{שָׁכַל$  may mean to complete, and not to prepare for anything, are but conjectures.

the question in ver. 3. The royal officials asked, Who had commanded them to build? The Jews told them the names of those who had undertaken and were conducting the building. But this incongruity between question and answer is merely caused by the fact that the discussion is reported only by a short extract restricted to the principal subjects. We learn that this is the case from the contents of the letter sent by the officials to the king. According to these, the royal functionary inquired not merely concerning the author of the command to build, but asked also the names of those who were undertaking the work (comp. vers. 9 and 10); while the rulers of the Jews gave a circumstantial answer to both questions (vers. 11-15).—Ver. 5. Tatnai and Shethar-Boznai had power to prohibit them from proceeding; they allowed them, however, to go on with their work till the arrival of an answer from the king, to whom they had furnished a written report of the matter. In these dealings, the historian sees a proof of the divine protection which was watching over the building. "The eye of their God was over the elders of the Jews, that they should not restrain them (from building) till the matter came to Darius; and they should then receive a letter concerning this matter." Bertheau incorrectly translates עַד-מַעֲמָה לִר' יְהוָה: until the command of King Darius should arrive. עַד is only used as a paraphrase of the genitive in statements of time; otherwise the genitive, if not expressed by the *status construc.*, is designated by ל' or ל'. יְהוָה, fut. Peal of הָלַךְ, formed by the rejection of ל, construed with הָלַךְ, signifies to go to a place (comp. vii. 13), or to come to a person. מַעֲמָה (מַעֲמָה) does not here mean commandment, but the matter, *causa*, which the king is to decide; just as פְּתִינָם, vi. 11, means thing, *res*. The clause וְיִצְחָק בֶּן-יְהוֹנָדָה still depends upon עַד: and till they (the royal officials) then receive a letter, *i.e.* obtain a decision.

In vers. 6-17 follows the letter which the royal officials sent to the king. Vers. 6 and 7a form the introduction to this document, and correspond with vers. 8-11 in chap. iv. Copy of the letter (comp. iv. 11) which Tatnai, etc., sent.

The senders of the letter are, besides Tatnai, Shethar-Boznai and his companions the Apharsachites, the same called iv. 9 the Apharsathchites, who perhaps, as a race specially devoted to the Persian king, took a prominent position among the settlers in Syria, and may have formed the royal garrison. After this general announcement of the letter, follows the more precise statement: They sent the matter to him; and in it was written, To King Darius, much peace. **מִלְּךָ** here is not command, but matter; see above. **כָּלָא**, its totality, is unconnected with, yet dependent on, **שְׁלָמָא**: peace in all things, in every respect. The letter itself begins with a simple representation of the state of affairs (ver. 8): "We went into the province of Judæa, to the house of the great God (for so might Persian officials speak of the God of Israel, after what they had learned from the elders of Judah of the edict of Cyrus), and it is being built with freestone, and timber is laid in the walls; and this work is being diligently carried on, and is prospering under their hands." The placing of wood in the walls refers to building beams into the wall for flooring; for the building was not so far advanced as to make it possible that this should be said of covering the walls with wainscoting. The word **אֶכְפְּרָנָא** here, and vi. 8, 12, 13, vii. 17, 21, 26, is of Aryan origin, and is explained by Haug in *Ew. Jahrb.* v. p. 154, from the Old-Persian *us-parna*, to mean: carefully or exactly finished,—a meaning which suits all these passages.—Ver. 9. Hereupon the royal officials asked the elders of the Jews who had commanded them to build, and inquired concerning their names, that they might write to the king the names of the leading men (see the remark on 3 and 4). **דִּי בְּרָאשֵׁיהֶם** does not mean, who are at the head of them; but, who act in the capacity of heads.—Ver. 11. The answer of the elders of the Jews. They returned us answer in the following manner (**לְאִמָּר = לְמַמַּר**): "We are His, the servants of the God of heaven and earth, and build the house which was built many years ago; and a great king of Israel built and completed it." **בְּקִדְמָתָא דְּנִינָה**, of before this, *i.e.* before the present; to which is added the more precise de-

finition: many years (accusative of time), *i.e.* many years before the present time.—Ver. 12. For this reason (לָכֵן), because (מֵאַשֵׁר = מִן־דֵּי, *e.g.* Isa. xliii. 4) our fathers provoked the God of heaven, He gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, the Chaldean, and he (Nebuch.) destroyed this house, and carried the people away into Babylon. For כִּסְרֵיָהּ the Keri requires כִּסְרָאָהּ, the ordinary form of the *absolute state* of the noun in *ai*. כִּסַּר, Pael, in the sense of destroy, appears only here in biblical Chaldee, but more frequently in the Targums. עַמָּה, its people, would refer to the town of Jerusalem; but Norzi and J. H. Mich. have עַמָּה, and the Masora expressly says that the word is to be written without Mappik, and is therefore the *stat. emphat.* for עַמָּה.—Vers. 13, 14. In the first year, however, of Cyrus king of Babylon, King Cyrus made a decree, etc.; comp. i. 3. The infin. לִבְנֹת like ver. 3.—On vers. 14 and 15, comp. i. 7–11. וַיְהִיבֵי, præter. pass. of Peal: they were given to one Sheshbazzar (is) his name, *i.e.* to one of the name of Sheshbazzar, whom he had made pechah. Zerubbabel is also called פְּחָהּ, Hagg. i. 1, 14, and elsewhere.—Ver. 15. Take these vessels, go forth, place them in the temple. For אֵלֶּה the Keri reads אֵל, according to 1 Chron. xx. 8. אֵלֶּה is imperat. Aphel of נָהַל. The three imperatives succeed each other without any copula in this rapid form of expression. The last sentence, “and let the house of God be built in its place,” *i.e.* be rebuilt in its former place, gives the reason for the command to deposit the vessels in the temple at Jerusalem, *i.e.* in the house of God, which is to be rebuilt in its former place.—Ver. 16. In virtue of this command of Cyrus, this Sheshbazzar came (from Babylon to Jerusalem), and laid then the foundations of the house of God, and from that time till now it has been building, and is not (yet) finished. שְׁלִים, part. pass. of שָׁלַם, often used in the Targums and in Syriac for the Hebrew תָּמַם; hence in Dan. v. 26 the Aphel, in the meaning of to finish, and Ezek. vii. 19, to restore. This statement does not exclude the cessation from building from the last year of Cyrus to the second of Darius,

narrated iv. to v. 24, as Bertheau and others suppose, but only leaves the unmentioned circumstance which had been the cause of the delay. If the section iv. 6-23 does not refer to the building of the temple, then neither is a "forcible interruption" of the building spoken of in chap. iv.; but it is only said that the adversaries frustrated the purpose of the Jews to rebuild the temple till the time of Darius, and weakened the hands of the people, so that the work of the house of God ceased.—Ver. 17. After thus representing the state of affairs, the royal officials request Darius to cause a search to be made among the archives of the kingdom, as to whether a decree made by Cyrus for the erection of the temple at Jerusalem was to be found therein, and then to communicate to them his decision concerning the matter. "And if it seem good to the king, let search be made in the king's treasure-house there at Babylon, whether it be so, that a decree was made of Cyrus the king." הֵן טָב עַל, like the Hebrew טוֹב עַל, Esth. i. 19, for which in older Hebrew לוֹ טוֹב, Deut. xxiii. 17, or טוֹב בְּעֵינַיִם, Gen. xix. 8, Judg. x. 15, and elsewhere, is used. בֵּית הַטֶּזֶז, house of the treasure, more definitely called, vi. 1, house of the rolls, where also the royal treasures were deposited. Hence it is obvious that important documents and writings were preserved in the royal treasury. הַמֶּלֶךְ, there, is explained by "which at Babylon." רְעִית, chald. *voluntas*, comp. vii. 18. Concerning the behaviour of these officials Brentius well remarks: *vides differentiam inter calumniatores et bonos ac probos viros. Una eademque causa erat ædificii templi, unus idemque populus Judæorum; attamen hujus populi causa aliter refertur ab impiis calumniatoribus, aliter a bonis viris.*

CHAP. VI.—THE ROYAL DECREE, THE COMPLETION AND  
DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE, AND THE FEAST OF  
THE PASSOVER.

Vers. 1-12. *The decision of Darius.*—Vers. 1-5. At the command of Darius, search was made in the archives of the

royal treasury; and in the fortress of Achmetha in Media, was found the roll in which was recorded the edict published by Cyrus, concerning the building of the temple at Jerusalem.—Ver. 1. Search was made in the house of the books where also the treasures were deposited in Babylon. מִסְתַּחֲתִין, partic. Aphel of נָחַת; see v. 15.—Ver. 2. “And there was found at Achmetha, in the fortress that is in the land of Media, a roll; and thus was it recorded therein.” In Babylon itself the document sought for was not found; though, probably, the search there made, led to the discovery of a statement that documents pertaining to the time of Cyrus were preserved in the fortress of Achmetha, where the record in question was subsequently discovered. אַחֲמֶתָא, the capital of Great Media—τὰ Ἐκβάτανα, Judith i. 1, 14, or Ἀγβάτανα (Herod. i. 98)—built by Dejokes, was the summer residence of the Persian and Parthian kings, and situate in the neighbourhood of the modern Hamadan. Achmetha is probably the Old-Median or Old-Persian pronunciation of the name, the letters אַחֲמֶתָא on Sassanidian coins being explained as denoting this city (Mordtmann in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch morgenl. Gesellschaft*, viii. p. 14). The citadel of Ecbatana probably contained also the royal palace and the official buildings. For בְּנִינָה is found in some mss. and editions בְּנִינָה; but Norzi and J. H. Mich. have Pathach under נ as the better authorized reading. בְּנִינָה, stat. emph. of בְּנִינָה, memorandum, ὑπόμνημα, a record of anything memorable. The contents of this document follow, vers. 3–5. First, the proclamation of King Cyrus in the first year of his reign: “The house of God at Jerusalem, let this house be built as a place where sacrifices are offered.” The meaning of the words following is doubtful. We translate וְאַשְׁוִי מְסוּבָלִין: and let them raise up its foundations, i.e. its foundations are to be again raised up, restored. אֲשָׁן, foundations (iv. 12); מְסוּבָלִין, part. Poel of סָבַל, to carry, to raise (not to be raised). סָבַל often stands for the Hebrew נָשָׂא, to carry, to raise up, to erect; compare the Samaritan translation of Gen. xiii. 10: וסבל את עיניו, he lifted up his eyes. אֲשָׁן מְסוּבָלִין is analogous with קוּמָם מוֹסְדֵי ד', Isa. lviii. 12, and signifies to erect buildings upon the foun-



dations.<sup>1</sup> Expositors are divided as to the dimensions of the new temple, "its height 60 cubits, and its breadth 60 cubits," which are so given also in LXX., *Esdr. gr.*, and Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 4. 6; while Solomon's temple was but 30 cubits high, and, without the side-buildings, only 20 cubits broad. We nevertheless consider the statements correct, and the text incorrupt, and explain the absence of the measure of length simply by the fact that, as far as length was concerned, the old and new temples were of equal dimensions. Solomon's temple, measured externally, inclusive of the porch and the additional building at the hinder part, was about 100 cubits long (see the ground plan in my *bibl. Archaeol.* Table II. fig. 1). To correspond with this length, the new temple was, according to the desire of Cyrus, to be both higher and broader, viz. 60 cubits high, and as many wide,—measurements which certainly apply to external dimensions. Zerubbabel's temple, concerning the structure of which we have no further particulars, was externally of this height and breadth. This may be inferred from the speech of King Herod in Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11. 1, in which this tyrant, who desired to be famous for the magnificence of his buildings, endeavoured to gain the favour of the people for the rebuilding of the temple, which he was contemplating, by the remark that the temple built by their forefathers, on their return from the Babylonian captivity, was 60 cubits too low,—Solomon's temple having been double that height (*sc.*, according to the height given in 2 Chron. iii. 4, 120 cubits),—and from the fact that Herod made his temple 100 or 120 cubits high. Hence the temple of Zerubbabel, measured externally, must have been 60 cubits high; and consequently we need not diminish the breadth of 60 cubits,

<sup>1</sup> The Vulgate, following a rabbinical explanation, has *ponant fundamenta supportantia*, which is here unsuitable. The conjecture of Bertheau, who labours, by all sorts of critical combinations of the letters in the words *אִשְׁוֵהי אֲמִין מֵאָה מְסוֹבְלִין*, to produce the text *אִשְׁוֵהי אֲמִין מֵאָה חֲמִשִּׁין*, "its foundation length 180 cubits," is as needless as it is mistaken. The interpretation of the words in the LXX., *καὶ ἔθηκεν ἑκαρμυα*, and Pseudo-Ezra vi., *διὰ πυρὸς ἐνδελεχους*, are nothing else than unmeaning suppositions.

also given in this verse, by alterations of the text, because Herod's temple was likewise of this width, but must understand the given dimensions to relate to external height and breadth. For in Herod's temple the holy places were but 60 cubits high and 20 wide; the holy place, 40 cubits long, 20 wide, and 60 high; the holy of holies, 20 cubits long, 20 wide, and 60 high. And we may assume that the dimensions of Zerubbabel's temple preserved the same proportions, with perhaps the modification, that the internal height did not amount to 60 cubits,—an upper storey being placed above the holy place and the holy of holies, as in Herod's temple; which would make the internal height of these places amount to only about 30 or 40 cubits.<sup>1</sup> In like manner must the 60 cubits of breadth be so divided, that the 5 cubits internal breadth of the side-buildings of Solomon's temple must be enlarged to 10, which, allowing 5 cubits of thickness for the walls, would make the entire building 60 cubits wide ( $5 + 10 + 5 + 20 + 5 + 10 + 5$ ).<sup>2</sup> The statement in ver. 4, "three layers of great stones, and a layer of new timber," is obscure. שְׁלֹשָׁה קִרְיָהּ means row, layer, and stands in the Targums for the Hebrew טִיר, "used of a layer of bricks;" see Gesen. *Thes.* p. 311, and Levy, *chald.*

<sup>1</sup> While we acknowledge it possible that the holy and most holy places, measured within, may have been only 40 cubits high, we cannot admit the objection of H. Merz, in *Herzog's Realencycl.* xv. p. 513, that 20 cubits of internal breadth is an inconceivable proportion to 60 cubits, this being the actual proportion in Herod's temple, as Merz himself states, p. 516, without finding it in this instance "inconceivable."

<sup>2</sup> The conjecture of Merz in his above-cited article, and of Bertheau, that the dimensions of Zerubbabel's temple were double those of Solomon's,—viz. the holy and most holy places 40 cubits high and 40 wide, the upper chambers 20 cubits high, the side-chambers each 10 cubits high, and the whole building 120 cubits long,—must be rejected as erroneous, by the consideration that Herod's temple was only the length of Solomon's, viz. 100 cubits, of which the holy of holies took up 20, the holy place 40, the porch 10, the additional building behind 10, and the four walls 20. For Herod would by no means have diminished the length of his building 20, or properly 40 cubits. We also see, from the above-named dimensions, that the 60 cubits broad cannot be understood of internal breadth.

*Wörterbuch*, ii. p. 93. אֶבֶן גָּלִל, stone of rolling, one that is rolled and cannot be carried, i.e. a great building stone. הָרֵת, *novus*, as an epithet to אֶץ, is remarkable, it being self-evident that new wood is generally used for a new building. The LXX. translates εἰς, reading the word הָרֵת (ver. 3). This statement involuntarily recalls the notice, 1 Kings vi. 36, that Solomon built the inner court, שָׁלֹשָׁה מִזְבְּחֵי זָהָב וְטוֹר; פֶּרְחֹת אֲזָרוֹיִם; hence Merz expresses the supposition that "this is certainly a fragment, forming the conclusion of the whole design of the building, which, like that in 1 Kings vi. 36, ends with the porch and the walls of the fore-court." Thus much only is certain, that the words are not to be understood, as by Fritzsche on 1 Esdr. vi. 25, as stating that the temple walls were built of "three layers of large stones, upon which was one layer of beams," and therefore were not massive; such kind of building never being practised in the East in old times. "And let the expenses be given out of the king's house." This is more precisely stated in ver. 8 of the royal revenues on this side the river. נִפְקָא, the expense (from נָפַק, Aphel, to expend), therefore the cost of building.—Ver. 5. "And also let the vessels . . . be restored, and brought again to the temple at Jerusalem, to their place, and (thou) shalt place them in the house of God." On the matter of this verse, comp. i. 7 and v. 14. The sing. יָהֵךְ (comp. v. 5) is distributive: it (each vessel) to its place. יִתְחַת (comp. אֵתָה v. 15) cannot, according to the sense, be third pers. fem. (neutr.), but only second pers. imperf. Aphel: thou shalt place. None but Sheshbazzar can be addressed (v. 15), though he is not named in ver. 3. The historian is evidently not giving the contents of the document word for word, but only its essential matter; hence he infers the address to Sheshbazzar from the answer of the Jewish elders (v. 15). Perhaps it was also remarked in the document, that Coresh caused the sacred vessels to be delivered to Sheshbazzar (i. 8).

Vers. 6-12. Acting upon the discovered edict, Darius warned the governor and royal officials on this side the Euphrates, not to hinder the building of the house of God

at Jerusalem. On the contrary, they were to promote it by furnishing what was necessary for the work, and paying the expenses of the building out of the royal revenues to the elders of the Jews (vers. 6–8). They were also to provide for the worship of God in this temple such animals as the priests should require for sacrifice (vers. 9, 10), under pain of severe punishment for transgressing this command as also for any injury done to the temple (vers. 11, 12). This decree was undoubtedly communicated to the governor in the form of a written answer to his inquiries (ver. 13). Without, however, expressly stating this to be the case, as ver. 1 and iv. 17 would lead us to expect, the historian gives us in ver. 6 sq. the actual contents of the royal edict, and that in the form of a direct injunction to the governor and his associates on this side the river: “Now Tatnai, governor, . . . be ye far from thence.” The suffix **וּבְנוֹתָיוֹן**, and *their* associates, is indeed unsuitable to the form of an address, of which Tatnai and Shethar-Boznai are the subjects; the narrator, however, in using it, had in mind the title or introduction of the royal letter. On its matter, comp. v. 6. **וְרָחֵק** and **וְרָחֵק**, to be far from, figuratively to keep from anything, *e.g.* from good, Ps. liii. 2. **מִן־הַמָּקוֹם**, from thence, from Jerusalem; in other words, trouble yourselves no longer, as, according to v. 3, you have done about what is being done there.—Ver. 7. “Let the work of the house of God alone.” **שִׁבְקֵהוּ** with an accusative, to leave anything, to let it go on without hindrance. “Let the Pechah of the Jews (Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel) and the elders of the Jews build this house of God in its place.” The **לְ** to **לְשָׁבִי** introduces a second subject with special emphasis: And as far as regards the elders of the Jews, *i.e.* the Pechah, and especially the elders.—Ver. 8. “And a decree is (hereby) made by me, what ye shall do to these elders of the Jews, *i.e.* how you shall behave towards them (**עָבַר עִם** = **עָשָׂה עִם**, Gen. xxiv. 12 sq.), to build this house, *i.e.* that this house may be built: namely, (**וְ** expl.) of the royal moneys, of the custom (**מִדָּה**, see remarks on iv. 13) on this side the river, let-expenses (the cost of building) be punctually given to these men, that there be no hindrance.” **וְיִיָּצֵא לְבִטְלָא**,

that there be no cessation or leisure from work, *i.e.* that the work is not to be discontinued. On the construction of the אָל with the following infinitive, comp. Dan. vi. 9. The Vulgate renders the sense correctly by *ne impediatur opus*.—Ver. 9. “And what is needful, both young bullocks and rams and lambs, for the burnt-offerings of the God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine, and oil, according to the word of the priests at Jerusalem (*i.e.* as the priests shall require for the service of God), let it be given them day by day without fail.” מָה is joined with the plur. fem. of the partic. הַשֹּׁחֵן, and is defined by the enumeration which follows. מִשֶּׁח, properly the anointing, then oil as the means of anointing. On לֶחֶם and לְחֵן, see remarks on iv. 12. דִּיּוּלָא שְׁלֵן, that there be no failure.—Ver. 10. The end the king had in view in all this follows: “That they (the priests) may offer sacrifices well-pleasing to the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and of his sons.” נִיתוּחִין (comp. Dan. ii. 46) are sacrifices agreeable to God, יֵיחַ נִיתוּחַ (Lev. i. 9, 13, and elsewhere), *i.e.* sacrifices pleasing to God. Cyrus had commanded the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, because he acknowledged the God of Israel to be the God of heaven, who had given him the kingdoms of the earth (i. 2). Darius was treading in his footsteps by also owning the God of the Jews as the God of heaven, and desiring that the blessing of this God might rest upon himself and his dynasty. Such an acknowledgment it was possible for the Persian kings to make without a renunciation of their polytheism. They could honour Jahve as a mighty, nay, as the mightiest God of heaven, without being unfaithful to the gods of their fathers; while the Jews could also, in the interest of their own welfare, pray and offer sacrifices in the temple of the LORD for the life of the king to whom God had caused them to be subject (comp. Jer. xxix. 7). Accordingly we find that in after times sacrifices were regularly offered for the king on appointed days: comp. 1 Macc. vii. 33, xii. 11; 2 Macc. iii. 35, xiii. 23; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 2. 5, and elsewhere.—Ver. 11. To inculcate obedience to his command, Darius threatens to punish its transgression with death:

“If any one alters this command, let a beam be torn from his house, and let him be fastened hanging thereon.” To alter a command means to transgress or abolish it.  $\text{עֲלֵי}$ , a piece of wood, a beam.  $\text{הִנָּח}$ , raised on high, is in Syriac the usual word for crucified, and is to be so understood here.  $\text{סָמַךְ}$ , to strike, with  $\text{עַל}$ , strike upon, fasten to, nail to. This kind of capital punishment was customary among the Assyrians (Diod. Sic. ii. 1), the ancient Persians, and many other nations, but seems to have been executed in different manners among different people. Among the Assyrians it generally consisted in the impalement of the delinquent upon a sharp strong wooden post; comp. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 355, and *Nineveh and its Remains*, p. 379, with the illustration fig. 58. According to Herod. iii. 159, Darius impaled as many as 3000 Babylonians after the capture of their city ( $\alpha\nu\epsilon\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\pi\iota\sigma\epsilon$ ). Crucifixion proper, however, *i.e.* nailing to a cross, also occurred among the Persians; it was, however, practised by nailing the body of the criminal to a cross after decapitation; see the passages from Herodotus in *Brissonii de regio Persarum princip.* l. ii. c. 215. “And let his house be made a dunghill.” See remarks on Dan. ii. 5 and 2 Kings x. 27.—Ver. 12. Finally, Darius adds the threat: “The God who has caused His name to dwell there, destroy every king and (every) people that shall stretch forth the hand to alter (this command), to destroy this house of God at Jerusalem.” The expression, “the God who has caused His name to dwell there,” is indeed specifically Israelitish (comp. Deut. xii. 11, xiv. 23; Jer. vii. 12; Neh. i. 9), and therefore undoubtedly originated with the Jewish historian; but the matter itself, the wish that God Himself would destroy him who should injure His temple, recalls the close of the inscription of Bisitun, wherein the judgments of Ahuramazda are imprecated upon him who should dare to injure the image and inscription, and his blessing invoked upon him who should respect them (Berth.).

Vers. 13–18. *The execution of the royal decree, the completion of the building, and the dedication of the new temple.*—Ver. 13. Tatnai and his associates diligently executed the

commands of Darius. "Because Darius the king sent (*i.e.* despatched to them the letter, whose contents have just been given, 6-12), they speedily acted accordingly in the manner stated" (פִּנְיָא).—Ver. 14. The elders of the Jews, moreover, built, and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai and Zachariah, who thereby effected the resumption of the work, and promised them success. פִּנְיָ is used of the rule by which, or manner in which anything is done. "They built and finished (the building) according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the command of Cyrus, Darius, and Artachshasta, kings of Persia." The naming of Artachshasta presents some difficulty; for since it is impossible to conceive that a predecessor of Darius is intended by a name which follows the name of that monarch, none but Artaxerxes Longimanus can be meant, and he did not reign till long after the completion of the temple. Cleric. and J. H. Mich. explain the mention of his name by the consideration that Artaxerxes, by his edict (vii. 15, 21), contributed to the maintenance, though not to the building, of the temple.<sup>1</sup> It may in this instance be questionable whether the name אֲרַחְשַׁשְׁתָּא was added by the author of the Chaldee section, or by Ezra when he introduced this into his book. We believe the latter to be the correct view, because the Chaldee section, to judge by the אֲרַחְשַׁשְׁתָּא, v. 4, was composed by one who lived contemporaneously with the building of the temple, while from the date of the completion of the temple to the seventh year of Artaxerxes fifty-seven years elapsed.—Ver. 15. And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar (the twelfth month), which is the sixth year of the reign of King Darius. שִׁצִּיא, according to the Keri שִׁצִּי, with the ם dropped, is the Shaphel

<sup>1</sup> "Nam etsi," remarks Calovius in J. H. Mich., *adnotatt. uber. ad h. l.*, "non ad structuram templi condukerit proprie edictum Artaxerxis, quæ Darii secundo anno incepta et sexto absoluta fuit, v. 15 ad ornamenta tamen et additamenta eam spectasse dubium non est: quæ ab ipso, ceu rege post Cyrum et Darium erga Judæos Persarum omnium benignissimo, profecta hic celebratur." Similarly but more briefly explained by Clericus.

of **שָׁפַל**, to bring a thing to an end, to finish it. The form **שִׁפְּץ** is not a participle pass. formed from the Shaphel (Gesen.), for this would be **שִׁפְּץ**, but a Hebraized passive form of the Shaphel in the meaning of the Targumistic Ishtaphal, like **הִיחִי**, Dan. iii. 13, and **הִיחִית**, Dan. vi. 18, with the active **הִיחִי**, Dan. vi. 17. In the Targums **שִׁפְּץ** has mostly an active, and only in a few passages the intransitive meaning, to end, to be at the end; comp. Levy, *chald. Wörterbuch*, s.v.<sup>1</sup>—Vers. 16, 17. The sons of Israel, more exactly the priests and the Levites, and the rest of the sons of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house of God with joy. **עָשָׂה חֲנֻכָּה** = the Hebrew **חֲנֻכָּה**, to celebrate the dedication (2 Chron. vii. 9). **בְּחֻדָּה**, Hebrew **בְּשִׁמְחָה**; see Neh. viii. 10. They brought for the dedication a hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs as burnt-offerings, and twelve he-goats for a sin-offering for all Israel, according to the number of the tribes of Israel, because the temple was intended for the entire covenant people, whose return to the Lord and to the land of their fathers, according to the predictions of the prophets, was hoped for (comp. e.g. Ezek. xxxvii. 15 sq., Jer. xxxi. 27 sq.), not, as older expositors thought, because certain families of the ten tribes, who had before settled in Judah, were also among those who returned (J. H. Mich. *ad h. l.*).—Ver. 18. At the same time, the priests and Levites were appointed, according to their classes and divisions, to the service of the temple, that they might henceforth fulfil their office, each class in its week (2 Chron. xxiii. 4; 2 Kings xi. 9). **וְהָקִימוּ** corresponds with the Hebrew **וַיַּעֲמִידוּ**, iii. 8, and elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of the "third day," which the LXX. also has, in accordance with the Hebrew text, 1 Esdr. vii. 5 gives the three-and-twentieth day of the month Adar,—a statement which Bertheau arbitrarily insists upon regarding as the original reading, because "the view that the compiler altered the third into the twenty-third day, because it seemed to him more fitting to assume an eight days' celebration of the dedication (comp. 1 Kings viii. 60, 2 Chron. xxix. 18), and to fill up therewith also the eight last days of the year, is rather far-fetched." Such a view, however, would be entirely consistent with the whole spirit of 1 Esdras.



As Bertheau justly remarks, "The services of public worship, which after the completion of the temple were to be performed by the priests and Levites, according to ancient ordinance, are here spoken of." With these words the Chaldee section closes.

Vers. 19-22. *Celebration of the feast of the passover, and of the feast of unleavened bread*, in the year following the dedication, as an historical testimony to the fact that the worship of God with its festivals was regularly carried on in the new temple.—Ver. 19. The feast of the passover, on the fourteenth day of the first month, took place only a few weeks after the dedication of the temple. The reason given in ver. 20—for the priests and Levites had purified themselves without exception (כִּי־הִטְהָרוּ, like iii. 9); they were all clean, and they killed the passover for all the sons of the captivity (*i.e.* the laity who had returned from exile), and for their brethren the priests, and for themselves—has in this connection the meaning: Then the congregation celebrated the passover, and they were able to keep and to eat the passover, because the priests had purified themselves that they might be qualified for performing the office incumbent upon them of sprinkling the blood; and the Levites were also clean, that they might be able to kill the lambs for the whole congregation (comp. the remarks on 2 Chron. xxx. 17, etc., and xxxv. 11, 14). From the days of Josiah, it seems to have been customary for the Levites to take the place of the heads of families (Ex. xii. 6, etc.) in slaughtering the passover lambs for the whole community, both priesthood and laity: for the laity, that no person who was unclean might kill the paschal lamb; for the priests, that their labours might be lightened, the sprinkling of blood and the offering of sacrifices occupying them far into the night (2 Chron. xxxv. 11, 14, 15). And this custom was followed at this time also. The priests are called כֹּהֲנֵי־לֵוִי, brethren of the Levites, as in 2 Chron. xxix. 34, xxxv. 15.—Ver. 21. Thus the sons of Israel who had returned from captivity, and all that had separated themselves unto them from the uncleanness of the heathen of

the country to seek Jahve the God of Israel, could eat the passover. עַמֵּי הָאֶרֶץ = גוֹיֵי הָאֶרֶץ, x. 2, 11, are the heathen races dwelling in Palestine. The expression is not essentially different from עַמֵּי הָאֶרֶצוֹת, ix. 1 sq., iii. 3, and is only distinguishable therefrom, inasmuch as the latter appellation includes not merely the heathen inhabitants of Palestine, but also the heathen of other lands, as the Moabites, Ammonites, Egyptians, etc. (ix. 1 sq.). Those who had separated themselves from the uncleanness of the heathen to them (the Jews) to seek Jahve, are not proselytes from heathenism (Aben Ezra, Rashi, Clericus, and others), but Israelites, who had till now lived in Palestine, and mingled with the heathen inhabitants of the land. They were descended from those Israelites whom the kings of Assyria and Babylon had not carried away from the realms of Israel and Judah, and who with respect to religion had combined heathenism and the worship of Jahve (2 Kings xvii. 32, etc.), and thus defiled themselves with heathen impurity, but who now, after the erection of the temple, joined themselves to the new community, for the purpose of worshipping with them the God of their fathers in His temple, according to the law of Moses. For, as Bertheau rightly remarks, "in the days of Ezra the princes of the new community complain that the laity, the priests, and Levites do not separate from the people of the lands (ix. 1); reference is made to the dangers which threaten the Israelites, because they dwell in the holy land among the unclean (ix. 10). To separate from the uncleanness of the nations means to renounce intermarriage and other connection with them, x. 2, 10. They are Israelites who are summoned, x. 11, to separate from the peoples of the land; the seed of Israel is, in Neh. ix. 2, separated from the sons of the stranger, and in Neh. x. 29 they who separate from them are evidently Israelites, for, when they bind themselves to walk according to the law of God, they are said to join their brethren, *i.e.* their fellow-countrymen." Hence in this passage also we cannot but regard those who separated themselves as Israelites, dissolving their connection

with the heathen for the sake of the God of Israel.—Ver. 22. Hereupon they kept the feast of unleavened bread for seven days with joy; for the Lord had made them joyful, and turned to them (*i.e.* had made them joyful by turning to them) the heart of the king of Assyria. With regard to the expression, comp. 2 Chron. xx. 27, Neh. xii. 43. The king of *Assur* is the Persian king Darius, who as ruler of the former realm of Assyria is thus designated. The turning of this king's heart to them consisted in this, that their hands were strengthened for the work of the house of God, *i.e.* that through the goodwill of the king they were enabled to complete the building of their temple, and to restore the worship of the God of Israel. On חִיָּה בִּירֵיָהֶם, comp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 19.

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## II.—THE RETURN OF EZRA THE SCRIBE FROM BABYLON TO JERUSALEM, AND HIS ENTRY UPON HIS OFFICIAL DUTIES THERE.—CHAP. VII.—X.

In the seventh year of the reign of King Artaxerxes Longimanus, Ezra the priest and scribe returned with certain priests, Levites, and other Israelites from Babylon to Jerusalem, furnished with a royal commission to provide for the worship of God, and the observance of the law, according to the ordinance of God, by the community, chap. vii. and viii. This mission he began to execute by sending away such heathen women as were married to Israelites.

### CHAP. VII.—EZRA'S RETURN AND COMMISSION.

Vers. 1-10 form the introduction to the narrative which follows of Ezra's return to Jerusalem and his ministry there, and speak in general terms of himself and his arrival at Jerusalem with a band of exiles. They are followed, vers. 11-26, by a copy of the royal commission, and a thanks-

giving, vers. 27, 28, on the part of Ezra, for the mercy of God bestowed upon him.

Vers. 1-6. What follows is slightly combined with the former occurrences by the formula "after these things," without any more exact chronological definition; comp. Gen. xv. 1, xxii. 1, and elsewhere. Between the dedication of the temple in the sixth year of Darius and the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem, a period of fifty-seven years had elapsed. "In the reign of Artachshasta king of Persia, went up Ezra," etc. The verb of the subject עָזְרָא does not follow till ver. 6, where, after the interposition of the long genealogy, vers. 1-5, the distant subject is again taken up in הָיָא עָזְרָא. It is all but universally agreed that Artaxerxes Longimanus is intended by אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׁטָא; the explanation of this appellation as Xerxes in Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 5. 1, for which Fritzsche (on 1 Esdr. viii. 1) has recently decided, being a mere conjecture on the part of that not very critical historian. The fact that the Artachshasta of the book of Nehemiah (i. 1, v. 14, xiii. 6) can be no other than Artaxerxes, is decisive of this point: for in Neh. xiii. 6 the thirty-second year of Artachshasta is mentioned; while according to Neh. viii. 9, xii. 26, 36, Ezra and Nehemiah jointly exercised their respective offices at Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> Ezra is called Ben Seraiah, whose pedigree is traced to Eleazar the son of Aaron; Seraiah the son of Azariah, the son of Hilkiah, was the father of Josedec the high priest carried into captivity (1 Chron. v. 40, etc.), and was himself the high priest whom Nebuchadnezzar slew at Riblah (2 Kings xxv. 18-21). Between the execution of Seraiah in the year 588 and the return of Ezra from Babylon in 458 B.C., there is a period of 130 years. Hence Ezra could have been neither the son nor grandson of Seraiah, but only his great or great-great-grandson. When we consider that Joshua, or Jeshua (ii. 2), the high priest who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel, was the grandson of Seraiah, we cannot but

<sup>1</sup> Very superficial are the arguments, and indeed the whole pamphlet, *Etude Chronologique des livres d'Esdras et de Néhémie*, Paris 1868, p. 40, etc., by which F. de Saulcy tries to show that the Artachshasta of Ezra vii. and of Nehemiah is Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon).

regard Ezra, who returned thence 78 years later, as a great-great-grandson of Seraiah. Moreover, we are justified in inferring from the fact that Ezra is not, like Joshua, designated as Ben Josedech, that he did not descend from *that* line of Seraiah in which the high-priestly dignity was hereditary, but from a younger son, and hence that his immediate ancestors were not (though his forefathers from Seraiah upwards were) of high-priestly descent. Hence the names of Ezra's ancestors from Seraiah up to Aaron (vers. 1-5) agree also with the genealogy of the high-priestly race (1 Chron. v. 30-40), with the *one* deviation that in ver. 3, between Azariah and Meraioth, six members are passed over, as is frequently the case in the longer genealogies, for the sake of shortening the list of names.—In ver. 6 Ezra, for the sake of at once alluding to the nature of his office, is designated 'סופר מִהֵי־בֵית, a scribe skilful in the law of Moses. The word סופר means in older works writer or secretary; but even so early as Jer. viii. 8 the lying pen of the סֹפֵרִים is spoken of, and here therefore סופר has already attained the meaning of one learned in the Scripture, one who has made the written law a subject of investigation. Ezra is, however, the first of whom the predicate הַסֹּפֵר, ὁ γραμματεὺς, is used as a title. He is so called also in the letter of Artaxerxes (ver. 11), because he is said (ver. 9) to have applied his heart to seek out and to do the law of the LORD, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgment, *i.e.* because he had made the investigation of the law, for the sake of introducing the practice of the same among the congregation, his life-task; and the king granted him all his desire, according to the hand of the LORD his God upon him. The peculiar expression יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו עִלָּיו, which is found only here and in vers 9, 28, viii. 18, Neh. ii. 8, 18, and in a slightly altered guise in Ezra viii. 22, 31, "according to the good hand of his God, which was over him," means: according to the divine favour or divine care arranging for him; for the hand of God is הַטּוֹבָה, the good (ver. 9, and viii. 18), or לְטוֹבָה, viii. 22. בְּקִשָּׁה, the desire, request, demand, occurs only here and in the book of Esther. —Ver. 7. With Ezra went up a number of Israelites, priests,

and Levites. **מִן** partitive: a part of the whole. That they went up with Ezra appears from the context, and is expressly stated both in the royal edict (ver. 13) and in the further description of the expedition (ver. 28, viii. 1). They went up in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, and reached Jerusalem in the fifth month of that year.—In ver. 8 Ezra is again, as in ver. 6, the subject of the sentence; the intervening seventh verse being really only in apposition with ver. 6.—In ver. 9 the time occupied by the journey is more precisely defined; **בַּיּוֹם** is explanatory. Namely, on the first day of the first month, he had appointed the journey from Babylon, etc. The Keri **הָיָה יָסֵד** can only mean, *ipsum erat fundamentum projectionis*, as J. H. Mich. after R. Sal. explains it, for **יָסֵד** is pointed as the construct state. The departure of the expedition from the place of meeting occurred, according to viii. 31, on the twelfth day of the first month. Since, however, they encamped three days there, making the final preparations for their journey, eleven days might easily elapse between the period when the whole caravan had assembled, and the day of actual departure. The Keri offers no appropriate signification; for since **הָיָה** can only be taken for the subject, and **יָסֵד הָיָה** for the predicate, the sentence would contain an anacoluthon. To translate **הָיָה** by *ipsum* cannot be justified by the usages of the language, for there is no such emphasis on **יָסֵד** as to cause **הָיָה** to be regarded as an emphatic reference to the following noun. **יָסֵד** must be pointed **יָסֵד** or **יָסַד**, as the third pers. perf. Kal or Piel, meaning to arrange, to appoint, and **הָיָה** referred to Ezra. On **בְּיַד אֱלֹהָיו הַטּוֹבָה**, comp. ver. 6. The hand of his God graciously arranged for him, for he had prepared his heart to seek and to do the law of Jahve, *i.e.* to make the law of God his rule of action. **הָכִין לָבֹוֹ**, like 2 Chron. xii. 14, xix. 3, xxx. 19. To teach in Israel statutes and judgments, as both are prescribed in the law of God.

Vers. 11–28. *The commission given by Artachshasta to Ezra (vers. 11–26), with a short postscript by Ezra (vers. 27 and 28).*—Ver. 11. The introductory title, “This is the copy of the letter.” On **פְּרָשָׁן**, comp. iv. 11, and on **נִשְׁתָּן**,

iv. 7. Ezra is here, as also in the letter itself, vers. 12, 21, and in Neh. viii. 9, xii. 26, called only **הַכֹּהֵן הַסּוֹפֵר**, the priest, the scribe; in other places we find merely one title or the other: either the priest, x. 10, 16, Neh. viii. 2; or the scribe, Neh. viii. 4, 13, xii. 36. To designate him according to his rank, as the priest, seems to have subsequently become more customary; hence in the first book of Esdras he is constantly called **ὁ ἱερεύς**. **הַסּוֹפֵר** is explained by the addition **סֹפֵר דְּבָרַי וְגו'**, scribe of the words of the law of Jahve and of His statutes to Israel, *i.e.* the scribe, whose investigations referred to the law of God. More briefly in vers. 12 and 21: scribe of the law.—Ver. 12, etc. The letter containing the royal commission is given in the Chaldee original. It is questionable what explanation must be given to **בְּמִיר** in the title. If it were the adjective belonging to **סֹפֵר דְּרֵא**, we should expect the emphatic state **בְּמִירָא**. Hence Bertheau combines it with the following **וּבְעֵנָה** as an abbreviation, “completeness, etc.,” which would signify that in the royal commission itself this introductory formula would be found fully given, and that all the words here missing are represented by **וּבְעֵנָה**. This would be, at all events, an extremely strange expression. We incline to regard **בְּמִיר** as an adverb used adjectively: To the scribe in the law of God perfectly, for the perfect scribe, etc., corresponding with the translation of the Vulgate, *doctissimo*. The commission begins with an order that those Israelites who desire to go to Jerusalem should depart with Ezra, because the king and his seven counsellors send him to order matters in Judah and Jerusalem according to the law of God, and to carry thither presents and free-will offerings as a contribution towards the sacrifices, and other matters necessary for the worship of God, vers. 13-19. “By me is commandment given,” as in vi. 8. **בְּלִמְתִּיב . . . לְמִתָּה**: Every one of the people of Israel in my kingdom, who shows himself willing to go up to Jerusalem, let him go up with thee. On **וְהָ** and the infin. **מִתָּה**, comp. v. 5.—Ver. 14. “Forasmuch as thou (art) sent by the king and his seven counsellors to inquire (to institute an inquiry) concerning Judah and Jerusalem, accord-

ing to the law of thy God, which is in thy hand," *i.e.* which thou handlest or possessest and understandest. The seven counsellors of the king formed the supreme court of the realm; see remarks on Esth. i. 14. It is obvious from the context that שְׁלִיחַ must be completed by אֶת־עֲזָרָה, for it is evidently Ezra who is addressed both in what precedes and follows. בִּקְרָה עַל, to inquire concerning (the condition of) Judah, *i.e.* concerning the religious and civil relations of the Jewish community, to arrange them in conformity with the divine law.—Ver. 15, etc. "To carry the silver and gold which the king and his counsellors have freely offered to the God of Israel, whose habitation is at Jerusalem, and all the silver and gold which thou shalt obtain in all the province of Babylon, with the free-will offering of the people and the priests, willingly offering for the house of their God at Jerusalem." Three kinds of offerings for the temple are here spoken of: 1st, the gifts of the king and his counsellors for the service of the God of Israel; 2d, the gold and the silver that Ezra should obtain in the province of Babylon, *i.e.* by the collection which he was consequently empowered to make among the non-Israelite population of Babylon; 3d, the free-will offerings of his fellow-countrymen. הַתְּנוּבוֹת is an abstract formed from the infin. Hithpael: the freely given. The participle מְתַנְּבוֹת (not in the *stat. emph.*, *i.e.* without an article) is but slightly connected, in the sense of, if they, or what they, may freely offer.—Vers. 17–19. The application of these contributions. בְּלִקְבֹּל יָנָה, for this very reason, *sc.* because furnished by the king and his counsellors, and by the heathen and Israelite inhabitants of Babylon, thou shalt diligently buy with this money bullocks, rams, lambs, with their meat-offerings and their drink-offerings (the meat and drink offerings pertaining by the law, Num. xv. 1, etc., to the sacrifices), and offer them upon the altar . . . The Pael תִּקְרֹב instead of the Aphel, vi. 10, 17. The distribution and collection were thus chiefly destined for the support of public worship, but were larger and more abundant than was necessary for this purpose. Hence the further injunction, ver. 18: "And whatsoever shall seem good to



thee and to thy brethren to do with the rest of the gold and the silver, that do after the will of your God," *i.e.* according to the precept of the law in which the will of God is expressed. "Thy brethren" are the priests, to whom was committed the care of the temple and its worship.—Ver. 19. The gold and silver vessels, moreover, which, according to viii. 25-27, the king and his counsellors, and the princes and all Israel, presented for the service of the house of God, he is to deliver before the God at Jerusalem (an abbreviated expression for the God whose dwelling is at Jerusalem). The noun פְּלִיטָה, only here and in the Targums, in the Syriac פְּלִיטָה, the service, corresponds with the Hebrew שְׂלֵם עֲבוֹדָה in the Aphel, to complete, to make full, then to deliver entirely, to consign.—Ver. 20. Ezra is to defray the expenses of all other things necessary for the temple from the royal treasury, on which account a royal order is despatched to the treasurer on this side the river. "And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou shalt have occasion to give" (*i.e.* whatever necessary expenses shall be incurred which cannot be determined beforehand), and for which the gifts and contributions already furnished to Ezra shall not suffice, he is to give, *i.e.* to defray, out of the house of the king's treasures, *i.e.* the royal treasury. For this purpose Artaxerxes commands all the treasurers on this side the river, that whatsoever Ezra shall require of them shall be immediately done. וְעַתָּה is an emphatic repetition of the pronoun, as in Dan. vii. 15, and frequently in Hebrew.—Ver. 22. Unto one hundred talents of silver, one hundred cors of wheat, one hundred baths of wine, one hundred baths of oil, and salt without prescription, *i.e.* as much as is needed. Cor had already become, even in Hebrew, the later word for chomer, *e.g.* 1 Kings v. 2, Ezek. xlv. 14. It was equal to ten ephahs or baths, almost two sheffels; see my *bibl. Archäol.* ii. § 126. The command closes with the injunction, ver. 23: Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, *i.e.* whatever is needful according to the law for the service of God, let it be completely done for the

house of the God of heaven; for why should the wrath of heaven come upon the realm of the king and of his sons? The ἀπ' αὐτοῦ is derived from the Aryan, but is not to be regarded (as by Hitzig and Bertheau) as compounded of אָרַר and אָרָא; but probably (as by Haug in Ewald's *bibl.*

*Jahrb.* v. p. 152) as formed of the Persian *دورست*, *dorest*,

with א prosthetic, from the Zend root *doreg*, to grow, to flourish, to become firm, in the meaning of perfect in all parts, exact. The motive of the royal order, that the priests may offer acceptable offerings to the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and of his sons, recalls vi. 10. On the formula לָמָּהּ דָּי לָמָּהּ, for why should wrath come, comp. iv. 22.—Ver. 24. The priests, the Levites, and all the servants of the temple, are also to be free from all customs and taxes. וְלָכֶם מְהֻדָּעִין, we also make known to you (it is made known to you). These words also are addressed to the treasurers, as levyers of taxes on this side the river. That, with regard to all priests, . . . and (other) ministers of this house of God, it shall not be lawful to impose upon them toll, tribute, or custom. The פְּלִיטֵי בֵּית אֱלֹהִים are not worshippers in the house of God, but they who do service in the house of God. The expression comprises any servants of the temple who might have been omitted in the classes enumerated. On מִיִּנְהָ בָּלוּ וְגו', comp. iv. 13. לֹא שָׁלִיט, (any one) has no right, with an infinitive following: it is allowed to no one to do. מִרְמָא from רָמָא, Targ. for שִׁים. On this matter, compare Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 3. 3, according to which Antiochus the Great freed the priests and Levites from taxation.—Ver. 25, etc. Finally, Ezra is empowered to appoint over his whole people (all the Jews) on this side the river, judges who know the law of God, and to inflict severe penalties upon those who transgress it.—Ver. 25. "Thou, Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God which is in thy hand (בִּידֶךָ like ver. 14), set magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people that are on this side the river, namely all such as know the laws of thy God, and teach ye them that know them not." The form מְנִי is imper. Pael for

כִּי, the A sound probably passing in rapid speech into the flatter E sound. "All the people on this side the river" is limited to Israelites or Jews by the further particulars, "who know the law of thy God," etc. These are to receive from Ezra judges, viz. such as are acquainted with the law, *i.e.* Israelite judges, and thus to be placed under the jurisdiction established at Jerusalem. The sentence, "and they who know it (the law) not, then teach ye, make them acquainted with it," does not refer to the heathen, but to born Israelites or Jews, who, living among the heathen, had not hitherto made the Mosaic law the rule of their lives. Such were the judges to constrain to the observance and obedience of the law.—Ver. 26. But whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let a court be speedily (מִנִּיחָה) held on his account (*i.e.* let him be brought to justice, and punished). This, too, applies chiefly to such as were Israelites born. The law of the king is the present edict, the commission therein entrusted to Ezra: whoever opposes, neglects, or transgresses it, shall be condemned, whether to death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment. הָן ... הָן = the Hebrew אָם ... אָם = *sive ... sive*. שָׁרֵשׁ (Keri שְׁרֵשׁ), rooting out (from שָׁרַשׁ, to root out), *i.e.* banishment, *exilium* (Vulg.), not *παῖδela* (LXX.).

Vers. 27 and 28. This royal commission granted to the Jews all they could possibly desire from the heathen governors of the country, for the establishment and furtherance of their civil and religious polity. By granting these privileges, Artaxerxes was not only treading in the footsteps of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes, but even going beyond these princes in granting to the Jews a jurisdiction of their own. Without a magistrate who was one of themselves, the Jewish community could not well prosper in their own land; for the social and religious life of Israel were so closely connected, that heathen magistrates, however well-intentioned, were incapable of exercising a beneficial influence upon the welfare of the Jews. Hence Ezra, having thus reported the royal commission, adds a thanksgiving to God for having put such a thing into the king's heart, namely,

to beautify the house of the Lord, and for having granted him favour before the king and his counsellors. The sentence *וַעֲלֵי הַמֶּזֶה* is a continuation of the preceding infinitive sentence in the *tempus finit*. לְ before *כָּל-שָׂרֵי* is the לְ comprehensive. Ezra names the beautifying of the house of God as the occasion of his thanksgiving, not only because this formed the chief matter of the royal favour, but also because the re-establishment of divine worship was the re-establishment of the moral and religious life of the community. "And I felt myself strengthened, and gathered together (so that I gathered together) the heads of Israel to go up with me (to Jerusalem)." Ezra assembled the heads, *i.e.* of houses, as fellow-travellers, because their decision would be a rule for the families at the head of which they stood. With their heads, the several races and families determined to return to the land of their fathers.

CHAP. VIII.—LIST OF THOSE HEADS OF HOUSES WHO RETURNED WITH EZRA, AND ACCOUNT OF THE JOURNEY.

Vers. 1-14. *A list of those heads of houses who returned with Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem.* Compare the parallel list, 1 Esdr. viii. 28-40.—Ver. 1. The title: "These are the heads of the houses, and (this is) their genealogy, who went up with me." *רָאִשֵׁי בֵית-אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם* for *רָאִשֵׁי אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם*, as frequently. *וְהִתְיַחֲשָׁם*, "and their genealogy," is added, because in the list following the heads of the different houses are not merely enumerated according to their own names, but the names of the races to which they belonged are also stated.—Ver. 2. Priests and descendants of David. Of priests, Gershom of the sons of Phinehas, and Daniel of the sons of Ithamar. Gershom and Daniel are the names of heads of priestly houses, and "sons of Phinehas and sons of Ithamar" designations of races. Phinehas was the son of the high priest Eleazar, the son of Aaron, and Ithamar a younger son of Aaron, 1 Chron. v. 30 and 29. This does not signify that only the two priests Gershom and Daniel went up with Ezra; for in ver. 24 he chose twelve from

among the chief of the priests, who went up with him, to have charge of the gifts (Bertheau). The meaning is, that Gershom and Daniel, two heads of priestly houses, went up, and that the house of Gershom belonged to the race of Phinehas, and that of Daniel to the race of Ithamar. A Daniel is named among the priests in Neh. x. 7, but whether he is identical with the Daniel in question does not appear. Of the sons (descendants) of David (the king), Hattush, as head of a house. A Hattush, son of Hashabniah, occurs Neh. iii. 10, and a priest of this name Neh. x. 5 and xii. 2. Hattush also holds the first place among the sons of Shemaiah enumerated 1 Chron. iii. 22, who probably were among the descendants of David. It seems strange that the numbers neither of the priests nor of the sons of David who went up with Ezra should be given, since from ver. 3 onwards, in the case of the houses of lay races, the numbers of those who returned to the home of their ancestors is regularly stated.—Vers. 3-14. Twelve lay houses are named both in the present text and in 1 Esdr. viii. 30-40. In ten cases the names of the races, which are uniformly introduced with מִבְּנֵי, are identical in both texts, viz. Parosh, Pahath-Moab, Adin, Elam, Shephatiah, Joab, Bebai, Azgad, Adonikam, and Bigvai. On the other hand, it appears surprising, 1st, that in the first house mentioned, before the name זְבַרְיָה, besides “of the sons of Parosh,” we have also מִבְּנֵי שְׁבַנְיָה (ver. 3), while before all the other names we find only “of the sons of” one individual; 2dly, that in ver. 5, after שְׁבַנְיָה, instead of a name of the head of a house, only Ben Jahaziel follows; 3dly, that in ver. 10 also, after יִמְכַּנִּי שְׁלֹמִיָּת, we have merely Ben Josiphiah, the names themselves being apparently omitted in these two last cases. This conjecture is corroborated by a comparison with the LXX. and 1 Esdr. viii., which shows, moreover, that it is not the personal name of the head of the house, but the name of the race, which has been lost. For מבני שבניה בן יהויאל, ver. 5, we find in the LXX. ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ζαθόνης Ζεχενίας υἱὸς Ἀζιήλ, and in 1 Esdr. viii. 32, ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ζαθόνης Σεχενίας Ἰεζήλου;

and for *וּמִבְנֵי שְׁלֹמִיָּת בֶּן יוֹסֶפֶה*, ver. 10, in the LXX. *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Βαανὶ Σελιμουθ υἱὸς Ἰωσεφία*, and in 1 Esdr. viii. 36, *ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Βανίας Σαλιμῶθ Ἰωσαφίου*. In *Ζαθόης* and *Βαανί* (*Βανίας*) we recognise *וְתַנִּי* and *בְּנֵי* of Ezra ii. 8 and 10. Hence the text of ver. 5 needs emendation, and should run *וּמִבְנֵי שְׁלֹמִיָּת וְתַנִּי מִבְּנֵי*, and that of ver. 10, *וּמִבְנֵי בְנֵי שְׁלֹמִיָּת*. It is more difficult to decide concerning *וּמִבְנֵי שְׁלֹמִיָּת* of ver. 3, though undoubtedly we have here too a corruption of the text. For, first, there is no other instance in the whole list of the sons of two men being cited before the proper name of the house; and then, too, the absence of the *ו* copulative before *וְתַנִּי מִבְּנֵי* is opposed to the notion that the house of Zechariah was formed by a union of the sons of Shecaniah and Parosh, since in this case the *and* could not be omitted. It is true that we have in the LXX. *ἀπὸ υἱῶν Σαχανία καὶ ἀπὸ υἱῶν Φόρος*; but in this case the *καὶ* is certainly derived from the translator, who was thus seeking to make sense of the words. In 1 Esdr. viii. we read *Λαττοὺς τοῦ Σεχευλίου*; and *Λαττοὺς* corresponding with *לְטוֹשׁ*, the words *בְּנֵי שְׁכַנְיָה* (or *בֶּן*) are taken into the preceding verse. This treatment of the words Bertheau considers correct, because Hattush in 1 Chron. iii. 22 is reckoned among the descendants of Shecaniah. This conjecture is, however, a very doubtful one. For, first, in 1 Chron. iii. 22 Hattush is said to be of the sons of Shemaiah, and Shemaiah of the sons of Shecaniah; then we should as little expect any further statement in the case of Hattush as in the cases of Daniel and Gershom; and further, if he had been thus more precisely designated by naming his father, we should undoubtedly read *וּבְנֵי שְׁכַנְיָה בֶּן*, not *וְתַנִּי מִבְּנֵי*, and thus the Masoretic text would at any rate be incorrect; and finally, 1 Esdras, where it differs from the LXX., is, generally speaking, no critical authority upon which to base safe conclusions. Under these circumstances, we must give up the hope of restoring the original text, and explaining the words *וּמִבְנֵי שְׁכַנְיָה*. עִפּוֹ הָתַיִחַשׁ, “and with Zechariah, his genealogy of 150 males,” i.e. with him his race, consisting of 150 males, registered in the genealogy of the race. In the

case of the names which follow, the number only is given after the briefer expression עָמָו.

A review, then, of the twelve races, according to the restoration of the original text in vers. 5 and 10, presents us with names already occurring in the list of the races who came from Babylon with Zerubbabel, ii. 3-15, with the exception of the sons of Joab, ver. 9, who are wanting in chap. ii., where, on the other hand, several other races are enumerated. Bertheau seeks to identify the sons of Joab, ver. 9, with the sons of Joab who in ii. 6 are reckoned with the sons of Pahath-Moab, and to explain their special enumeration in the present list, by the conjecture that the one house subsequently separated into the two houses of Pahath-Moab and Joab. This is, indeed, possible; but it is quite as probable that only one portion or branch of the sons (descendants) of Joab was combined with the race of the sons of Pahath-Moab, and that the rest of the *bone Joab* formed a separate house, no family of which returned with Zerubbabel. The occurrence of the other races in both lists is to be explained by the circumstance that portions of them returned with Zerubbabel, and that the rest did not follow till Ezra's departure.—Ver. 13. The addition אֲחֵרִינִים, last (comp. 2 Sam. xix. 12), is thus explained by J. H. Mich.: *respectu eorum qui primum cum Zorobabele sub Cyro in patriam redierunt c. ii. 13.* Bertheau, however, considers this explanation untenable, because אֲחֵרִינִים stands in the present series only with the sons of Adonikam, while it is nevertheless certain, that many families belonging also to other races than this had returned with Zerubbabel, in comparison with whom all who returned with Ezra might be called *last*. This reason, however, is not conclusive; for in ver. 13 the further statement also differs, both in form and matter, from those in the former verses. Here, instead of the name of the head of the house, we read the words "last, and these their names;" whereupon three names are given, and not till then וְעִמָּהֶם וְנִי, "and with them sixty males." Here, then, it is not the head of the house who is named, but in his place three heads of families, amounting together

to sixty males. Now, as these three families did not form a house, these sixty sons of Adonikam who returned with Ezra are, with regard to the six hundred and sixty-six sons of Adonikam who returned with Zerubbabel, designated the last, or last arrived, and thus comprised with them as one house.—Ver. 14. Of the sons of Bigvai also two heads are named, Uthai and Zabbud, and with them seventy males. In 1 Esdr. viii. 40, the names Uthai and Zabbud are corrupted into *Οὐθὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἰσταλκούρου*. The total number of individuals belonging to these twelve races, who returned with Ezra, amounts, according to the Hebrew text, to 1496 males and fifteen heads; according to 1 Esdras, to 1690 males, and the thirteen heads of the twelve races, without reckoning the priests and sons of David, whose numbers are not stated.

Vers. 15–36. *Account of the journey*.—Vers. 15–20. The assembling of the expedition. When the Israelites who were about to return to Jerusalem had assembled, and were ready for starting, Ezra perceived that there were no Levites among them. He then sent for certain chief men among them, and by means of the influence of Iddo, the chief at the place Casiphia, induced a number of Levites and Nethinim to determine on joining the expedition (vers. 15–20). He then proclaimed a fast at the place of meeting, for the purpose of supplicating God to grant them a prosperous journey (vers. 21–23). — Ver. 15. The travellers assembled at the river Ahava, where they encamped three days. In ver. 15 the river is designated *הַבְּאֵר אֶל־אֲחָיָה*, *i.e.* either which comes (flows) towards Ahava, or flows into Ahava; in ver. 21 it is more briefly called *נָהָר אֲחָיָה*, and in ver. 31 *נָהָר אֲחָיָה*, which may mean the river of Ahava, of the region or district called Ahava, or, after the analogy of *נָהָר פְּרָת*, merely the river of the name of Ahava. It is doubtful which of these meanings is correct, the name Ahava being still unexplained. Comp. the various conjectures in A. G. F. Schirmer, *observationes exeg. crit. in libr. Esdræ*, Vratisl. 1820, p. 28 sqq. The connection points to a place or district in the neighbourhood of Babylon;



hence Bertheau is inclined to regard Ahava as a tributary or canal of the Euphrates, flowing through a place, perhaps only a field or open space, of the same name, in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon; while Ewald supposes it may be the river somewhat to the west or south of Euphrates, called by the Greeks Pallacopas, whose situation would suit the context, and whose name might arise from פלג אהוה, the river Ahwa or Aba. The LXX. gives the name *Eúi*; in 1 Esdr. viii. 40 and 61 we find *Θερά*, evidently a false reading. Josephus says quite generally, εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου. —When Ezra, during the three days' encampment at this place, directed his attention to the people and the priests (הַכֹּהֲנִים, to give heed, Neh. xiii. 7, Dan. ix. 23, and elsewhere), he found no Levites among those who had assembled. Ver. 16. He then sent several chief men to Iddo, the chief man in the place Casiphia, to beg him and his brethren to bring him servants for the house of God. The LXX. translates לְאֶשְׁלֶחָהּ, "I sent to (or for) Eliezer," etc., which would mean to fetch them: "that I might then send them to Iddo." The Vulgate, on the other hand, and many expositors, understand לְ as *nota accus.*, like 2 Chron. xvii. 7, which is simpler. Of the nine men here designated as רָאשִׁים, the names of Eliezer, Shemaiah, Jarib, Nathan, Zechariah, and Meshullam occur again in x. 15, 18-31, though we cannot certainly infer the identity of those who bear them. The appellation רָאשִׁים does not determine whether they belonged to the priesthood or laity. The two remaining are called מְבַיְנִים, teachers; comp. Neh. viii. 7, 9, 1 Chron. xv. 22, xxv. 8, and elsewhere. Although this word is, in the passages cited, used of Levites, yet we cannot suppose those here named to have been teaching Levites, because, according to ver. 16, there were as yet no Levites amongst the assemblage; hence, too, they could not be teachers properly so called, but only men of wisdom and understanding. The Chethiv וְאֶצְאָה must be read וְאֶצְאָהּ: I sent them to (עַל, according to later usage, for לְ); the Keri is וְאֶצְאָה, I despatched, sent them. Both readings suit the sense. The place Casiphia is entirely unknown, but cannot have been far from the river Ahava.

Caspia, the region of the Caspian Sea, is out of the question, being far too remote. "I put words in their mouth to speak to Iddo," *i.e.* I told them exactly what they should say to Iddo; comp. 2 Sam. xiv. 3, 19. The words אִדּוֹ אֶחָיו הַנְּתִינִים give no intelligible meaning; for אֶחָיו we must, with the Vulgate, 1 Esdras, and others, read יְאֶחָיו: to Iddo and his brethren, the Nethinim, at the place Casiphia. This would seem to say that Iddo was one of the Nethinim. Such an inference is not, however, a necessary one; for the expression may also, like "Zadok the (high) priest and his brethren, the (ordinary) priests," 1 Chron. xvi. 39, be understood to mean that Iddo, the chief man of that place, was a Levite, and that the Nethinim were, as a lower order of temple servants, called brethren of Iddo the Levite. The circumstance that not only Nethinim, but also Levites, were induced by Iddo to join the expedition (8-20), requires us thus to understand the words. מְשֻׁרְתִּים לְבֵית אֵל, servants for the house of God, are Levites and Nethinim, the upper and lower orders of temple ministers. From ver. 17 it appears that both Levites and Nethinim had settled in the place Casiphia, and that Iddo, as the chief man of the place, held an influential position among them. No further inferences, however, concerning their settlement and employment can be drawn from this circumstance.—Vers. 18 and 19. The delegates sent to Iddo succeeded, through the gracious assistance of God (בְּיַד אֵל, see vii. 6), in inducing forty Levites, and two hundred and twenty Nethinim, by means of Iddo's influence, to join their fellow-countrymen in their journey to Jerusalem. They brought to us . . . אִישׁ שָׂבֵל and עָלָיו refer to Ezra and his fellow-travellers. אִישׁ שָׂבֵל, a man of understanding, seems to be a proper name, being joined to Sherebiah, the name following, by a ו copulative. He was one of the descendants of Mahli, the son, *i.e.* grandson, of Levi the son of Israel, *i.e.* Jacob: comp. Ex. vi. 16, 19, 1 Chron. vi. 4. Sherebiah occurs again in ver. 24, and Neh. viii. 7, ix. 4, etc., x. 13, xii. 24. The Levite Hashabiah, ver. 19, is also named again, ver. 24, Neh. x. 2, and xii. 24 · while the name of the Levite Jeshaiah, on the

contrary, is not again met with in the books of either Ezra or Nehemiah.—Ver. 20. With respect to the Nethinim, whom David and the princes (of Israel) had given for the service of the Levites (*i.e.* made servants of the temple, to perform the lowest offices for the Levites), comp. Josh. ix. 21 and Ezra ii. 43. “They all were distinguished by name,” *i.e.* were men of note; comp. remarks on 1 Chron. xii. 31.

Vers. 21-30. The last preparations for the journey.—Ver. 21. When the company of fellow-travellers was thus completed, Ezra proclaimed a fast at the place of meeting at the river Ahava, “that we might humble ourselves before our God, to seek of Him a prosperous journey for ourselves, our families, and our goods.” Fasting, as a means of humbling themselves before God, for the purpose of obtaining an answer to their petitions, was an ancient custom with the Israelites: Judg. xx. 26; 1 Sam. vii. 6; Joel i. 14; 2 Chron. xx. 3. יֵשֶׁרָהּ, יָרֵךְ, a straight way, a way made level by the removal of obstructions, *i.e.* a prosperous journey; comp. Ps. cxii. 7. בָּטָן, a noun collective, properly the little children, more frequently denoted the entire family, a man’s wives and children; see remarks on Ex. xii. 37. רְכֻשָׁם, possessions in cattle and other goods.—Ver. 22. For I was ashamed to request of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us against enemies in the way (*i.e.* to protect us from hostile attacks during our journey); for we had said to the king: The hand of our God is over all them that seek him for good (*i.e.* for their good), and His power and His wrath against all them that forsake Him. עֲנִי in connection with אֱלֹהִים is not His powerful wrath, but His power and might to conquer all enemies, evidencing itself in wrath against the wicked. This confession, which they had uttered before the king, they desired to make good by earnest humble supplication, that God would prove Himself their help and defence against all their enemies. And for this—adds Ezra, looking back on their prosperous journey after it was accomplished—He was entreated of us. Because they had supplicated His assistance by prayer and fasting,

God granted them His protection by the way.—Vers. 24–30. Then Ezra delivered the gold, the silver, and the vessels, which he had received as gifts for the temple, to twelve of the chiefs of the priests, and twelve Levites, that they might take charge of them during the journey, and bring them to Jerusalem. “I separated twelve of the chief of the priests,” *i.e.* from the whole company of priests who were journeying with us. The following לְשֵׁרֵבְיָה does not suit the sense, whether we take the לְ as a sign of the dative (LXX.) or of the accusative (Vulgate, and several expositors). For Sherebiah and Hashabiah were neither priests nor chiefs of priests, but Levites of the race of Merari (ver. 18), and cannot therefore be reckoned among the twelve chiefs of priests. If we take לְשֵׁרֵבְיָה for a dative, and translate, “I separated twelve of the chiefs of the priests for Sherebiah and Hashabiah,” this would place the priests in a servile relation to the Levites, contrary to their true position. For לְשֵׁרֵבְיָה we must read וְלְשֵׁרֵבְיָה, and accept the reading of 1 Esdras, καὶ Ἐσερεβίαν, as correct. Ezra separated twelve chiefs of the priests and twelve Levites, for the purpose of delivering to their custody the gifts of gold, silver, and implements for the temple. Of the chiefs of the priests no names are mentioned; of the Levites, the two names Sherebiah and Hashabiah are given as those of heads of houses, with whom ten other Levites were associated.—Ver. 25, etc. To these chief priests and Levites Ezra weighed the silver and the gold and the vessels; שָׁקַל, to weigh, *i.e.* to deliver by weight. In the Chethiv אֶשְׁקֹלָה the O sound is maintained, and consequently the Keri is pointed קָ. On the other hand, in ver. 26 the i is dropped, and the form pointed with קָ, though many mss., followed by J. H. Michaelis, have קָ here also. הָרִמְתָּ בֵּית אֱלֹהֵינוּ is in apposition with the before-named objects: the gold, the silver, and the vessels, the offering for the house of our God, which the king, his councillors . . . had offered; comp. vii. 15, 16, 19. In הָהֵרִים the article represents the relative pronoun; see on 1 Chron. xxvi. 28. הַנִּמְצְאִים, all Israelites who were found, met with, in Babylon, and were not going

with them to Jerusalem; comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 17, 2 Chron. v. 11. *עַל יָדָם*, like *עַל יָד*, i. 8, to their hand, *i.e.* handed over to their keeping. The gifts amounted to: six hundred and fifty talents of silver, and silver vessels one hundred in talents, *i.e.* one hundred talents in value, one hundred talents of gold, and twenty covered basins of gold (comp. i. 10) one thousand dariks in value, and two brazen vessels of fine golden brilliancy, precious as gold. *מִצֶּהָב* is an abstract noun, formed from the participle Hophal of *צָהַב*, to glitter like gold, and constructed as a feminine. The word, with its adjective, either depends upon *נְחֹשֶׁת*, in the *stat. construct.*, or stands in apposition thereto, and is not, as a participle Hophal, used adjectively and combined with *נְחֹשֶׁת*, for then the two adjectives *מִצֶּהָב* and *טוֹבָה* would not be in different genders. *תְּמִדוֹת*, like *בְּלִי תְּמִדוֹת*, 2 Chron. xx. 25.—Ver. 28, etc. On delivering these treasures, Ezra adds the admonition: Ye are holy to the Lord, and the vessels are holy, and the gold and the silver are a free-will offering unto the Lord God of your fathers; watch and keep (that which is committed to you). Since they were themselves, as priests and Levites, holy to the Lord, they were also to treat and keep the gifts committed to their charge as holy gifts, until, on their arrival at Jerusalem, they should weigh them (*i.e.* deliver them by weight) before the priests, the Levites, and the princes of Israel, in the chambers of the house of the Lord. The article *הַלְשִׁבוּהָ* (*stat. construct.*) is among the incorrectnesses of the later Hebrew.—Ver. 30. Then they took the weight of the silver, . . . *i.e.* received the silver, etc., delivered to them by weight.

Vers. 31-36. The start, the journey, and the arrival at Jerusalem.—Ver. 31. The start from the river Ahava (comp. ver. 15) did not take place till the twelfth day of the first month; while according to vii. 9, the journey from Babylon was appointed for the first day of the month, and according to viii. 15, the bands of travellers who assembled at the river Ahava encamped there three days. These statements may be reconciled as follows: On the first day the company of travellers began to assemble, and during the three days'

encampment at the place of meeting Ezra became aware that no Levites were found among the travellers; upon which he took the measures mentioned, ver. 16, etc., to induce certain Levites and Nethinim to accompany them. When these were afterwards present, Ezra ordained a fast, to supplicate the divine protection for the journey, and committed the sacred gifts to the care of the priests and Levites. Eight days elapsed while these preparations for departure were being made, so that the start from the river Ahava did not take place till the twelfth day. The journey was successfully accomplished, God's gracious protection delivering them from the hands of enemies and marauders; comp. ver. 22.—Vers. 32, 33. They arrived at Jerusalem, as stated vii. 9, on the first day of the fifth month, the journey consequently occupying three months and a half. The particulars of the journey are not communicated; and as we do not even know the locality of the place of meeting at the river Ahava, the length of road to be traversed cannot be determined. After their arrival at Jerusalem, they abode, *i.e.* remained, as Nehemiah subsequently did, quiet and inactive three days, to recover from the fatigues and hardships of the journey, Neh. ii. 11, before they undertook the arrangement of their affairs. On the fourth day, the gifts they had brought with them were delivered in the house of God (מִזְבֵּחַ), like מִזְבֵּחַ, ver. 16) into the hand of Meremoth and Eleazar the priests, and Jozabad and Noadiah, two Levites, who took charge of them, the chiefs of the priests and Levites being, according to ver. 29, also present. Meremoth Ben Uriah reappears in Neh. iii. 4, 21, and is also intended Neh. xii. 3. Eleazar the son of Phinehas, and the Levite Noadiah, are not again met with. Jozabad, of the sons of Jeshua (ii. 40), may be the Levite Jozabad mentioned x. 23. Binnui is named among the Levites, Neh. x. 10 and xii. 8.—Ver. 34. "By number, by weight, as to all," *i.e.* all was delivered by number and weight; and the whole weight was written at that time, *i.e.* an authentic list was made at the delivery which then took place.—Ver. 35. After the delivery of the dedicated gifts, those who had

come up out of captivity (with Ezra), the sons of the captivity, offered burnt-offerings and sin-offerings, out of gratitude for the favour shown by God in the gracious restoration of His people Israel. This is implied in the words: "burnt-offerings to the God of Israel, twelve bullocks *for all Israel*" (the twelve tribes), and twelve he-goats for a sin-offering, as in vi. 17. Ninety-six ( $8 \times 12$ ) lambs and seventy-seven lambs (77, the intensified seven) were likewise brought as a burnt-offering. "All this was a burnt-offering for the LORD," of which, therefore, nothing could be eaten by the offerers. The sin-offering preceded the burnt-offering, as the necessary basis of an acceptable burnt-offering. The sin-offerings availed as an atonement for the sins of all Israel, and the burnt-offerings typified the surrender of the entire nation to the service of the Lord. Thus the fact that these were offered for all Israel was an actual declaration that they who had now returned were henceforth resolved, together with all Israel, to dedicate their lives to the service of the Lord their God.—Ver. 36. Here upon the royal decrees (the commission, vii. 12–26) were delivered to the satraps of the king, and to the governors on this side the river; and they furthered the people and the house of God, as Artaxerxes had commanded in his edict, vii. 20–24. On *אַחֲשֵׁרֶפְתִּים* and *פְּחֻוֹת*, see rem. on Dan. iii. 2. The satraps were the military chiefs of the province, the *פְּחֻוֹת*, the heads of the civil government. *נָשָׂא*, to lift up, to support, like i. 4.

CHAP. IX. X.—EZRA'S PROCEEDINGS IN THE SEVERANCE  
OF THE STRANGE WOMEN FROM THE CONGREGATION  
OF ISRAEL.

When Ezra, some time after his arrival, was in the temple at Jerusalem, the princes of the people informed him that the Israelites had mingled themselves by marriage with the people of the lands (ix. 1, 2). Deeply moved by this communication, he sat astonished till the time of the evening sacrifice, while all who feared God's word assembled about

him (vers. 3, 4). At the evening sacrifice he fell upon his knees and prayed, making a touching confession of sin before God, in the name of the congregation (vers. 5-15). During this prayer many were gathered around him weeping, and Shecaniah coming forth from their midst, acknowledged the transgressions of the congregation, and declared that they would make a covenant with God to put away all the strange wives (x. 1-4). After making the princes, the priests, and Levites take an oath that they would do according to the declaration thus made, Ezra left the temple and retired to the chamber of Johanan, to fast and mourn over the transgression of those who had returned from captivity (vers. 5, 6). An assembly at Jerusalem was then proclaimed, and those who should not attend it were threatened with heavy penalties (vers. 7-9). At this assembly Ezra reproved the people for their transgression, and called upon them to separate themselves from the people of the countries, and from the strange wives (vers. 10, 11); upon which the assembly resolved to appoint a commission to investigate and decide upon individual cases. In spite of the opposition of some, this proposal was accepted, and the commission named (vers. 12-17), which held its sittings from the first day of the tenth month, and made an end of its investigations into all cases brought before it by the close of the year. Then follows the list of those who had taken strange wives (vers. 18-44), with which the book concludes.

Chap. ix. *Information given of the intermingling of Israel with the heathen nations of the land by marriage* (vers. 1-4), *and Ezra's prayer and confession* (vers. 5-15).—Vers. 1, 2. "When this was done, the princes came to me, and said, The people of Israel, and the priests, and the Levites, do not separate themselves from the people of the lands, according to their abominations, (even) of the Canaanites; . . . for they have taken (wives) of their daughters for themselves and for their sons, and the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people of the lands." What now follows is placed in close chronological sequence with what precedes by the formula וַיְבָלֻת אֶתָּהּ, at the time of the completion of these things;



comp. 2 Chron. xxxi. 1, xxix. 29, vii. 1. הָאֵלֶּה are the things related chap. viii. 33-36. Of these the delivery of the gifts took place on the fourth day after Ezra's arrival at Jerusalem, *i.e.* on the fourth or fifth day of the first month (comp. viii. 32, etc., with vii. 9). The sacrifices (viii. 35) would undoubtedly be offered immediately; and the royal orders would be transmitted to the satraps and governors (viii. 36) very soon after. As soon, then, as Ezra received intelligence concerning the illegal marriages, he took the matter in hand, so that all related (ix. 3-10) occurred on one day. The first assemblage of the people with relation to this business was not, however, held till the twentieth day of the ninth month (x. 9); while on the calling of this meeting, appearance thereat was prescribed within three days, thus leaving apparently an interval of nine whole months between chap. viii. and ix. Hence Bertheau conjectures that the first proclamation of this assembly encountered opposition, because certain influential personages were averse to the further prosecution of this matter (x. 15). But though x. 4-7 does not inform us what period elapsed between the adoption of Shecaniah's proposal to Ezra, and the proclamation for assembling the people at Jerusalem, the narrative does not give the impression that this proclamation was delayed for months through the opposition it met with. Besides, Ezra may have received the information concerning the unlawful marriages, not during the month of his arrival at Jerusalem, but some months later. We are not told whether it was given immediately, or soon after the completion of the matters mentioned viii. 33-36. The delivery of the royal commands to the satraps and governors (viii. 36) may have occupied weeks or months, the question being not merely to transmit the king's decrees to the said officials, but to come to such an understanding with them as might secure their favour and goodwill in assisting the newly established community, and supporting the house of God. The last sentence (viii. 36), "And they furthered the people and the house of God," plainly shows that such an understanding with the royal functionaries was effected, by transactions which

must have preceded what is related chap. ix. This matter having been arranged, and Ezra being now about to enter upon the execution of his commission to inquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem according to the law of his God (vii. 12), he received information of the illegal marriages. While he was in the temple, the princes (הַשָּׂרִים, the princes, are those who give the information, the article being used *e.g.* like that in הַפְּלִיט, Gen. xiv. 13) came to him, saying: The people (viz. Israel, the priests, and the Levites; the three classes of the Israelite community) do not separate themselves from the people of the lands; comp. vi. 21. הַחֲעֻבִּיּוֹתָם, with respect to their abominations, *i.e.* as Israel should have done with respect to the abominations of these people. The לְיָנֵינוּ might be regarded as introducing the enumeration of the different nations, and corresponding with מַעֲשֵׂי; it is, however, more likely that it is used merely as a periphrasis for the genitive, and subordinates the names to הַחֲעֻבִּיּוֹתָם: their, *i.e.* the Canaanites', etc., abominations, the suffix relating, as *e.g.* at iii. 12 and elsewhere, to the names following. Five Canaanitish races are here named, as in Ex. xiii. 5, with this difference, that the Perizzites are here substituted for the Hivites, while in Ex. iii. 8, xxiii. 23, both are enumerated, making six; to these are added in Deut. vii. 1 the Girgashites, making, generally speaking, seven nations. Ammonites, Moabites, and Egyptians are here cited besides the Canaanitish races. The non-severance of the Israelites from these nations consisted, according to ver. 2, in the fact of their having contracted marriages with them. In the law, indeed (Ex. xxxiv. 16; Deut. vii. 3), only marriages with Canaanitish women were forbidden; but the reason of this prohibition, viz. that Israel might not be seduced by them to idolatry, made its extension to Moabites, Ammonites, and Egyptians necessary under existing circumstances, if an effectual check was to be put to the relapse into heathenism of the Israelitish community, now but just gathered out again from among the Gentiles. For during the captivity idolaters of all nations had settled in the depopulated country, and mingled with the remnant of the Israelites left there. By

“the people of the lands,” however, we are not to understand, with J. H. Michaelis, remnants of the races subjugated by Nebuchadnezzar and carried to Babylon,—who were now, after seventy years, returning, as well as the Jews, to their native lands under Cyrus; in support of which view Mich. incorrectly refers to Jer. xxv. 9, etc.,—but those portions, both of the ancient Canaanitish races and of the Moabites and Ammonites, who, escaping the sentence of captivity, remained in the land. נְשֹׂאֵי is naturally completed by נְשִׂים from the context; comp. x. 44, 2 Chron. xi. 21, and other passages. The subject of הַתְּעַרְבִי is the collective זֶרַע הַקֹּדֶשׁ, the holy seed, i.e. the members of the nation called to holiness (Ex. xix. 5). The appellation is taken from Isa. vi. 13, where the remnant of the covenant people, preserved in the midst of judgments, and purified thereby, is called a holy seed. The second part of ver. 2 contains an explanatory accessory clause: and the hand of the princes and rulers hath been first in this unfaithfulness (מַעַל, comp. Lev. v. 15), i.e. the princes were the first to transgress; on the figurative expression, comp. Deut. xiii. 10. סִנְיִים is an Old-Persian word naturalized in Hebrew, signifying commander, prefect; but its etymology is not as yet satisfactorily ascertained: see Delitzsch on Isa. xli. 25.—Ver. 3, etc. This information threw Ezra into deep grief and moral consternation. The tearing of the upper and under garments was a sign of heartfelt and grievous affliction (Josh. viii. 6); see remarks on Lev. x. 6. The plucking out of (a portion of) the hair was the expression of violent wrath or moral indignation, comp. Neh. xiii. 25, and is not to be identified with the cutting off of the hair in mourning (Job i. 20). “And sat down stunned;” מְשׁוּמֵם, desolate, rigid, stunned, without motion. While he was sitting thus, there were gathered unto him all who feared the word of God concerning the transgression of those that had been carried away. תָּרַד, trembling, being terrified, generally construed with עָל or אֶל (e.g. Isa. lxvi. 2, 5), but here with בְּ (like verbs of embracing, believing), and meaning to believe with trembling in the word which God had spoken concerning this מַעַל, i.e. thinking with terror

of the punishments which such faithless conduct towards a covenant God involved.

Vers. 5–15. *Ezra's prayer and confession for the congregation.*—Ver. 5. And at the time of the evening sacrifice, I rose up from my mortification (תַּעֲנִיּוֹת, humiliation, generally through fasting, here through sitting motionless in deep affliction of soul), and rending my garment and my mantle. These words contribute a second particular to אֲנִי, and do not mean that Ezra arose with his garments torn, but state that, on arising, he rent his clothing, and therefore again manifested his sorrow in this manner. He then fell on his knees, and spread out his hands to God (comp. 1 Kings viii. 22), to make a confession of the heavy guilt of the congregation before God, and thus impressively to set their sins before all who heard his prayer.—Ver. 6, etc. The train of thought in this prayer is as follows: I scarcely dare to lift up my face to God, through shame for the greatness of our misdeeds (ver. 6). From the days of our fathers, God has sorely punished us for our sins by delivering us into the power of our enemies; but has now again turned His pity towards us, and revived us in the place of His sanctuary, through the favour of the king of Persia (7–9). But we have again transgressed His commands, with the keeping of which God has connected our possession of the good land given unto us (vers. 10–12). Should we then, after God has spared us more than we through our trespasses have deserved, bring His wrath upon us, till we are wholly consumed? God is just; He has preserved us; but we stand before Him with heavy guilt upon us, such guilt that we cannot endure God's presence (vers. 13–15). Ezra does not pray for the pardon of their sin, for he desires only to bring the congregation to the knowledge of the greatness of their transgression, and so to invite them to do all that in them lies to atone for their guilt, and to appease God's wrath.—Ver. 6. "I am ashamed, and am covered with shame, to lift up my face to Thee, my God." בִּשְׁמֵי וּבְלִבִּי united, as in Jer. xxxi. 19, comp. Isa. xlv. 16, and other passages. נִכְלָם, to be covered with shame, is stronger

than בּוֹשׁ. "For our iniquities are increased over our head," *i.e.* have grown above our head. לְמַעַל רֹאשׁ, to or over the head. לְמַעַל serves to enhance the meaning of רָבּוּ, like 1 Chron. xxiii. 17. "And our guiltiness is great, (reaching) unto the heavens;" comp. 2 Chron. xxviii. 9.—Ver. 7. "Since the days of our fathers, have we, our kings, our priests, been delivered into the hands of the kings of the lands, to the sword, to captivity, to plunder, and to shame of face." The words from בְּחָרֵב onwards serve to explain what is meant by being delivered into the hand of strange kings. On the expression בִּשְׁתַּת פָּנִים, comp. Dan. ix. 7, etc., 2 Chron. xxxii. 21. בְּרִיּוֹם הַיּוֹם, as it is this day, as is to-day the case; see remarks on Dan. ix. 7. The thought is: We are still sorely suffering for our sins, by being yet under the yoke of foreign sovereigns.—Ver. 8. "And now for a little moment there has been mercy from the LORD our God, to leave us a rescued remnant, and to give us a nail in His holy place, that our God may lighten our eyes, and give us a little reviving in our bondage." He calls the short interval between their release from captivity by Cyrus, and the time when he is speaking, בְּמַעַט הָנַע, a little moment (comp. Isa. xxvi. 20), in comparison with the long period of suffering from the times of the Assyrians (comp. Neh. ix. 32) till the reign of Cyrus. פְּלִיטָה, a rescued remnant, is the new community delivered from Babylon, and returned to the land of their fathers. In proportion to the numerous population of former days, it was but a remnant that escaped destruction; but a remnant which, according to the predictions of the prophets, was again to grow into a large nation. A foundation for this hope was given by the fact that God had given them "a nail in the place of His sanctuary." The expression is figurative. יָתֵד is a nail or peg struck into the wall, to hang any kind of domestic utensils upon; comp. Isa. xxii. 23, etc. Such a nail was the place of God's sanctuary, the temple, to the rescued community. This was to them a firm nail, by which they were borne and upheld; and this nail God had given them as a support to which they might cling, and gain new life and vigour. The infinitive clauses

following, לְהַאֲרִי and לְתַתֵּנוּ, are dependent upon the preceding infinitives לְהַשְׁאִיר and לְתַתֵּנוּ, and state the purpose for which God has given a nail in His house to this remnant. That our God may enlighten our eyes, *i.e.* may bestow upon us new vitality; comp. Ps. xiii. 4. Suffering and misfortune make the eyes dim, and their light is quenched in death: the enlightened or beaming eye is an image of vital power; comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 27, 29. לְתַתֵּנוּ מְחִיָּה is not to be translated, *ut daret nobis vivificationem*, the suffix to לְתַתֵּנוּ being not dative, but accusative. The literal rendering is: that He may make us a slight reviving. מְחִיָּה, the means of supporting life, restoration to life; see on 2 Chron. xiv. 13. Ezra adds מְעַט; for the life to which the community had attained was but feeble, in comparison with a vigorous social life. Their deliverance from Babylon and return to the land of their fathers was, so to speak, a revival from death; compare the embodiment of this figure in Ezekiel's vision, Ezek. xxxvii. 1–14: they were, however, still in a state of vassalage, and had not yet regained their independence. This thought is further carried out in ver. 9: "For we are bondmen, yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy to us before the kings of Persia; so that they have given us a reviving to build up the house of our God, and to repair its ruins, and have given us a wall about us in Judah and Jerusalem." They who have returned to Jerusalem and Judah are still bondmen, for they are yet under the Persian yoke; but God has disposed the kings of Persia so to favour them as to give them a reviving, to enable them to rebuild the house of God. Cyrus and Darius had not merely permitted and commanded the building of the temple, but had also furnished them with considerable assistance towards the carrying out of this work; comp. i. 3, etc., vi. 7–9. The suffix in הִרְבֵּנוּ אֱלֹהִים alludes to בֵּית אֱלֹהִים. The words of the last sentence are figurative. גֵּר means the wall of a vineyard, the wall or fence built for its protection (Isa. v. 2, 5). Hence the wall, or enclosure, is an image of protection from the incursions and attacks of enemies. Such a wall has been given

them in Judah and Jerusalem by the kings of Persia. "The meaning is not that they possess a place defended by walls (perhaps, therefore, the temple) in Jerusalem and Judah, but that the Persian kings have given to the new community a safe dwelling-place (or the means of existence), because the power of the Persian empire secures to the returned Israelites continued and undisturbed possession of the city and the land." (Bertheau.)

After this statement concerning the divine favour, Ezra next sets himself to describe the conduct of his countrymen with respect to the mercy extended to them. — Ver. 10. "And now, O our God, what can we say after this? That we have forsaken Thy commandments." *אנחנו*, i.e. such proofs of the divine compassion as have just been mentioned. The answer which follows commences with *אָי*, before which *אֲנִי* is mentally repeated: "we can only say that we have forsaken Thy commandments, requited Thy kindness with sins." — Ver. 11. Namely, the commandments "which Thou hast commanded by Thy servants the prophets, saying, The land unto which ye go to possess it is an unclean land through the uncleanness of the people of the lands, through their abominations, wherewith they have filled it from one end to another through their impurity. And now give not your daughters unto their sons, neither take their daughters unto your sons (for wives), nor seek their peace nor their wealth for ever; that ye may be strong, and eat the good of the land, and leave it for an inheritance to your children for ever." The words of the prophets introduced by *אָמַר* are found in these terms neither in the prophetic books nor the Pentateuch. They are not, therefore, to be regarded as a verbal quotation, but only as a declaration that the prohibition of intermarriage with the heathen had been inculcated by the prophets. The introduction of this prohibition by the words: the land unto which ye go to possess it, refers to the Mosaic age, and in using it Ezra had chiefly in view Deut. vii. 1-3. He interweaves, however, with this passage other sayings from the Pentateuch, e.g. Deut. xxiii. 7, and from the prophetic

writings, without designing to make a verbal quotation. He says quite generally, by His servants the prophets, as the author of the books of Kings does in similar cases, *e.g.* 2 Kings xvii. 23, xxi. 10, xxiv. 2, where the leading idea is, not to give the saying of some one prophet, but to represent the truth in question as one frequently reiterated. The sayings of Moses in Deuteronomy also bear a prophetic character; for in this book he, after the manner of the prophets, seeks to make the people lay to heart the duty of obeying the law. It is true that we do not meet in the other books of Scripture a special prohibition of marriages with Canaanites, though in the prophetic remarks, Judg. iii. 6, such marriages are reprov'd as occasions of seducing the Israelites to idolatry, and in the prophetic descriptions of the whoredoms of Israel with Baalim, and the general animadversions upon apostasy from the Lord, the transgression of this prohibition is implicitly included; thus justifying the general expression, that God had forbidden the Israelites to contract such marriages, by His servants the prophets. Besides, we must here take into consideration the threatening of the prophets, that the Lord would thrust Israel out of the land for their sins, among which intermarriage with the Canaanites was by no means the least. Ezra, moreover, makes use of the general expression, "by the prophets," because he desired to say that God had not merely forbidden these marriages once or twice in the law, but had also repeatedly inculcated this prohibition by the prophets. The law was preached by the prophets when they reiterated what was the will of God as revealed in the law of Moses. In this respect Ezra might well designate the prohibition of the law as the saying of the prophets, and cite it as pronounced according to the circumstances of the Mosaic period.<sup>1</sup> The words: the land into which ye go, etc., recall the introduction of the law in Deut. vii. 1, etc.; but the

<sup>1</sup> It is hence evident that these words of Ezra afford no evidence against the single authorship of the Pentateuch. The inference that a saying of the law, uttered during the wanderings in the wilderness, is here cited as a saying of the prophets, the servants of Jahve, is, accord-



description of the land as a land of uncleanness through the uncleanness of the people, etc., does not read thus either in the Pentateuch or in the prophets. נִדָּה, the uncleanness of women, is first applied to moral impurity by the prophets: comp. Lam. i. 17; Ezek. vii. 20, xxxvi. 17, comp. Isa. lxiv. 5. The expression מִפֶּה אֶל־פֶּה, from edge to edge, *i.e.* from one end to the other, like לִפְּהָ, 2 Kings x. 21, xxi. 16, is taken from vessels filled to their upper rim. וְעַתָּה introduces the consequence: and now, this being the case. The prohibition אַל תִּתְּנוּ וְגו' is worded after Deut. vii. 3. The addition: nor seek their peace, etc., is taken almost verbally from Deut. xxiii. 7, where this is said in respect of the Ammonites and Moabites. לִמְעַן תִּחְיוּקוּ recalls Deut. xi. 8, and the promise: that ye may eat the good of the land for ever, Isa. i. 19. וְהוֹרִשְׁתֶּם לְבְנֵיכֶם, and leave it for an inheritance to your children, does not occur in this form in the Pentateuch, but only the promise: that they and their children should possess the land for ever. On הוֹרִישׁ in this sense comp. Judg. xi. 24, 2 Chron. xx. 11.—Ver. 13, etc. And after all, continues Ezra, taking up again the אַחֲרֵי־זֶה of ver. 10,—“after all that is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass—yea, Thou our God hast spared us more than our iniquity deserved, and hast given us this escaped remnant—can we again break Thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations? Wilt Thou not be angry with us even to extirpation, so that no residue and no escaped remnant should be left?” The premiss in ver. 13a is followed in ver. 14 by the conclusion in the form of a question, while the second clause of ver. 13 is an explanatory parenthesis. Bertheau construes the passage otherwise. He finds the continuation of the sentence: and after all this . . . in the words בִּי אֲתָהּ וְגו', which, calmly spoken, would read: Thou, O God, hast not wholly destroyed us, but hast preserved to us an escaped remnant; while instead of such a continuation we have an exclamation of grateful wonder,

ing to the just remark of Bertheau, entirely refuted even by the fact that the words cited are nowhere found in the Pentateuch in this exact form, and that hence Ezra did not intend to make a verbal quotation.

emphatically introduced by **כִּי** in the sense of **אֲמִנִים כִּי**. With this construction of the clauses, however, no advance is made, and Ezra, in this prayer, does but repeat what he had already said, vers. 8 and 9; although the introductory **אֲחֵרִי** leads us to expect a new thought to close the confession. Then, too, the logical connection between the question ver. 14 and what precedes it would be wanting, *i.e.* a foundation of fact for the question ver. 14. Bertheau remarks on ver. 14, that the question: should we return to break (*i.e.* break again) the commands of God? is an antithesis to the exclamation. But neither does this question, to judge by its matter, stand in contrast to the exclamation, nor is any such contrast indicated by its form. The discourse advances in regular progression only when ver. 14a forms the conclusion arrived at from ver. 13a, and the thought in the premiss (13a) is limited by the thought introduced with **כִּי**. What had come upon Israel for their sins was, according to ver. 7, deliverance into the hand of heathen kings, to the sword, to captivity, etc. God had not, however, merely chastened and punished His people for their sins, He had also extended mercy to them, ver. 8, etc. This, therefore, is also mentioned by Ezra in ver. 13b, to justify, or rather to limit, the **כִּלְ-הַבָּא** in **בָּל**. The **כִּי** is properly confirmatory: for Thou, our God, hast indeed punished us, but not in such measure as our sins had deserved; and receives through the tenor of the clause the adversative meaning of *imo*, yea (comp. Ewald, § 330, b). **הִשְׁכַּחְתָּ לְפָנֶיךָ מֵ**, Thou hast checked, hast stopped, beneath our iniquities. **הִשְׁכַּח** is not used intransitively, but actively; the missing object must be supplied from the context: Thou hast withheld that, all of which should have come upon us, *i.e.* the punishment we deserved, or, as older expositors completed the sense, *iram tuam*. **לְמַפָּחָה מֵעֲוֲנוֹנֵינוּ**, *infra delicta nostra*, *i.e.* Thou hast punished us less than our iniquities deserved. For their iniquities they had merited extirpation; but God had given them a rescued remnant. **בְּיִצְחָא**, as this, viz. this which exists in the community now returned from Babylon to Judæa. This is the circumstance which justifies

the question : should we, or can we, again (לְשׁוּבָה is used adverbially) break Thy commandments, and become related by marriage? (עִמֵּי הַתְּעִבּוֹת like Deut. vii. 3.) עִמֵּי הַתְּעִבּוֹת, people who live in abominations. The answer to this question is found in the subsequent question : will He not—if, after the sparing mercy we have experienced, we again transgress the commands of God—be angry with us till He have consumed us? עַד כָּלָה (comp. 2 Kings xiii. 17, 19) is strengthened by the addition : so that there will be no remnant and no escaping. The question introduced by הֲלֹא is an expression of certain assurance : He will most certainly consume us.—Ver. 15. “Jahve, God of Israel, Thou art righteous ; for we remain an escaped remnant, as (it is) this day. Behold, we are before Thee in our trespass ; for no one can stand before Thy face, because of this.” Ezra appeals to the righteousness of God, not to supplicate pardon, as Neh. ix. 33, for the righteousness of God would impel Him to extirpate the sinful nation, but to rouse the conscience of the community, to point out to them what, after this relapse into their old abominations, they had to expect from the justice of God. כִּי נִשְׁאַרְנוּ is confirmatory. God has shown Himself to be just by so sorely punishing this once numerous nation, that only a small remnant which has escaped destruction now exists. And this remnant has again most grievously offended : we lie before Thee in our trespass ; what can we expect from Thy justice ? Nothing but destruction ; for there is no standing before Thee, *i.e.* no one can stand before Thee, עַל-יִצָּח, because of this (comp. viii. 23, x. 2), *i.e.* because of the fresh guilt which we have incurred.

Chap. x. *The separation of the strange wives from the congregation.*—Vers. 1-5. While Ezra was making this confession before God, a numerous assemblage gathered around him, and wept aloud. From this point onwards Ezra relates the further course of events in such wise as to cast his own person in the background, and speaks of himself in the third person. The matter of his prayer is more definitely declared by וַיִּבְהַתְּוֵדוּ, and his posture in prayer by וַיִּתְּנַפֵּל, weeping and casting himself down (lying on his knees, ix. 5).

"Before the house of God," *i.e.* in the court of the temple. The confirmatory clause: for the people wept much (הִרְבָּה בִּכְּתֹה, a weeping in mass), furnishes the motive of so great a number of men, women, and children gathering around Ezra. Very many were as distressed as he was at the marriages with strange wives, and regarded them as a grievous trespass; hence they assembled weeping around him.—Ver. 2, etc. Then one of the sons of Elam, Shecaniah, the son of Jehiel, stood forth from amidst the assembly, and uttered the confession: "We have been unfaithful towards our God by marrying strange wives, but there is yet hope for Israel concerning this thing. We will now make a covenant with God to put away all the strange wives and their children from the congregation, according to the counsel of the Lord, and of those who fear the commandment of our God, that it may be done according to the law." Shecaniah, of the sons of Elam (comp. ii. 7, viii. 7), is a different person from the descendant of Zattu, mentioned chap. viii. 5; nor is Jehiel identical with the individual whose name occurs in ver. 26. וַיָּבִיאוּ, and have brought home strange wives. הוֹשִׁיב, to cause to dwell (in one's house), said in vers. 10, 14, 17, 18, and Neh. xiii. 23, 27, of bringing a wife home. Shecaniah founds his hope for Israel in this trespass upon the circumstance, that they bind themselves by a solemn covenant before God to put away this scandal from the congregation, and to act in conformity with the law. To make a covenant with our God, *i.e.* to bind themselves by an oath with respect to God, comp. 2 Chron. xxix. 10. הוֹצִיא, to put away—the opposite of הוֹשִׁיב. All the wives are, according to the context, all the strange women (ver. 2), and that which is born of them, their children. Instead of בְּעֵצַת אֲדֹנָי, according to the counsel of the Lord, De Wette, Bertheau, and others, following the paraphrase in the LXX. and 1 Esdras, read אֲדֹנָי, according to the counsel of my lord, *i.e.* of Ezra. But this paraphrase being of no critical authority, there is no sufficient reason for the alteration. For Shecaniah to call Ezra my lord sounds strange, since usually this title was only given by servants to their master, or subjects to their sove-

reign, and Shecaniah afterwards addresses him simply as *thou*. Besides, Ezra had given no advice at all in this matter, and still less had he come to any resolution about it with the God-fearing members of the community. *וַעֲשֵׂה* after the preceding *נִכְרַת-בְּרִית*, we will make a covenant, must be taken as hortative: and let it be done according to the law. *הִירָךְ*, caring for with trembling.—Ver. 4. “Up! for this matter concerns thee (thou art called to carry it out), and we are with thee (will assist thee therein); be strong (courageous) and do it.”—Ver. 5. Then Ezra (who during this speech had continued upon his knees) arose, and made the chiefs of the priests, of the Levites, and of all Israel swear to do according to this word; and they swore. *הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה* is Shecaniah’s proposal to put away the strange wives.—Ver. 6. Hereupon Ezra left the place before the house of God, and went into the chamber of Johanan the son of Eliashib, to fast and mourn there for the unfaithfulness (transgression) of them that had been carried away (*מַעַל הַנּוֹלָדִים* like ix. 4). Johanan the son of Eliashib cannot actually be Johanan ben Eliashib (Neh. xii. 23) the high priest, however natural it may be to understand by the chamber of Johanan one of the chambers in the out-buildings of the temple, called after the name of some well-known individual. For the high priest Eliashib was a contemporary of Nehemiah, and the high priest Johanan was not the son, but, according to the definite statement, Neh. xii. 10, the grandson, of Eliashib, and the son of Joiada (the correct reading of Neh. xii. 11 being: Joiada begat Johanan and Jonathan). Now a chamber of the temple could not in Ezra’s time have been as yet called after a grandson of Eliashib the contemporary of Nehemiah;<sup>1</sup> and both Johanan and Eliashib being names which frequently occur (comp. vers. 24, 27, 36), and one of the twenty-four

<sup>1</sup> This would not, indeed, be impossible, because, as we shall subsequently show (in our Introduction to the book of Nehemiah, § 2), Eliashib’s grandson Johanan might be already ten years of age at the time of the transaction in question; so that his grandfather, the high priest Eliashib, might have called a chamber of the temple after the name of his grandson. This view is not, however, a very probable one.

orders of priests being called after the latter (1 Chron. xxiv. 12), we, with Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. p. 228), regard the Johanan ben Eliashib here mentioned as an individual of whom nothing further is known,—perhaps a priest descended from the Eliashib of 1 Chron. xxiv. 12, and who possessed in the new temple a chamber called by his name. For there is not the slightest reason to suppose, with Bertheau, that a subsequent name of this chamber is used in this narrative, because the narrator desired to state the locality in a manner which should be intelligible to his contemporaries. Cler. and Berth. desire, after 1 Esdr. ix. 1 (*καὶ ἀνλισθεὶς ἐκεῖ*), to change *וַיֵּלֶךְ שָׁם* into *וַיֵּלֶךְ שָׁם*: and he passed the night there without eating bread or drinking water. But the LXX. having *καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐκεῖ*, and the repetition of the same word being, moreover, by no means infrequent, comp. *e.g.* וַיֵּלֶךְ in vers. 5, 6, and finally שָׁם repeatedly standing for thither, *e.g.* 1 Sam. ii. 14 (*הַבָּתִּים שָׁם*), there are no adequate grounds for an alteration of the text. The paraphrase of 1 Esdr. arises merely from the connection, and is devoid of critical value. To eat no bread, etc., means to fast: comp. Ex. xxxiv. 28, Deut. ix. 9.

Vers. 7–17. The resolution carried into execution.—Vers. 7, 8. A proclamation was sent forth throughout Judah and Jerusalem (*הַעֲבִיר קוֹל*, comp. i. 1) to all the children of the captivity to assemble at Jerusalem under pain of the punishment, that whoever should not come within three days, all his substance should be forfeited and himself excluded from the congregation, according to the decision of the princes and elders, who, as the heads of the community, had taken the matter in hand, and made this announcement. The forfeiture of substance is not its destruction, as prescribed Deut. xiii. 13–17 in the case of a city fallen into idolatry, but its appropriation to the benefit of the temple, after the analogy of Lev. xxvii. 28.—Ver. 9. After three days all the men of Judah and Benjamin assembled at Jerusalem. This took place on the twentieth day of the ninth month. On this statement of time, see the remark on ix. 1. The assembled multitude sat there on the open space of the house of God,

*i.e.* probably the open space (הַרְחֹב) in front of the water-gate, Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16, at the eastern or south-eastern side, before the temple court; see remarks on Neh. viii. 1. "Trembling" because of this matter, the seriousness of which they might perceive from the heavy penalty attached to their non-appearance within three days, and "because of the rain." The ninth month, corresponding with our December, is in the cold rainy time of the year (comp. ver. 13), "when the rain usually falls in torrents" (Robinson, *Phys. Geog.* p. 287).—Ver. 10. Ezra then stood up and reproved the assembled multitude, saying: You have brought home (הוֹשִׁיב, comp. ver. 2) strange wives to increase the trespass of Israel (comp. Ezra's confession, ix. 6-15), and exhorted them to give glory to God and to do His pleasure, (*viz.*) to separate themselves from the people of the land, and from the strange wives. On תִּנְחַל תִּנְחַל, comp. Josh. vii. 19. Separation from the people of the land consisted, under the circumstances, in the dismissal of the strange wives.—Ver. 12. The whole assembly replied with a loud voice, and therefore with firm resolve: According to thy word it is our duty to do. עָלֵינוּ must not be drawn to what precedes, as in the Vulgate, *juxta verbum tuum ad nos, sic fiat*, but to what follows, as in ver. 4, Neh. xiii. 13, 2 Sam. xviii. 11. But—they further remark, ver. 13—the people are many,—*i.e.* the assemblage is very large to be able to deal immediately with the several cases; and it is (now) the time of the heavy rains, and there is no power to stand without,—*i.e.* at the present season we are not able to remain in the open air until the business is discharged; neither is this the work of one day, or of two, for we have transgressed much in this matter,—*i.e.* one or two days will not suffice to investigate and decide upon all cases, because very many have broken the law in this respect.—Ver. 14. "Let then our rulers stand for the whole congregation, and let all who in all our cities have brought home strange wives come at appointed times, and with them the elders of each city, and the judges thereof, until the fierce wrath of our God be turned away from us, as long as this matter lasts." There were so many cases to deal with, that the rulers, as

the judicial authorities, must decide in this matter; and those who in all the cities of the land had transgressed, were to appear before these authorities, and submit their individual cases to their jurisdiction. The choice of the verb **יַעֲמִידוּ**, to stand or set oneself to discharge some business, here therefore to give judgment, is occasioned by the preceding **לַעֲמֹד**. The whole community had assembled according to the proclamation, and was standing there for the purpose of bringing the matter to a close. This they were not, however, able to do, for the reasons stated ver. 13; hence the princes, as rulers of the community, are to remain for the discharge of the business. **לְכָל-הַקָּהָל** is not a genitive dependent on **שָׂרֵינוּ**, and explanatory of the suffix of this word—our, viz. the whole congregation's, princes (Bertheau)—an unnatural and superfluous elucidation; for if the whole congregation say: our princes, it is self-evident that not the princes of a section or portion of the people, but of the whole congregation, must be intended. **לְכָל-הַקָּהָל** is the object of **יַעֲמִידוּ**: let them stand for the whole congregation (**עָמַד לְ** like **קָיָם לְ**, Ps. xciv. 16), not *instead of*, but for the good of the congregation, and transact its business. In our cities, *i.e.* including the capital, for there is here no contrast between Jerusalem and the other cities. The article to **הַחֲשִׁיב** stands, as is often the case, for the relative **אֲשֶׁר**, *e.g.* ver. 17, viii. 25. **עֵתִים מְזוּמָּנִים**, appointed times, stated terms, used only here and in Neh. x. 35, xiii. 31. **וְיָמָן** is a Chaldaistic expression. With the accused were to come the elders and judges of every city, to furnish the necessary explanations and evidence. **עַד לְהִשָּׁיב**, until the turning away of the fierceness of the wrath (**עַד לְ** according to the later usage of the language instead of **עַד** only, comp. Ewald, § 315, *a*, not instead of **לְ** only, as Bertheau seeks, by incorrectly interpreted passages, to prove). The meaning is: until the fierce wrath of God concerning these marriages shall be turned away, by their dissolution and the dismissal of the strange women from the congregation. The last words, **עַד לְרַבֵּר הָיָה**, offer some difficulty. De Wette and Bertheau translate them: on account of this matter, which **לְ** **עַד** can by no means signify. We regard **לְ עַד** = **עַד** of the older



language, in the sense of during, like 2 Kings ix. 22, according to which the meaning is: as long as this thing lasts; but we connect these words, not, as J. H. Michaelis, with the immediately preceding clause: the wrath which is fierce during this matter (*quæ usque, i.e. constanter ardet*), but take them as more exactly defining the leading idea of the verse: the princes are to stand and judge the guilty as long as this matter lasts, so that עַד לְהִשָּׁיב הָיָה is co-ordinate with עַד לְהִשָּׁיב וְגו'.—Ver. 15. Jonathan the son of Asahel, and Jahaziah the son of Tikvah, indeed opposed this proposal on the part of the community, and were supported in their opposition by two Levites, but without being able to carry it out. This statement is introduced by אֲדָנָי, *only*, in the form of a qualification to the remark that the *whole* assembly (ver. 12) made this resolution: nevertheless Jonathan . . . stood up against this. For עָמַד עַל, to stand up against, or as elsewhere עָלָם, comp. 1 Chron. xxi. 1, 2 Chron. xx. 23, Dan. viii. 25, xi. 14. Such also is the view of R. Sal. and Lightf., while older expositors understand it as meaning: only Jonathan . . . stood up for this matter, like the *steterunt super hoc* of the Vulgate, or as the decidedly incorrect explanation of J. H. Mich.: *præfecti sunt huic negotio*.—Nothing further is known of the four opponents here named. That they did not succeed in this opposition appears from what follows. Ver. 16. The children of the captivity, *i.e.* the returned exiles, did so; *i.e.* the congregation carried their resolve into execution. And Ezra the priest, and men, heads of houses according to their houses,—*i.e.* so that each house was represented by its head,—were separated, *i.e.* chosen to conduct the investigation. The ו copulative before אֲנָשִׁים has been lost, an asyndeton seeming in this case inadmissible. Bertheau, on the contrary, unnecessarily changes יִבְדְּלוּ into לֹא יִבְדְּלוּ after 1 Esdras ix. 16. "And they all by names," comp. viii. 20. וַיֵּשְׁבוּ, and they held a sitting (*i.e.* their first sitting) on the first day of the tenth month, and therefore only ten days after the assembly just spoken of. לְדַרְשׁוֹת הַדָּבָר, to inquire into the matter. It is impossible in Hebrew to form דְּרִישׁ from דָּרַשׁ, and this word can only arise from דָּרֹשׁ, as Ewald,

§ 239, *a*, note, Olshausen, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* p. 150, and Böttcher, *ausf. Lehrb. der hebr. Spr.* i. 1, p. 162, note, unanimously agree.—Ver. 17. And they made an end with all, with respect to the men who had brought home strange wives. **בְּכָל** (with the article) cannot be so connected with **אֲנָשִׁים**, from which it is separated by the accentuation of the latter, as to admit of the repetition, as by older expositors, of the preposition **בְּ** before **אֲנָשִׁים**: with all, namely, with the men. Still less can **בְּכָל**, as Bertheau thinks, be taken in the sense of “in every place,” and **אֲנָשִׁים** connected as an accusative with **וַיִּבְלֶה**: they finished in every place the men (!); for **בָּלָה** with an accusative of the person signifies to annihilate, to make an end of, while **בָּלָה בְּ** means to finish, to make an end with, comp. Gen. xliv. 12. If, as the accentuation requires, we take **בְּכָל** independently, **אֲנָשִׁים** can only be an accusative of more exact definition: in respect of the men (**אֲנָשִׁים** being without the article, because words which define it follow). As this gives a suitable meaning, it seems unnecessary to alter the punctuation and read **בְּכָל-אֲנָשִׁים**, or with Ewald, § 290, *c*, note 1, to regard **אֲנָשִׁים בְּכָל** as a singular combination.—Till the first day of the first month (of the next year), therefore in three months, their sittings having begun, according to ver. 13, on the first day of the tenth month.—The account of this transaction closes with—

*The list of the men who had taken strange wives, vers. 18–44; among whom were priests (18–22), Levites (23, 24), and Israelites, i.e. laymen (25–43).—Ver. 18, etc. Among the priests there stand first, four names of sons and brethren of the high priest Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel. אֶחָיו, his (Jeshua’s) brethren. Judging by ii. 36, these were among the descendants of Jedaiah, a section of the house of the high-priestly family (see rem. on ii. 36), and were therefore distant cousins of the high priest. They gave their hands, i.e. bound themselves by shaking hands, to put away their wives, i.e. to dismiss them, and to sever them from the congregation of Israel, וְאִשְׁמִים, “and guilty a ram for their trespass,” i.e. condemned to bring a ram as a trespass-offer-*

ing. **וְאִשְׁמִים** is to be regarded as the continuation of the infinitive clause **לְהוֹצִיא**. As elsewhere, infinitive clauses are continued without anything further in the *verb. finit.* (comp. Ewald, § 350); so here also does the adjective **אִשְׁמִים** follow, requiring that **לְהוֹצִיא** should be mentally supplied. **אֵיל־צֹאן**, a ram of the flock, is, as an accusative of more exact definition, dependent on **אִשְׁמִים**. This trespass-offering was imposed upon them according to the principle of the law, Lev. v. 14, etc., because they had committed a **מַעַל** against the Lord, which needed expiation; see on Lev. v. 14.—In what follows, only the names of the individuals, and a statement of the families they belonged to, are given, without repeating that the same obligations, namely, the dismissal of their strange wives, and the bringing of a trespass-offering, were imposed on them also, this being self-evident from the context.—Among the sons of Immer were three, among the sons of Harim five, among the sons of Pashur six offenders; in all, eighteen priests. By comparing ii. 36-39, we perceive that not one of the orders of priests who returned with Zerubbabel was free from participation in this transgression. Some of the names given, 20-22, reappear in the lists in Neh. viii. 4 and x. 2-9, and may belong to the same individuals.—Ver. 23. Of Levites, only six names are given, and that without stating the houses to which they belonged. From ii. 40, however, it appears that they were of the sons of Jeshua and Kadmiel there mentioned. “Kelaiah, the same is Kelita;” the latter is the usual name of the person in question, and that which he bears in Neh. viii. 7 and x. 11. Jozabad also reappears in Neh. viii. 7.—Ver. 24, etc. Of singers one, and of porters three names are given; comp. ii. 41, 42. In all, ten Levites.—Ver. 25. Of Israel, as distinguished from priests and Levites, *i.e.* of the laity. Of these latter are given in all eighty-six names, belonging to ten races, 25-43, who returned with Zerubbabel. See Nos. 1, 5, 6, 9, 8, 4, 30, 17, and 27 of the survey of these races, p. 33. **יִרְמֹת** in ver. 29 should, according to the Chethiv, be read **יִרְמֹת**.—The twofold naming of sons of Bani in this list (vers. 29 and 34)

is strange, and Bani is evidently in one of these places a mistake for some other name. Bertheau supposes that Bigvai may have stood in the text in one of these places. The error undoubtedly lies in the second mention of Bani (ver. 34), and consists not merely in the wrong transcription of this one name. For, while of every other race four, six, seven, or eight individuals are named, no less than seven and twenty names follow *בְּנֵי מִנְיָן*, though all these persons could hardly have belonged to one race, unless the greater number of males therein had married strange wives. Besides, no names of inhabitants of cities of Judah and Benjamin are given in this list (as in ii. 21–28, and 33–35), although it is stated in vers. 7 and 14 that not only the men of Jerusalem, but also dwellers in other cities, had contracted these prohibited marriages, and been summoned to Jerusalem, that judgment might be pronounced in their several cases. These reasons make it probable that the twenty-seven persons enumerated in vers. 34–42 were inhabitants of various localities in Judah, and not merely individuals belonging to a single house. This supposition cannot, however, be further corroborated, since even the LXX. and 1 Esdr. read the name Bani in vers. 27 and 34, nor can any conjecture respecting the correct reading laying claim to probability be ventured on. In the single names, the Greek texts of the Septuagint and 1 Esdras frequently differ from the Hebrew text, but the differences are almost all of a kind to furnish no material for criticism. A considerable number of these names reappear in the lists of names in the book of Nehemiah, but under circumstances which nowhere make the identity of the persons bearing them certain.—Ver. 44 contains the statement with which the account of this transaction closes. The Chethiv *נָשִׂאִי* seems to be an error of transcription for *נָשִׂאִי* (the Keri), which the sense requires. *וַיֵּשׁ מֵהֶם וְנָ*, “and there were among them women who had brought forth sons.” *מֵהֶם* must be referred to women, notwithstanding the masculine suffix. *וַיֵּשִׁי*, too, can only be referred to *נָשִׂאִי*, and cannot be explained, as by J. H. Mich.: *unde etiam filios*

*susceperant seu procreaverant.* The gender of the verb is adapted to the form of the word  $\text{נִשְׂבָּר}$ , an incorrectness which must be attributed to the increasing tendency of the language to use the masculine instead of the feminine, or to renounce a distinction of form between the genders. There are no adequate reasons for such an alteration of the text as Bertheau proposes; for the LXX. already had our text before them, and the *καὶ ἀπέλυσαν αὐτὰς σὺν τέκνοις* of 1 Esdr. ix. 36 is a mere conjecture from the context. The remark itself, that among the women who were sent away were some who had already brought children into the world, is not superfluous, but added for the purpose of showing how thoroughly this matter was carried out. Separation from women who already have children is far more grievous; *ob communium liberorum caritatem*, than parting with childless wives.

Strictly as this separation was carried out, this evil was not thereby done away with for ever, nor even for very long. After the arrival of Nehemiah at Jerusalem, when the building of the wall was concluded, the congregation again bound themselves by an oath, on the occasion of a day of prayer and fasting, to contract no more such illegal marriages (Neh. x. 31). Nevertheless, Nehemiah, on his second return to Jerusalem, some five and twenty to thirty years after the dissolution of these marriages by Ezra, again found Jews who had married women of Ashdod, Moab, and Ammon, and children of these marriages who spoke the tongue of Ashdod, and could not speak the Jews' language, and even one of the sons of the high priest Jehoiada allied to a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite (Neh. xiii. 23, etc.). Such a phenomenon, however strange it may appear on a superficial view of the matter, becomes comprehensible when we consider more closely the circumstances of the times. The nucleus of the Israelite community in Jerusalem and Judah was formed by those exiles who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Ezra; and to this nucleus the remnant of Jewish and Israelite descent which had been left in the land was gradually united, after the rebuilding of the

temple and the restoration of the worship of Jahve. Those who returned from Babylon, as well as those who remained in the land, had now, however, lived seventy, and some of them one hundred and fifty, years (from the captivity of Jehoiachin in 599, to the return of Ezra in 457) among the heathen, and in the midst of heathen surroundings, and had thus become so accustomed to intercourse with them in civil and social transactions, that the consciousness of the barriers placed by the Mosaic law between Israel, the people of Jahve, and the Gentiles, was more and more obliterated. And this would especially be the case when the Gentiles who entered into matrimonial alliance with Israelites did not flagrantly practise idolatrous worship, *i.e.* did not offer sacrifice to heathen deities. Under such circumstances, it must have been extremely difficult to do away entirely with these unlawful unions; although, without a thorough reform in this respect, the successful development of the new community in the land of their fathers was not to be obtained.

Ezra's narrative of his agency in Jerusalem closes with the account of the dissolution of the unlawful marriages then existing. What he subsequently effected for the revival of religion and morality in the re-established community, in conformity with the law of God, was more of an inward and spiritual kind; and was either of such a nature that no striking results ensued, which could furnish matter for his historical narrative, or was performed during the period of his joint agency with Nehemiah, of which an account is furnished by the latter in the record he has handed down to us (Neh. viii. 10).

# THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.





# THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

## INTRODUCTION.

### § 1. CONTENTS, DIVISION, AND OBJECT OF THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.



THIS book, according to its title, contains דְּבָרֵי נְחֵמְיָה, and in it Nehemiah relates, almost always in the first person, his journey to Jerusalem, and the work which he there effected. דְּבָרֵי נְחֵמְיָה, used as the title of a work, signifies not narratives, but deeds and experiences, and consequently here the history of Nehemiah. Apart from the contents of the book, this title might, in conformity with the twofold meaning of דְּבָרִים, *verba* and *res*, designate both the words or discourses and the acts or undertakings of Nehemiah. But דְּבָרֵי means words, discourses, only in the titles of prophetic or didactic books, *i.e.* writings of men whose vocation was the announcement of the word: comp. *e.g.* Jer. i. 1, Hos. i. 1, and others. In historical writings, on the contrary, the דְּבָרֵי of the men whose lives and acts are described, are their deeds and experiences: thus דְּבָרֵי דָוִיד, 1 Chron. xxix. 29; דְּבָרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, written על סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה 1 Kings xi. 41, comp. 2 Chron. ix. 29,—the history of David, of Solomon; דְּבָרֵי יֶרֶבֹעַם, 1 Kings xiv. 19, the acts of Jeroboam, which are more exactly defined by the addition וְאֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ אֶשְׂרָאֵל. So, too, in the case of the other kings, when reference is made to historical works concerning their reigns. It is in this sense that the title of the present book must be understood; and hence both Luther and de Wette have correctly translated it: the history of Nehemiah. Hence the title only testifies to

the fact, that the work at the head of which it stands treats of the things, *i.e.* of the acts, of Nehemiah, and the events that happened to him, without stating anything concerning its author. That Nehemiah was himself the historian of his own deeds, appears only from the circumstance that the narrative is written in the first person.

The *contents* of the book are as follows: Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, a Jew, of whom nothing further is known, and cupbearer to the Persian king Artaxerxes Longimanus, is plunged into deep affliction by the account he receives from his brother Hanani, and certain other men from Judah, of the sad condition of those who had returned from Babylon, and especially of the state of the ruined walls and gates of Jerusalem. He entreats with fervent supplications the mercy of God (chap. i.), and shortly after seizes a favourable opportunity to request the king to send him to Judah to build the city of his fathers' sepulchres, and to give him letters to the governors on the other side of Euphrates, that they may provide him with wood for building from the royal forests. This petition being graciously acceded to by the monarch, he travels, accompanied by captains of forces and horsemen, to Jerusalem, and soon after his arrival rides by night round the city, accompanied by some few companions, to ascertain the state of the walls. He then communicates to the rulers of the people his resolution to build and restore the walls, and invites them to undertake this work with him (chap. ii.). Then follows in chap. iii. 1-32 a list of the individuals and families who built the several portions of the wall with their gates; and in chap. iii. 33-vi. 19, an account of the difficulties Nehemiah had to overcome in the prosecution of the work, *viz.*: (1) the attempts of the enemies of the Jews forcibly to oppose and hinder the building, by reason of which the builders were obliged to work with weapons in their hands (iii. 33-iv. 17); (2) the oppression of the poorer members of the community by wealthy usurers, which Nehemiah put a stop to by seriously reproving their injustice, and by his own great unselfishness (chap. v.); and (3) the plots made against his life by his enemies, which he frustrated

by the courageous faith with which he encountered them. Thus the building of the wall was, notwithstanding all these difficulties, brought to a successful termination (chap. vi.).—This work accomplished, Nehemiah directed his efforts towards securing the city against hostile attacks by appointing watches at the gates (vii. 1–3), and increasing the numbers of the dwellers in Jerusalem; in pursuance of which design, he assembled the nobles and people for the purpose of enrolling their names according to their genealogy (vii. 4, 5). While occupied with this matter, he found a list of those houses of Judah that had returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Joshua; and this he gives, vii. 6–73. Then, on the approach of the seventh month of the year, the people assembled at Jerusalem to hear the public reading of the law by Ezra, to keep the new moon and the feast of this month, and, after the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, to observe a day of prayer and fasting, on which occasion the Levites making confession of sin in the name of the congregation, they renewed their covenant with God by entering into an oath to keep the law. This covenant being committed to writing, was sealed by Nehemiah as governor, by the chiefs of the priests, of the Levites, and of the houses of the people, and the contributions for the support of the worship of God and its ministers arranged (viii.–x.). The decision arrived at concerning the increase of the inhabitants of Jerusalem was next carried into execution, one of every ten dwellers in the provinces being chosen by lot to go to Jerusalem and dwell there (xi. 1, 2). Then follow lists, (1) of the houses and races who dwelt in Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah and Benjamin (xi. 3–36); (2) of the priestly and Levitical families who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Joshua, and of the heads of priestly and Levitical families in the days of Joiakim the high priest, Nehemiah, and Ezra (xii. 1–26). These are succeeded by an account of the solemn dedication of the walls (xii. 27–43). Then, finally, after some general remarks on certain institutions of divine worship, and an account of a public reading of the law (xii. 44–xiii. 3), the book concludes with a brief

narration of what Nehemiah effected during his second sojourn there, after his journey to the court in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, and his return for the purpose of putting a stop to certain illegal acts which had prevailed during his absence, such as marriages with heathen women, non-payment of tithes and dues to Levites, desecration of the Sabbath by field-labour, and by buying and selling (xiii. 4-31).

According to what has been stated, this book may be divided into three sections. The first, chaps. i.-vi., treats of the building of the walls and gates of Jerusalem through the instrumentality of Nehemiah; the narrative concerning the occasion of his journey, and the account of the journey itself (i. 1-ii. 10), forming the introduction. The second, chaps. vii.-xii. 43, furnishes a description of the further efforts of Nehemiah to increase and ensure the prosperity of the community in Judah and Jerusalem, first, by securing Jerusalem from hostile attacks; then, by seeking to increase the population of the city; and, lastly, by endeavouring to bring the domestic and civil life of the people into conformity with the precepts of the law, and thus to furnish the necessary moral and religious basis for the due development of the covenant people. The third, chap. xii. 44-xiii. 31, states how Nehemiah, during his second sojourn at Jerusalem, continued these efforts for the purpose of ensuring the permanence of the reform which had been undertaken.

The aim of Nehemiah's proceedings was to place the civil prosperity of the Israelites, now returned from exile to the land of their fathers, on a firm basis. Briefly to describe what he effected, at one time by direct personal effort, at another in conjunction with his contemporary Ezra the priest and scribe, is the *object* of his record. As Nehemiah's efforts for the civil welfare of his people as the congregation of the Lord were but a continuation of those by which Zerubbabel the prince, Joshua the high priest, and Ezra the scribe had effected the foundation of the community of returned exiles, so too does his book form the continuation and completion of that of Ezra, and may in this respect be

regarded as its second part. It is, moreover, not merely similar in kind, to the book of Ezra, especially with regard to the insertion of historical and statistical lists and genealogical registries, but has also the same historical object, viz. to show how the people of Israel, after their return from the Babylonian captivity, were by the instrumentality of Nehemiah fully re-established in the land of promise as the congregation of the Lord.

§ 2. INTEGRITY OF THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH, AND DATE  
OF ITS COMPOSITION.

Nehemiah gives his account of the greater part of his labours for the good of his fellow-countrymen in the first person; and this form of narrative is not only uniformly maintained throughout the first six chapters (from i. 1–vii. 5), but also recurs in chap. xii. 27–43, and from xiii. 6 to the end. The formula too: Think upon me, my God, etc., peculiar to Nehemiah, is repeated v. 19, vi. 14, xiii. 14, 22, 29, 31. Hence not only has the composition of the larger portion of this book been universally admitted to be the work of Nehemiah, but the integrity of its first section (i.–vi.) has been generally acknowledged. On the composition and authorship of the second section, vii. 73*b*–xii. 26, on the contrary, the verdict of modern criticism is almost unanimous in pronouncing it not to have been the work of Nehemiah, but composed from various older documents and records by the compiler of the books of 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah—the so-called chronicler who lived a hundred years later—and by him interpolated in “the record of Nehemiah.” This view has been chiefly based upon the facts, that in chaps. viii.–x. the style is different; that Nehemiah himself is not the prominent person, Ezra occupying the foreground, and Nehemiah being merely the subject of a passing remark (viii. 9 and x. 2); that there is in viii. 14 no reference to Ezra iii. 4 with respect to the feast of tabernacles; and that Ezra iii. 1 is in verbal accordance with Neh. viii. 1 (Bertheau, *Comm.* p. 11, and de Wette-Schrader,

*Einl. in das A. T.* § 236). Of these reasons, the first (the dissimilarity of style) is an assertion arising from a superficial examination of these chapters, and in support of which nothing further is adduced than that, instead of *Elohim*, and especially the God of heaven, elsewhere current with Nehemiah when speaking of God, the names *Jehovah*, *Adonai*, and *Elohim* are in this section used promiscuously. In fact, however, the name *Elohim* is chiefly used even in these chapters, and *Jahve* but seldom; while in the prayer chap. ix. especially, such other appellations of God occur as Nehemiah, with the solemnity befitting the language of supplication, uses also in the prayer in chap. i.<sup>1</sup> The other three reasons are indeed correct, in so far as they are actual facts, but they prove nothing. It is true that in chap. viii.-x. Nehemiah personally occupies a less prominent position than Ezra, but this is because the actions therein related, viz. the public reading of the law, and the direction of the sacred festivals, belonged not to the office of Nehemiah the Tirshatha and royal governor, but to that of Ezra the scribe, and to the priests and Levites. Even here, however, Nehemiah, as the royal Tirshatha, stands at the head of the assembled people, encourages them in conjunction with Ezra and the priests, and is the first, as *præcipuum membrum ecclesiæ* (x. 2), to seal the document of the covenant just concluded. Again, though it is certain that in the description of the feast of tabernacles, viii. 14 sq., there is no express allusion to its former celebration under Zerubbabel and Joshua, Ezra iii. 4, yet such allusions are unusual with biblical writers in general. This is shown, *e.g.*, by a comparison of 2 Chron. xxxv. 1, 18 with 2 Chron. xxx. 1, 13-26; and yet it has never struck any critic that an argument against the single authorship of 2 Chron. might be found in the fact that no allusion to the earlier passover held under Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxx., is made in the description of the passover under Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv. Finally, the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the exact statement of the case in my *Lehrbuch*, § 149, note 4, which opponents have ignored, because nothing in the way of facts can be brought against it.

verbal coincidence of chap. viii. 1 (properly vii. 73b and viii. 1) with Ezra iii. 1 amounts to the statement that "when the seventh month was come, all Israel gathered out of their cities as one man to Jerusalem." All else is totally different; the assembly in Neh. viii. pursues entirely different objects and undertakes entirely different matters from that in Ezra iii. The peculiarities, moreover, of Nehemiah's style could as little appear in what is narrated, chaps. viii.—x., as in his description of the building of the wall, iii. 1–32, or in the list of the families who returned from captivity with Zerubbabel and Joshua, chap. vii.—portions which no one has yet seriously objected to as integral parts of the book of Nehemiah. The same remark applies to the list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the province, xi. 3–36, which even Bertheau and Schrader admit to have originated from the record of Nehemiah, or to have been composed by Nehemiah. If, however, Nehemiah composed these lists, or incorporated them in his record, why should it not also be himself, and not the "subsequent chronicler," who inserted in his work the lists of priests and Levites, xii. 1–26, when the description of the dedication of the wall which immediately follows them is evidently his own composition?

One reason for maintaining that these lists of priests and Levites are of later origin than the times of Nehemiah is said to be, that they extend to Jaddua the high priest, who was contemporary with Alexander the Great. If this assertion were as certain as it is confidently brought forward, then indeed these lists might well be regarded as a subsequent interpolation in the book of Nehemiah. For Nehemiah, who was at least thirty years of age when he first came to Jerusalem, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, *i.e.* B.C. 445, could hardly have lived to witness the overthrow of the Persian monarchy by Alexander, B.C. 330; or, even if he did attain the age of 145, would not have postponed the writing of his book to the last years of his life. When, however, we consider somewhat more closely the priests and Levites in question, we shall perceive that vers. 1–9 of

chap. xii. contain a list of the chiefs of the priests and Levites who returned from captivity with Zerubbabel and Joshua, which consequently descends from the times before Nehemiah; vers. 12-21, a list of the heads of the priestly houses in the days of the high priest Joiakim, the son of Joshua; and vers. 24 and 25, a list of the heads or chiefs of Levi (of the Levites), with the closing remark, ver. 26: "These were in the days of Joiakim the son of Joshua, and in the days of Nehemiah and Ezra." Now the high priest Joiakim, the son of Joshua, the contemporary of Zerubbabel, was the predecessor and father of the high priest Eliashib, the contemporary of Nehemiah. Consequently both these lists descend from the time previous to Nehemiah's arrival at Jerusalem; and the mention of Ezra and Nehemiah along with Joiakim proves nothing more than that the chiefs of the Levites mentioned in the last list were still living in the days of Nehemiah. Thus these three lists contain absolutely nothing which reaches to a period subsequent to Nehemiah. Between the first and second, however, there stands (vers. 10 and 11) the genealogical notice: Joshua begat Joiakim, Joiakim begat Eliashib, Eliashib begat Jonathan (correct reading, Johanan), and Jonathan begat Jaddua; and between the second and third it is said, ver. 22: With respect to the Levites, in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, the heads of houses are recorded, and the priests under the reign of Darius the Persian; and ver. 23: With respect to the sons of Levi, the heads of houses are recorded in the book of the Chronicles even to the days of Johanan. From these verses (10, 11, and 22, 23) it is inferred that the lists descend to the time of the high-priesthood of Jaddua, the contemporary of Alexander the Great. To this we reply, that viewing the circumstance that Eliashib was high priest in the time of Nehemiah (iii. 1, xiii. 4, 7), it cannot be an absolute objection that Jaddua was still living in the days of Alexander the Great, since from the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *i.e.* from B.C. 433, to the destruction of the Persian empire B.C. 330, there are only 103



years, a period for which three high priests, each exercising his office thirty-five years, would suffice. But on the other hand, it is very questionable whether in vers. 11 and 12 Jaddua is mentioned as the officiating high priest, or only as the son of Johanan, and grandson of Joiada the high priest. The former of these views receives no corroboration from ver. 11, for there nothing else is given but the genealogy of the high-priestly line. Nor can it any more be proved from ver. 22 that the words, "in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, were the Levites recorded or enrolled," are to be understood of four different lists made under four successive high priests. The most natural sense of the words, on the contrary, is that *one* enrolment took place in the days of these four individuals of the high-priestly house. If Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua were all alive at the same time, this, the most natural view, must also be the correct one, because in each of the other lists of the same chapter, the times of only one high priest are mentioned, and at the close of the list, ver. 26, it is expressly stated that the (previously enrolled) Levites were chiefs in the days of Joiakim, Ezra, and Nehemiah. It is not, moreover, difficult to prove that Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua were living contemporaneously. For Eliashib, whom Nehemiah found high priest at his arrival at Jerusalem (iii. 1), being the grandson of Joshua, who returned from Babylon in the year 536 with Zerubbabel, would in 445 be anything but a young man. Indeed, he must then have been about seventy-five years old. Moreover, it appears from xiii. 4 and 7, that in 433, when Nehemiah returned to Artaxerxes, he was still in office, though on Nehemiah's return he was no longer alive, and that he therefore died soon after 433, at the age of about ninety. If, however, this was his age when he died, his son Joiada might then be already sixty-three, his grandson Johanan thirty-six, his great-grandson Jaddua nine, if each were respectively born in the twenty-seventh year of his father's lifetime.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If Jaddua were on the death of his great-great-grandfather (between

The view (of vers. 11, 12, and 22) just stated, is confirmed both by vers. 22*b* and 23, and by chap. xiii. 28. According to 22*b*, the chiefs or heads of the priestly houses were enrolled under the government of Darius the Persian. Now there is no doubt that this Darius is Darius Nothus, the successor of Artaxerxes Longimanus, who reigned from 424 to 404. The notion that Darius Codomanus is intended, rests upon the mistaken view that in ver. 11 Jaddua is mentioned as the high priest already in office. According to ver. 23, the heads of the houses of the Levites were enrolled in the book of the Chronicles even until the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib. The days of Johanan—that is, the period of his high-priesthood—are here named as the latest date to which the author of this book extends the genealogical lists of the Levites. And this well agrees with the information, chap. xiii. 18, that during Nehemiah's absence at Jerusalem, one of the sons of Joiada the high priest allied himself by marriage with Sanballat the Horonite, *i.e.* married one of his daughters, and was driven away by Nehemiah. If Joiada had even in the days of Nehemiah a married son, Johanan the first-born son of Joiada, the presumptive successor to the high-priesthood, might well have been at that time so long a married man as to have already witnessed the birth of his son Jaddua.

To complete our proof that the contents of chap. xii. do not extend to a period subsequent to Nehemiah, we have still to discuss the question, how long he held office in Judæa, and when he wrote the book in which he relates what he there effected. Both these questions can be answered with sufficient accuracy for our purpose, though the exact year cannot be named. Concerning the time he held office in Jerusalem, he only remarks in his book that he was governor from the

433 and 430 B.C.) about ten years old, he might also live to witness the appearance of Alexander the Great before Jerusalem, 330 B.C. (mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 8. 4), since he would then have attained the age of 110, which does not seem incredible, when it is considered that Jehoiada, the high priest in the reign of Joash, was 130 when he died (2 Chron. xxiv. 15).

twentieth to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, and that in the thirty-second year of that monarch he again returned to the court, and afterwards, לָקֵץ יָמִים, came back to Jerusalem (v. 14, and xiii. 6). The term לָקֵץ יָמִים is very indefinite; but the interpretation, "at the end of the year," is incorrect and unsupported. It is quite evident, from the irregularities and transgressions of the law which occurred in the community during his absence from Jerusalem, that Nehemiah must have remained longer than a year at the court, and, indeed, that he did not return for some years. Besides the withholding of the dues to the Levites (xiii. 10 sq.) and the desecration of the Sabbath (xiii. 15 sq.),—transgressions of the law which might have occurred soon after Nehemiah's departure,—Eliashib had not only the priest fitted up a chamber in the fore-court of the temple as a dwelling for his connection Tobiah (xiii. 4), but Jews had also married women of Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab, and had children by them who spake not the Jews' language, but only that of Ashdod, in the interval (xiii. 23). These facts presuppose an absence of several years on the part of Nehemiah, even if many of these unlawful marriages had been previously contracted, and only came to his knowledge after his return.—Neither are there adequate grounds for the notion that Nehemiah lived but a short time after his return to Jerusalem. The suppression of these infringements of the law, which is narrated chap. xiii. 7-31, might, indeed, have been accomplished in a few months; but we are by no means justified in inferring that this was the last of his labours for the welfare of his fellow-countrymen, and that his own life terminated soon after, because he relates nothing more than his procedure against these transgressions. After the removal of these irregularities, and the re-establishment of legal order in divine worship and social life, he might have lived for a long period at Jerusalem without effecting anything, the record of which it might be important to hand down to posterity. If we suppose him to have been from thirty-five to forty years of age when, being cupbearer to Artaxerxes, he was sent at

his own request, in the twentieth year of that monarch's reign (445 B.C.), as governor to Judah, he might well have exercised his office in Judah and Jerusalem from thirty-five to forty years, including his journey back to the court in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, *i.e.* till 405 B.C. This would make him live till the nineteenth year of Darius Nothus, and not die till he was from seventy-five to eighty years of age. If we further suppose that he composed this book some ten years before his death, *i.e.* thirty years after his first arrival at Jerusalem, when he had, as far as lay in his power, arranged the affairs of Judah, it would then be possible for him to relate and describe all that is contained in the canonical book of Nehemiah. For in the year 415 B.C., *i.e.* in the ninth year of Darius Nothus, genealogical lists of priests and Levites of the time of Joiakim the high priest, reaching down to the days of Johanan the son (grandson) of Eliashib, and of the time of the reign of Darius Nothus, might already be written in the book of the Chronicles, as mentioned xii. 23, compared with 22 and 26. Then, too, the high priest Joiada might already have been dead, his son Johanan have succeeded to the office, and Jaddua, the son of the latter, have already attained the age of twenty-five.—This book would consequently contain no historical information and no single remark which Nehemiah might not himself have written. Hence the contents of the book itself furnish not the slightest opposition to the view that the whole was the work of Nehemiah.

When, however, we turn our attention to its form, that unity of character to which modern criticism attaches so much importance seems to be wanting in the second half. We have, however, already remarked that neither the lack of prominence given to the person of Nehemiah, nor the circumstance that he is in these chapters spoken of in the third person, furnish incontestable arguments against the integrity of this book. For in the section concerning the dedication of the wall, xii. 27-43, Nehemiah's authorship of which no critic has as yet impugned, he only brings himself forward (31 and 38) when mentioning what he had

himself appointed and done, while the rest of the narrative is not in the communicative form of speech: we sought the Levites, we offered, etc., which he employs in the account of the making of a covenant, but in the objective form: they sought the Levites, they offered, etc. (27 and 43). The want of connection between the several sections seems to us far more striking. Chaps. viii.-x. form, indeed, a connected section, the commencement of which (vii. 73b) by the circumstantial clause, "when the children of Israel dwelt in their cities," combines it, even by a repetition of the very form of words, with the preceding list; but the commencement of chap. xi. is somewhat abrupt, while between xi. and xii. and between vers. 26 and 27 of chap. xii. there is nothing to mark the connection. This gives the sections, chaps. viii.-x. and xii. 1-26, the appearance of being subsequent interpolations or insertions in Nehemiah's record; and there is thus much of real foundation for this appearance, that this book is not a continuous narrative or description of Nehemiah's proceedings in Judah,—historical, topographical, and genealogical lists, which interrupt the thread of the history, being inserted in it. But it by no means follows, that because such is the nature of the book, the inserted portions must therefore have been the subsequent interpolations of another hand, in the record composed by Nehemiah. This inference of modern criticism is based upon an erroneous conception of the nature and intention of this book, which is first of all regarded, if not as a biography or diary of Nehemiah, yet as a "record," in which he noted down only the most important facts concerning his journey to Jerusalem and his proceedings there. For this preconception, neither the canonical book of Nehemiah, nor a comparison of those sections which are universally admitted to be his, furnish any adequate support. For with regard, first, to these sections, it is obvious from ver. 14, where Nehemiah during the building of the wall reproaches the usurers, saying, "From the time that I was appointed to be governor in the land of Judah, from the twentieth to the two-and-thirtieth year of Artaxerxes, that is, twelve years, I and my

brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor," that Nehemiah wrote the account of his labours in Judah from memory after the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes. When we compare with this the manner in which he speaks quite incidentally (xiii. 6 sq.) of his absence from Jerusalem and his journey to the court, in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, and connects the account of the chamber vacated for Tobiah in the fore-court of the temple (xiii. 4) with the previous narrative of the public reading of the law and the severance of the strangers from Israel by the formula *וְלִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ*, "and before this," making it appear as though this public reading of the law and severance of strangers had followed his return from the court; and further, consider that the public reading of the law mentioned, xiii. 1, is combined with the section, chap. xii. 44, and this section again (xii. 44) with the account of the dedication of the wall by the formula, "at that time;" it is undoubtedly obvious that Nehemiah did not write his whole work till the evening of his days, and after he had accomplished all that was most important in the labours he undertook for Jerusalem and his fellow-countrymen, and that he makes no decided distinction between his labours during his second sojourn at Jerusalem and those of his former stay of twelve years.

If, then, these circumstances indisputably show that the work composed by Nehemiah himself did not bear the form of a diary, the admission into it of the list of those who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Joshua (vii. 6-73) makes it manifest that it was not his intention to give an unbroken narrative of his efforts and their results in Jerusalem. This list, moreover, which he found when occupied with his plan for increasing the population of Jerusalem, is shown by the words, "I found therein written," to have been admitted by himself into his work, and inserted in his account of what God had put it into his heart to do with respect to the peopling of Jerusalem (vii. 5), and of the manner in which he had carried out his resolution (xi. 1, 2), as a valuable document with respect to the history of the community, although the continuous thread of the

narrative was broken by the interpolation. From his admission of this list, we may infer that he also incorporated other not less important documents, such as the lists of the priests and Levites, xii. 1-26, in his book, without troubling himself about the continuous progress of the historical narrative, because it was his purpose not merely to portray his own labours in Jerusalem, but to describe the development and circumstances of the reinstated community under his own and Ezra's leadership.<sup>1</sup> This being the case, there can be no reason whatever for denying Nehemiah's authorship of the account of the religious solemnities in chaps. viii.-x., especially as the communicative form in which the narrative is written, bears witness that one of the leaders of that assembly of the people composed this account of it, and the expression, "we will not forsake the house of our God," with which it closes (x. 40), is a form of speech peculiar to Nehemiah, and repeated by him xiii. 11. Such considerations seem to us to do away with any doubts which may have been raised as to the integrity of the whole book, and the authorship of Nehemiah.


For the exegetical literature, see my *Lehrb.* p. 460. Comp. also Ed. Barde, *Néhémie étude critique et exegetique*, Tübing. 1861, and Bertheau's *Commentary* already quoted, p. 18.

<sup>1</sup> "*Néhémie*," remarks Ed. Barde in his *Etude critique et exegetique*, p. 48, "*n'écrit pas sa biographie: son but est l'histoire de la restauration de Jérusalem et du culte, pour montrer l'accomplissement des promesses de Dieu.*"

## EXPOSITION.

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### I.—NEHEMIAH'S JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM, AND THE RESTORATION OF THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.—CHAP. I.—VI.

 EHEMIAH, cup-bearer to King Artaxerxes, is plunged into deep affliction by the account which he receives from certain individuals from Judah of the sad condition of his countrymen who had returned to Jerusalem and Judah. He prays with fasting to the Lord for mercy (chap. i.), and on a favourable opportunity entreats the king and queen for permission to make a journey to Jerusalem, and for the necessary authority to repair its ruined walls. His request being granted, he travels as governor to Jerusalem, provided with letters from the king, and escorted by captains of the army and horsemen (ii. 1–10). Soon after his arrival, he surveys the condition of the walls and gates, summons the rulers of the people and the priests to set about building the wall, and in spite of the obstacles he encounters from the enemies of the Jews, accomplishes this work (ii. 11–vi. 19). In describing the manner in which the building of the walls was carried on, he first enumerates in succession (iii. 1–32) the individuals and companies engaged in restoring the walls surrounding the city (iii. 1–32), and then relates the obstacles and difficulties encountered (iii. 33–vi. 19).

#### CHAP. I.—NEHEMIAH'S INTEREST IN AND PRAYER FOR JERUSALEM.

Vers. 1–4. In the twentieth<sup>e</sup> year of the reign of Artaxerxes, Nehemiah, being then at Susa, received from one of



his brethren, and other individuals from Judah, information which deeply grieved him, concerning the sad condition of the captives who had returned to the land of their fathers, and the state of Jerusalem. Ver. 1a contains the title of the whole book: the History of Nehemiah (see p. 139). By the addition "son of Hachaliah," Nehemiah is distinguished from others of the same name (*e.g.* from Nehemiah the son of Azbuk, iii. 16). Another Nehemiah, too, returned from captivity with Zerubbabel, Ezra ii. 2. Of Hachaliah we know nothing further, his name occurring but once more, x. 2, in conjunction, as here, with that of Nehemiah. Eusebius and Jerome assert that Nehemiah was of the tribe of Judah, —a statement which may be correct, but is unsupported by any evidence from the Old Testament. According to ver. 11, he was cup-bearer to the Persian king, and was, at his own request, appointed for some time Pecha, *i.e.* governor, of Judah. Comp. v. 14, xii. 26, and viii. 9, x. 2. "In the month Chisleu of the twentieth year I was in the citadel of Susa"—such is the manner in which Nehemiah commences the narrative of his labours for Jerusalem. Chisleu is the ninth month of the year, answering to our December. Comp. Zech. vii. 1, 1 Macc. iv. 52. The twentieth year is, according to chap. ii. 1, the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus. On the citadel of Susa, see further details in the remarks on Dan. viii. 2. Susa was the capital of the province Susiana, and its citadel, called by the Greeks Memnoneion, was strongly fortified. The kings of Persia were accustomed to reside here during some months of the year.—Ver. 2. There came to Nehemiah Hanani, one of his brethren, and certain men from Judah. אֶחָד מֵאֶחָי, one of my brethren, might mean merely a relation of Nehemiah, אֶחָי being often used of more distant relations; but since Nehemiah calls Hanani אֶחָי in vii. 10, it is evident that his own brother is meant. "And I asked them concerning the Jews, and concerning Jerusalem." הַיְּהוּדִים is further defined by הַפְּלִיטָה וְגו', who had escaped, who were left from the captivity; those who had returned to Judah are intended, as contrasted with those who still remained in heathen

lands. In the answer, ver. 3, they are more precisely designated as being "there in the province (of Judah)." With respect to *הַמְּדִינָה*, see remarks on Ezra ii. 1. They are said to be "in great affliction (*רָעָה*) and in reproach." Their affliction is more nearly defined by the accessory clause which follows: and the wall = because the wall of Jerusalem is broken down, and its gates burned with fire. *הַפְּרָצָה*, Pual (the intensive form), broken down, does not necessarily mean that the whole wall was destroyed, but only portions, as appears from the subsequent description of the building of the wall, chap. iii.—Ver. 4. This description of the state of the returned captives plunged Nehemiah into such deep affliction, that he passed some days in mourning, fasting, and prayer. Opinions are divided with respect to the historical relation of the facts mentioned ver. 3. Some older expositors thought that Hanani could not have spoken of the destruction of the walls and gates of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, because this was already sufficiently known to Nehemiah, but of some recent demolition on the part of Samaritans and other hostile neighbours of the Jews; in opposition to which, Rambach simply replies that we are told nothing of a restoration of the wall of Jerusalem by Zerubbabel and Ezra. More recently Ewald (*Geschichte*, iv. p. 137 seq.) has endeavoured to show, from certain psalms which he transposes to post-Babylonian times, the probability of a destruction of the rebuilt wall, but gives a decided negative to the question, whether this took place during the thirteen years between the arrivals of Ezra and Nehemiah (p. 167). "For," says he, "there is not in the whole of Nehemiah's record the most distant hint that the walls had been destroyed only a short time since; but, on the contrary, this destruction was already so remote an event, that its occasion and authors were no longer spoken of." Vaihinger (*Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1857, p. 88, comp. 1854, p. 124 sq.) and Bertheau are of opinion that it indisputably follows from Neh. i. 3, 4, as appearances show, that the walls of Jerusalem were actually rebuilt and the gates set up before the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, and

that the destruction of this laborious work, which occasioned the sending of an embassy to the Persian court, was of quite recent occurrence, since otherwise Nehemiah would not have been so painfully affected by it. But even the very opposite opinion held concerning the impression made upon the reader by these verses, shows that appearances are deceitful, and the view that the destruction of the walls and gates was of quite recent occurrence is not implied by the words themselves, but only inserted in them by expositors. There is no kind of historical evidence that the walls of Jerusalem which had been destroyed by the Chaldeans were once more rebuilt before Nehemiah's arrival. The documents given by Ezra chap. iv. 8-22, which are in this instance appealed to, so far from proving the fact, rather bear testimony against it. The counsellor Rehum and the scribe Shimshai, in their letter to Artaxerxes, accuse indeed the Jews of building a rebellious and bad city, of restoring its walls and digging its foundations (Ezra iv. 12); but they only give the king to understand that if this city be built and its walls restored, the king will no longer have a portion on this side the river (ver. 16), and hasten to Jerusalem, as soon as they receive the king's decision, to hinder the Jews by force and power (ver. 23). Now, even if this accusation were quite well founded, nothing further can be inferred from it than that the Jews had begun to restore the walls, but were hindered in the midst of their undertaking. Nothing is said in these documents either of a rebuilding, *i.e.* a complete restoration, of the walls and setting up of the gates, or of breaking down the walls and burning the gates. It cannot be said that to build a wall means the same as pulling down a wall already built. Nor is anything said in vers. 3 and 4 of a recent demolition. The assertion, too, that the destruction of this laborious work was the occasion of the mission of Hanani and certain men of Judah to the Persian court (Vaihinger), is entirely without scriptural support. In vers. 2 and 3 it is merely said that Hanani and his companions came from Judah to Nehemiah, and that Nehemiah questioned them concerning the

condition of the Jews in the province of Judah, and concerning Jerusalem, and that they answered: The Jews there are in great affliction and reproach, for the wall of Jerusalem is broken down (מִפְּרֻצָּה is a participle expressing the state, not the præter. or perfect, which would be found here if a destruction recently effected were spoken of). Nehemiah, too, in ii. 3 and 17, only says: The city of my fathers' sepulchres (Jerusalem) lieth desolate (חֲרָבָה is an adjective), not: *has been* desolated. Nor can a visit on the part of Jews from Judah to their compatriot and relative, the king's cup-bearer, be called a mission to the Persian court.—With respect also to the deep affliction of Nehemiah, upon which Bertheau lays so much stress, it by no means proves that he had received a terrible account of some fresh calamity which had but just befallen the community at Jerusalem, and whose whole extent was as yet unknown to him. Nehemiah had not as yet been to Jerusalem, and could not from his own experience know the state of affairs in Judah and Jerusalem; hence he questioned the newly arrived visitors, not concerning the latest occurrences, but as to the general condition of the returned captives. The fact of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldees could not, of course, be unknown to him; but neither could he be ignorant that now ninety years since a great number of captives had returned to their homes with Zerubbabel and settled in Judah and Jerusalem, and that seventy years since the temple at Jerusalem had been rebuilt. Judging from these facts, he might not have imagined that the state of affairs in Judah and Jerusalem was so bad as it really was. When, then, he now learnt that those who had returned to Judah were in great affliction, that the walls of the town were still lying in ruins and its gates burned, and that it was therefore exposed defenceless to all the insults of hostile neighbours, even this information might well grieve him. It is also probable that it was through Hanani and his companions that he first learnt of the inimical epistle of the royal officials Rehun and Shimshai to Artaxerxes, and of the answer sent thereto by that

monarch, and thus became for the first time aware of the magnitude of his fellow-countrymen's difficulties. Such intelligence might well be such a shock to him as to cause the amount of distress described ver. 4. For even if he indulged the hope that the king might repeal the decree by which the rebuilding of the wall had been prohibited till further orders, he could not but perceive how difficult it would be effectually to remedy the grievous state in which his countrymen who had returned to the land of their fathers found themselves, while the disposition of their neighbours towards them was thus hostile. This state was indeed sufficiently distressing to cause deep pain to one who had a heart alive to the welfare of his nation, and there is no need for inventing new "calamities," of which history knows nothing, to account for the sorrow of Nehemiah. Finally, the circumstance that the destruction of the walls and burning of the gates are alone mentioned as proofs of the affliction and reproach which the returned exiles were suffering, arises simply from an intention to hint at the remedy about to be described in the narrative which follows, by bringing this special kind of reproach prominently forward.

Vers. 5-11. *Nehemiah's prayer*, as given in these verses, comprises the prayers which he prayed day and night, during the period of his mourning and fasting (ver. 4 comp. ver. 6), to his faithful and covenant God, to obtain mercy for his people, and the divine blessing upon his project for their assistance.—Ver. 5. The invocation of Jahve as: Thou God of heaven, alludes to God's almighty government of the world, and the further predicates of God, to His covenant faithfulness. "Thou great and terrible God" recalls Deut. vii. 21, and "who keepest covenant and mercy," etc., Deut. vii. 9 and Ex. xx. 5, 6.—Ver. 6. "Let Thine ear be attentive, and Thine eyes open," like 2 Chron. vi. 40, vii. 15—לִשְׁמֹעַ, that Thou mayest hearken to the prayer of Thy servant, which I pray, and how I confess concerning . . . מִתְּוִרָה still depends upon אָשָׁר in the sense of: and what I confess concerning the sins. יָדִים does not here

mean to-day, but now, at this time, as the addition "day and night" compared with יָמִים in ver. 4 shows. To strengthen the communicative form הִתְאַנִּי לָךְ, and to acknowledge before God how deeply penetrated he was by the feeling of his own sin and guilt, he adds: and I and my father's house have sinned.—Ver. 7. We have dealt very corruptly against Thee. הָבַל is the *inf. constr.* instead of the *infin. abs.*, which, before the finite verb, and by reason of its close connection therewith, becomes the *infin. constr.*, like הָיוֹת אֲחֵיךָ, Ps. l. 21; comp. Ewald, § 240, c. The dealing corruptly against God consists in not having kept the commandments, statutes, and judgments of the law.—Vers. 8 and 9. With his confession of grievous transgression, Nehemiah combines the petition that the Lord would be mindful of His word declared by Moses, that if His people, whom He had scattered among the heathen for their sins, should turn to Him and keep His commandments, He would gather them from all places where He had scattered them, and bring them back to the place which He had chosen to place His name there. This word (הַדְּבָר) he designates, as that which God had commanded to His servant Moses, inasmuch as it formed a part of that covenant law which was prescribed to the Israelites as their rule of life. The matter of this word is introduced by לֹא־אֶמְרָ: *ye transgress, I will scatter; i.e. if ye transgress by revolting from me, I will scatter you among the nations,—and ye turn to me and keep my commandments (i.e. if ye turn to me and . . .), if there were of you cast out to the end of heaven (i.e. to the most distant regions where the end of heaven touches the earth), thence will I gather you, etc.* נִפְחָ, *part. Niphal*, with a collective meaning, cast-out ones, like Deut. xxx. 4. These words are no verbal quotation, but a free summary, in which Nehemiah had Deut. xxx. 1–5 chiefly in view, of what God had proclaimed in the law of Moses concerning the dispersion of His people among the heathen if they sinned against Him, and of their return to the land of their fathers if they repented and turned to Him. The clause: if the cast-out ones were at the end of heaven, etc., stands verbally in ver. 4. The last words, ver.

9, "(I will bring them) to the place which I have chosen, that my name may dwell there," are a special application of the general promise of the law to the present case. Jerusalem is meant, where the Lord caused His name to dwell in the temple; comp. Deut. xii. 11. The entreaty to remember this word and to fulfil it, seems ill adapted to existing circumstances, for a portion of the people were already brought back to Jerusalem; and Nehemiah's immediate purpose was to pray, not for the return of those still sojourning among the heathen, but for the removal of the affliction and reproach resting on those who were now at Jerusalem. Still less appropriate seems the citation of the words: If ye transgress, I will scatter you among the nations. It must, however, be remembered that Nehemiah is not so much invoking the divine compassion as the righteousness and faithfulness of a covenant God, the great and terrible God that keepeth covenant and mercy (ver. 5). Now this, God had shown Himself to be, by fulfilling the threats of His law that He would scatter His faithless and transgressing people among the nations. Thus His fulfilment of this one side of the covenant strengthened the hope that God would also keep His other covenant word to His people who turned to Him, viz. that He would bring them again to the land of their fathers, to the place of His gracious presence. Hence the reference to the dispersion of the nation among the heathen, forms the actual substructure for the request that so much of the promise as yet remained unfulfilled might come to pass. Nehemiah, moreover, views this promise in the full depth of its import, as securing to Israel not merely an external return to their native land, but their restoration as a community, in the midst of whom the Lord had His dwelling, and manifested Himself as the defence and refuge of His people. To the re-establishment of this covenant relation very much was still wanting. Those who had returned from captivity had indeed settled in the land of their fathers; and the temple in which they might worship God with sacrifices, according to the law, was rebuilt at Jerusalem. But notwithstanding all this, Jerusalem, with its ruined walls

and burned gates, was still like a city lying waste, and exposed to attacks of all kinds; while the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah were loaded with shame and contempt by their heathen neighbours. In this sense, Jerusalem was not yet restored, and the community dwelling therein not yet brought to the place where the name of the Lord dwelt. In this respect, the promise that Jahve would again manifest Himself to His repentant people as the God of the covenant was still unfulfilled, and the petition that He would gather His people to the place which He had chosen to put His name there, *i.e.* to manifest Himself according to His nature, as testified in His covenant (Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7), quite justifiable. In ver. 10 Nehemiah supports his petition by the words: And these (now dwelling in Judah and Jerusalem) are Thy servants and Thy people whom Thou hast redeemed, etc. His servants who worship Him in His temple, His people whom He has redeemed from Egypt by His great power and by His strong arm, God cannot leave in affliction and reproach. The words: "redeemed with great power" . . . are reminiscences from Deut. vii. 8, ix. 26, 29, and other passages in the Pentateuch, and refer to the deliverance from Egypt.—Ver. 11. The prayer closes with the reiterated entreaty that God would hearken to the prayer of His servant (*i.e.* Nehemiah), and to the prayer of His servants who delight to fear His name (יִרְאוּהוּ, *infin.* like Deut. iv. 10 and elsewhere), *i.e.* of all Israelites who, like Nehemiah, prayed to God to redeem Israel from all his troubles. For himself in particular, Nehemiah also requests: "Prosper Thy servant to-day (הַיּוֹם like ver. 6; לְעִבְרָךְ may be either the *accusative* of the person, like 2 Chron. xxvi. 5, or the *dative*: Prosper his design unto Thy servant, like ii. 20), and give him to mercy (*i.e.* cause him to find mercy; comp. 1 Kings viii. 50; Ps. cvi. 46) before the face of this man." What man he means is explained by the following supplementary remark, "And I was cup-bearer to the king," without whose favour and permission Nehemiah could not have carried his project into execution (as related in chap. ii.).



CHAP. II.—NEHEMIAH JOURNEYS TO JERUSALEM WITH THE KING'S PERMISSION, AND FURNISHED WITH ROYAL LETTERS. HE MAKES A SURVEY OF THE WALLS, AND RESOLVES TO UNDERTAKE THE WORK OF BUILDING THEM.

Three months after receiving the tidings concerning Jerusalem, Nehemiah perceived a favourable opportunity of making request to the king for leave to undertake a journey to the city of his fathers for the purpose of building it, and obtained the permission he entreated, together with letters to the governors on this side the Euphrates to permit him to pass through their provinces, and to the keeper of the royal forests to supply wood for building the walls and gates, and an escort of captains of the army and horsemen for his protection (vers. 1-9), to the great vexation of Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite (ver. 10). In the third night after his arrival at Jerusalem, Nehemiah rode round the city to survey the walls, and incited the rulers of the people and the priests to undertake the work of rebuilding them (vers. 11-18). Sanballat and other enemies of the Jews expressed their contempt thereat, but Nehemiah encountered their ridicule with serious words (vers. 19, 20).

Vers. 1-3. In the month Nisan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, when wine was before him, Nehemiah as cup-bearer took the wine and handed it to the king. *Nisan* is, according to the Hebrew calendar, the first month of the year; yet here, as in chap. i., the twentieth year of Artaxerxes is named, and the month Chisleu there mentioned (ver. 1), which, after the Hebrew method of computing the year, was the ninth month and preceded Nisan by three months, is placed in the same year. This can only be explained on the grounds that either the twentieth year of Artaxerxes did not coincide with the year of the calendar, but began later, or that Nehemiah here uses the computation of time current in anterior Asia, and also among the Jews after the captivity in civil matters, and which made the new year begin in

autumn. Of these two views we esteem the latter to be correct, since it cannot be shown that the years of the king's reign would be reckoned from the day of his accession. In chronological statements they were reckoned according to the years of the calendar, so that the commencement of a year of a reign coincided with that of the civil year. If, moreover, the beginning of the year is placed in autumn, Tishri is the first, Chisleu the third, and Nisan the seventh month. The circumstances which induced Nehemiah not to apply to the king till three months after his reception of the tidings which so distressed him, are not stated. It is probable that he himself required some time for deliberation before he could come to a decision as to the best means of remedying the distresses of Jerusalem; then, too, he may not have ventured at once to bring his request before the king from fear of meeting with a refusal, and may therefore have waited till an opportunity favourable to his desires should present itself. וַיִּן לְפָנָיו, "wine was before the king," is a circumstantial clause explanatory of what follows. The words allude to some banquet at which the king and queen were present. The last sentence, "And I had not been sad before him" (וְעַל according to פְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ of ver. 2, of a sad countenance), can neither mean, I had never before been sad before him (de Wette); nor, I was accustomed not to be sad before him; but, I had not been sad before him at the moment of presenting the cup to him (Bertheau), because it would not have been becoming to serve the king with a sad demeanour: comp. Esth. iv. 2. The king, however, noticed his sadness, and inquired: "Why is thy countenance sad, since thou art not sick? this is nothing but sorrow of heart, *i.e.* thy sadness of countenance can arise only from sorrow of heart. Then I was very sore afraid;" because the unexpected question obliged him to explain the cause of his sorrow, and he could not tell how the king would view the matter, nor whether he would favour his ardent desire to assist his fellow-countrymen in Judah.—Ver. 3. He nevertheless openly expressed his desire, prefacing it by the accustomed form of wishing the king prosperity, saying: "Let the

king live for ever;" comp. Dan. ii. 4, iii. 9. "Why should not my countenance be sad? for the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and its gates are burned with fire." The question, Why . . . ? means: I have certainly sufficient reason for sadness. The reason is, that (אֲשֶׁר) the city where are the graves of my fathers lieth waste.

Vers. 4-10. Then the king, feeling interested, asked him: For what dost thou make request? בִּקֵּשׁ עַל, to make request for or concerning a thing, like Ezra viii. 23, Esth. iv. 8, vii. 7. The question shows that the king was inclined to relieve the distress of Jerusalem which had been just stated to him. "And so I prayed to the God of heaven," to ensure divine assistance in the request he was about to lay before the king. Then Nehemiah answered (ver. 5), "If it please the king, and if thy servant is well-pleasing before thee, (I beg) that thou wouldest send me to Judah, to the city of my fathers' sepulchres, that I may build it." יֵיטֵב לִפְנֵי, here and Esth. v. 14, is of like meaning with יֵיטֵב בְּעֵינֵי or טוֹב, Esth. viii. 5, 2 Sam. xviii. 4: if thy servant is right in thine eyes, i.e. if he thinks rightly concerning the matter in question. The matter of his request is directly combined with this conditional clause by אֲשֶׁר, the connecting term, I beg, being easily supplied from the king's question: For what dost thou beg? —Ver. 6. The king and the queen, who was sitting near him (שָׁמָּה, Ps. xlv. 10), grant him permission to depart after he has, in answer to their inquiry, fixed the period of his absence. Nehemiah makes the result of the conversation, "And it pleased the king," etc., follow immediately upon the question of the king and queen: For how long shall thy journey be, and when wilt thou return? before telling us what was his answer to this question, which is not brought in till afterwards, so that וְאֶתְּנָה לְךָ זֶמֶן must be understood as expressing: since I had determined the time.—Vers. 7, 8. Hereupon Nehemiah also requested from the king letters to the governors beyond (west of) the river (Euphrates), to allow him to travel unmolested through their provinces to Judah (יָתֵנוּ לִי, let them give me = let there be given me; הֶעָבִיר, to pass or travel through a country, comp. Deut. ii. 30);

and a letter to Asaph, the keeper (inspector) of the royal forests, to give him timber to make beams for the gates of the citadel by the temple, and for the walls of the city, and for the governor's own house. These requests were also granted. פֶּרֶדֶס in Cant. iv. 13, Eccles. ii. 5, signifies a park or orchard; it is a word of Aryan origin (in Armenian *pardez*, the garden round the house, in Greek *παράδεισος*), and is explained either from the Sanscrit *para-dêça*, a superior district, or (by Haug) from the Zend. *pairi-daêza*, a fenced-in place. In Old-Persian it probably denoted the king's pleasure-grounds, and in our verse a royal wood or forest. Of the situation of this park nothing reliable can be ascertained. As wood for extensive buildings was to be taken from it, the sycamore forest in the low plains, which had been the property of King David (1 Chron. xxvii. 28), and became, after the overthrow of the Davidic dynasty, first a Babylonian, and then a Persian possession, may be intended.<sup>1</sup> לָקֵרֹת, to timber, to overlay, to cover with beams (comp. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 11) the gates of the citadel which

<sup>1</sup> Older expositors supposed a *regio a Libano ad Antilibanum protensa et arboribus amœnissimis consita* to be meant. In this view, indeed, they followed Cant. iv. 13, but incorrectly. Cler. thought it to be a *tractus terrarum in Judæa, qui Paradisus regius dicebatur*. Josephus speaks (*Ant.* viii. 7. 3) of fine gardens and ponds at Ætham, seven miles south of Jerusalem, where Solomon often made pleasure excursions. Hence Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. p. 169, comp. iii. p. 328) thinks that the פֶּרֶדֶס which belonged to the king must have been Solomon's old royal park at Ætham, which in the time of Nehemiah had become a Persian domain, and that the hill town lying not far to the west of it, and now called by the Arabs Fureidis, i.e. *paradisaic*, may have received its Hebrew name *Beth-Kerem*, i.e. house of vineyards, from similar pleasure-grounds. Hereupon Bertheau grounds the further conjecture, that "the whole district from Ætham to the hill of Paradise, situate about a league east-south-east of Ætham, may from its nature have been once covered with forest; and no hesitation would be felt in connecting the name of the mountain *Gebel el-Fureidis* or *el-Feridis* (Paradise-hill—hill which rises in a Pardes) with the Pardes in question, if it could be proved that this name was already in existence in præ-Christian times." All these conjectures rest on very uncertain bases. The *Dshebel Fureidis* is also called the Hill of the Franks. See the description of it in Robinson's *Palestine*, ii. p. 392 sq., and Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, ii. pp. 565–572

belongs to the house, *i.e.* to the temple. This citadel—בִּירָה, in Greek *Bâris*—by the temple is mentioned here for the first time; for in 1 Chron. xxix. 1, 19, the whole temple is called בִּירָה. It was certainly situate on the same place where Hyrcanus I., son of Simon Maccabæus, or the kings of the Asmonean race, built the ἀκρόπολις and called it Baris (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11. 4, comp. with xviii. 4. 3). This was subsequently rebuilt by Herod when he repaired and enlarged the temple, and named Antonia, in honour of his friend Mark Antony. It was a citadel of considerable size, provided with corner towers, walls, chambers, and spacious courts, built on the north-western side of the external chambers of the temple, for the defence of that edifice, and did not extend the entire length of the north side of the present *Haram*, as Robinson (see *Biblical Researches*, p. 300) seeks to show; comp., on the other hand, Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, i. p. 688 sq., and Rosen, *Haram von Jerusalem*, p. 25 sq. גִּלְחָמֶת is co-ordinate with לְקִירֹת: “and for the walls of the city;” the timber not being used for building the wall itself, but for the gates (iii. 3, 6). “And for the house into which I come (to dwell).” This must be Nehemiah’s official residence as Pecha. For though it is not expressly stated in the present chapter that Nehemiah was appointed Pecha (governor) by Artaxerxes, yet Nehemiah himself tells us, chap. v. 14, that he had been Pecha from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes. Former governors had perhaps no official residence becoming their position. By לְבֵית the temple cannot, as older expositors thought, be intended. This request also was granted by the king, “according to the good hand of my God upon me;” comp. rem. on Ezra vii. 6.—Ver. 9. Nehemiah delivered the letter when he came to the governors on this side Euphrates. The king had also sent with him captains of the army and horsemen. The second half of ver. 9 contains a supplementary remark, so that וַיִּשְׁלַח must be expressed by the pluperfect. Ezra had been ashamed to request a military escort from the Persian monarch (Ezra viii. 22); but the king gave to the high dignitary called Pecha a guard of soldiers, who certainly remained with him in Jerusalem also

for his protection (iv. 17). Besides these, there were in his retinue his brethren, *i.e.* either relations or fellow-countrymen, and servants, comp. iv. 10, v. 10. That this retinue is not mentioned in the present verses, is owing to the fact that the journey itself is not further described, but only indirectly alluded to.—Ver. 10. When Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite heard of his coming, it caused them great annoyance (יָרַע לָהֶם is strengthened by רָעָה נְדוּלָה, as in Jonah iv. 1) that a man (as Nehemiah expresses himself ironically from their point of view) was come to seek the welfare of the children of Israel. Sanballat is called the Horonite either after his birthplace or place of residence, yet certainly not from Horonaim in Moab, as older expositors imagined (Isa. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 34), since he would then have been called a Moabite, but from either the upper or nether Beth-horon, formerly belonging to the tribe of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 3, 5, xviii. 13), and therefore in the time of Nehemiah certainly appertaining to the region of the Samaritans (Berth.). Tobiah the Ammonite is called רָעָבָר, the servant, probably as being a servant or official of the Persian king. These two individuals were undoubtedly influential chiefs of the neighbouring hostile nations of Samaritans and Ammonites, and sought by alliances with Jewish nobles (vi. 17, xiii. 4, 28) to frustrate, whether by force or stratagem, the efforts of Ezra and Nehemiah for the internal and external security of Judah. Nehemiah mentions thus early their annoyance at his arrival, by way of hinting beforehand at their subsequent machinations to delay the fortifying of Jerusalem.

Vers. 11–18. *Nehemiah's arrival at Jerusalem. He surveys the wall, and resolves to restore it.*—Ver. 11. Having arrived at Jerusalem and rested three days (as Ezra had also done, Ezra viii. 32), he arose in the night, and some few men with him, to ride round the wall of the city, and get a notion of its condition. His reason for taking but few men with him is given in the following sentence: “I had told no man what my God had put in my heart to do for Jerusalem.” Although he had come to Jerusalem with the re-

solution of fortifying the city by restoring its circumvallation, he spoke of this to no one until he had ascertained, by an inspection of the wall, the magnitude and extent of the work to be accomplished. For, being aware of the hostility of Sanballat and Tobiah, he desired to keep his intention secret until he felt certain of the possibility of carrying it into execution. Hence he made his survey of the wall by night, and took but few men with him, and those on foot, for the sake of not exciting attention. The beast on which he rode was either a horse or a mule.—Ver. 13. “And I went out by night by the valley-gate, and towards the dragon-well, and to the dung-gate.” וְאֶל-בְּאֵר הַתְּנִינִי, in the direction towards. The dragon-well only occurs here by this name. Judging from its position between the valley-gate and the dung-gate, it is either identical with the well of Gihon (Robinson, *Palestine*, ii. p. 166), whose waters supply the upper and lower pools in the valley of Gihon, the present *Birket el Mamilla* and *Birket es Sultan*, or situate in its immediate neighbourhood. The valley-gate is the modern gate of the city leading to the valley of Gihon, and situated at or near the present Jaffa gate; see rem. on iii. 13. The dung-gate (שַׁעַר הַחֲשִׁיטִית), which in iii. 13 also is placed next the valley-gate, and was a thousand cubits distant therefrom, must be sought for on the south-western side of Zion, where a road, to the south of *Nebi Dâûd* and the Zion gate, now descends into the valley of Hinnom, towards *Sûr Baher*. “And I viewed the walls of Jerusalem which lay broken down, and its gates which were consumed by fire.” The word שָׁבַר, which the LXX. read, “I was breaking down,” gives no tolerable sense; for it cannot mean, I broke through the walls, or, I made a path through the ruins. Many MSS., however, and several editions, offer שָׁבַר; and R. Norzi informs us that D. Kimchi and Aben Ezra read שָׁבַר, of which only the Piel occurs in Hebrew, answers to the Aramæan ܫܒܪ, to look to something; and to the Arabic سبر, to investigate; and כָּבַר means to look on, to consider, to direct the eyes and thoughts to some object. In the open

מ of מַחֲלֵה Hiller conjectures that there is a trace of another reading, perhaps מַפְרָצִים; comp. i. 3.—Ver. 14. “And I went on to the fountain-gate, and to the King’s pool, and there was no room for the beast to come through under me.” The very name of the fountain- or well-gate points to the fountain of Siloah (see rem. on iii. 15); hence it lay on the eastern declivity of Zion, but not in the district or neighbourhood of the present *Bâb el Mogharibeh*, in which tradition finds the ancient dung-gate, but much farther south, in the neighbourhood of the pool of Siloah; see rem. on iii. 15. The King’s pool is probably the same which Josephus (*bell. Jud.* v. 4. 2) calls *Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθρα*, and places east of the spring of Siloah, and which is supposed by Robinson (*Palestine*, ii. pp. 149, 159) and Thenius (*das vorexil. Jerus.*, appendix to a commentary on the books of the Kings, p. 20) to be the present Fountain of the Virgin. Bertheau, however, on the other hand, rightly objects that the Fountain of the Virgin lying deep in the rock, and now reached by a descent of thirty steps, could not properly be designated a pool. He tries rather to identify the King’s pool with the outlet of a canal investigated by Tobler (*Topogr.* i. p. 91 sq.), which the latter regards as a conduit for rain-water, fluid impurities, or even the blood of sacrificed animals; but Bertheau as an aqueduct which, perhaps at the place where its entrance is now found, once filled a pool, of which, indeed, no trace has as yet been discovered. But apart from the difficulty of calling the outlet of a canal a pool (Arnold in Herzog’s *Realencycl.* xviii. p. 656), the circumstance, that Tobler could find in neither of the above-described canals any trace of high antiquity, tells against this conjecture. Much more may be said in favour of the view of E. G. Schultz (*Jerusalem*, p. 58 sq.), that the half-choked-up pool near Ain Silwan may be the King’s pool and Solomon’s pool; for travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mention a *piscina grandis foras natatoria Siloë* at the mouth of the fountain of Siloah (comp. Leyrer in Herzog’s *Realencycl.* xiv. p. 372). See also rem. on iii. 15. Here there was no room for the beast to get



through, the road being choked up with the ruins of the walls that had been destroyed, so that Nehemiah was obliged to dismount.—Ver. 15. Then I (went on) ascending the valley and viewing the wall, and so entered by the valley-gate, and returned. **וַאֲשַׁנְבִּי** with the participle expresses the continuance of an action, and hence in this place the continuous ascent of the valley and survey of the wall. The **נַחַל** which he ascended was doubtless the valley of Kidron (**נַחַל קִדְרוֹן**, 2 Sam. xx. 23, 1 Kings ii. 37, and elsewhere). **וַאֲשַׁנְבִּי וְאָבֹא** are connected, **שָׁנָב** expressing merely the idea of repetition (Gesenius, *heb. Gram.* § 142, 3): I came again into the valley-gate. Older expositors incorrectly explain these words to mean, I turned round, traversing again the road by which I had come; Bertheau: I turned to go farther in a westerly direction, and after making the circuit of the entire city, I re-entered by the valley-gate. This sense is correct as to fact, but inadmissible, as requiring too much to complete it. If we take **אֲשַׁנְבִּי** adverbially, these completions are unnecessary. Nehemiah does not give the particulars of the latter portion of his circuit, but merely tells us that after having ascended the valley of Kidron, he re-entered by the valley-gate, and returned to his residence, obviously assuming, that from the upper part of the vale of Kidron he could only return to the valley-gate at the west by passing along the northern part of the wall.

Vers. 16-18. He had spoken to no one of his purpose (ver. 12); hence the rulers of the city knew neither whither he was going nor what he was doing (*i.e.* undertaking) when he rode by night out of the city gate accompanied by a few followers. As yet he had said nothing either to the Jews (the citizens of Jerusalem), the priests, the nobles, the rulers, or the rest who did the work. **הַכֹּהֲנִים** and **הַחֲרִים** are connected, as in Ezra ix. 2 **הַכֹּהֲנִים** and **הַשָּׂרִים**. The nobles (**חֲרִים**, *nobiles*) or princes are the heads of the different houses or races of the people; **כֹּהֲנִים**, the rulers of the town, the authorities. **עֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה**, the doers of the work, are the builders; comp. Ezra iii. 9. When these are, in comparison with the priests, nobles, and rulers, designated as **יֵתֶר**, the remnant,

this is explained by the fact that the priests and rulers of the people were not actively engaged in building. *הַמְלָאכָה*, the work in question, *i.e.* here the building of the walls. *עַד הַיּוֹם*, until thus, *i.e.* until now, until the time apparent from the context. Nehemiah then, having inspected the condition of the ruined walls, and being now persuaded of the possibility of restoring them, made known his resolution to the nobles, the rulers, and the community, *i.e.* to a public assembly called together for this purpose (ver. 17). "Ye see (have before your eyes, know from experience) the distress that we are in, that Jerusalem lieth waste: come (*לְכִי*), let us build up the walls of Jerusalem, that we be no more a reproach." In other words: Let us by building our walls put an end to the miserable condition which gives our adversaries occasion to reproach us.—Ver. 18. To gain the favourable regard of the assembly for his design, he informs them how God had so far prospered his undertaking: I told them of the hand of my God, that it = that the hand my God had graciously provided for me, *i.e.* that God had so graciously arranged my journey to Jerusalem; and the king's words that he had spoken to me, *sc.* with respect to the building of the wall, of which we are told ii. 8 only thus much, that the king gave orders to the keeper of the royal forest to give him wood for building. Encouraged by this information, the assembly exclaimed, "Let us arise and build;" and "they strengthened their hands for good," *i.e.* they vigorously set about the good work.

Vers. 19 and 20. When the adversaries of the Jews heard this, they derided their resolution. Beside Sanballat and Tobiah (comp. ver. 10), Geshem the Arabian is also named as an adversary: so, too, vi. 1, 2, and 6, where Gashmu, the fuller pronunciation of his name, occurs. He was probably the chief of some Arab race dwelling in South Palestine, not far from Jerusalem (comp. the Arabians, iv. 1). These enemies ironically exclaimed: What is this thing that ye do? will ye rebel against the king? The irony lies in the fact that they did not give the Jews credit for power to build fortifications, so as to be able to rebel. Comp. vi. 6, where

Sanballat, in an open letter to Nehemiah, again reproaches them with rebellion.—Ver. 20. Nehemiah replied with impressive gravity: “The God of heaven, He will prosper us, and we His servants will arise and build; but ye have no portion, nor right, nor memorial in Jerusalem.” זָדָקָה like 2 Sam. xix. 99. זִכָּרוֹן, memorial; only members of the congregation, who may hope to live in their descendants in Jerusalem, can be said to have a memorial there.

#### CHAPS. III. AND IV.—THE BUILDING OF THE WALLS AND GATES OF JERUSALEM.

In these two chapters is described the building of the walls and gates of Jerusalem: the individuals and families who performed the work, and the portion of wall and the gates on which different families were respectively employed, being specified in chap. iii. 1-32; while the attempts of Sanballat and his associates to obstruct the building and the defensive measures resorted to by Nehemiah follow, iii. 33-iv. 17.

Chap. iii. 1-32. *The enumeration of the builders, and of the gates and portions of wall built*, begins with the sheep-gate and the portion of the wall adjoining it, built by the priests (1 and 2), and concludes with the goldsmiths and merchants who built up to the sheep-gate (ver. 32). Throughout it is almost constantly said of the several parties of builders that they built עַל יָדוֹ, by the side of, next to, the party previously named. Hence we are justified in inferring that the course of the wall is adhered to in this statement, and that the gates are mentioned in the actual order in which they were found in the walls.<sup>1</sup>—Vers. 1 and 2. The narrative of the building is connected with what precedes by וַיִּקֶּם, which alludes to the carrying out of the resolve, וַיִּקְדֹּם, ii. 18. The

<sup>1</sup> This description of the walls of Jerusalem, together with the short statements in chap. ii. 13-15 and xii. 27-40, forms the chief authority for the topography of ancient Jerusalem (before the captivity), and has been frequently discussed and explained. Comp. a summary of recent topographical investigations on this subject by Arnold in Herzog's *Realencycl.* xviii. p. 620 sq. Among the numerous plans of ancient



gates did not, according to vi. 1, take place till after all the breaches in the wall had been repaired, *i.e.* till the building of the wall was completed. It is, however, mentioned here, and in vers. 3, 6, etc., contemporaneously with the wall-building; because the builders of the several gates, undertaking also the construction and setting up of the doors, the intention is to give a summary of the work executed by the respective building parties. וְעַד-מִגְדַּל הַמֵּאָה is still dependent on יָבִנוּ, that is to say, this verb must be mentally repeated before the words: they built to the tower Hammeah, they sanctified it (the suffix in קִדְּשֻׁהוּ can only relate to מִגְדַּל). יָבִנוּ must also be repeated before עַד מִגְדַּל הַנָּנְאֵל: and they built further, unto the tower Hananeel. The tower הַמֵּאָה (the hundred) is only mentioned here and chap. xii. 39, but the tower Hananeel is likewise spoken of Jer. xxxi. 38 and Zech. xiv. 10. From these passages it appears that the two towers were so situated, that any one going from west to east along the north wall of the city, and thence southward, would first come to the tower Hananeel, and afterwards to the tower Hammeah, and that both were between the fish-gate and the sheep-gate. From the passages in Jeremiah and Zechariah especially, it is evident that the tower Hananeel stood at the north-east corner of the wall. Hence the statement in this verse, that the portion of wall built by the priests extended to the north-east corner of the wall; and the tower Hammeah must be sought between the sheep-gate and the north-east corner of the wall. Whence the names of these towers were derived is unknown.—Ver. 2. Next to him built the men of Jericho (comp. Ezra ii. 24); and next to them built Zaccur the son of Imri. The suffix of the first עַל יְדוֹ, though in the singular number, refers to Eliashib and the priests (ver. 1), and that of the second to the men of Jericho, while in vers. 4 and 9, on the contrary, a singular noun is followed by עַל יְדָם; both עַל יְדוֹ and עַל יְדָם expressing merely the notion beside, next to, the builders of the respective portions being at one time regarded as in a plural, at another in a singular sense (as a company). The portion built by the men of Jericho and Zaccur the

son of Imri, the head of a family, not mentioned elsewhere, lay between the tower Hananeel and the fish-gate in the north wall. When individuals are, like Zaccur, mentioned in the following description, *e.g.* vers. 4, 6, as builders or repairers of portions of wall, they are heads of houses who engaged in the work of building at the head of the fathers of families and individuals who were dependent on them.—Ver. 3. The fish-gate did the sons of Senaah build (see rem. on Ezra ii. 35); they laid its beams, and set up its doors, bolts, and bars. The fish-gate probably received its name from the fish-market in its neighbourhood, to which the Syrians brought sea-fish (13, 16); it is also mentioned in xii. 39, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, and Zeph. i. 10. It was not situated, as Thenius has represented it in his plan of Jerusalem, close to the corner tower of Hananeel, but somewhat to the west of it in the north wall; two lengths of wall being, according to ver. 2, built between this tower and the gate in question. With respect to *קריחיו*, see rem. on ii. 8. Besides the doors for the gate, *מַעֲלָיו* and *בָּרִיחָיו* are mentioned, as also vers. 6, 13–15. Both words denote bars for closing doors. *בָּרִיחָיו* are, to judge from the use of this word in the description of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 26 sq. and elsewhere), longer bars, therefore cross-bars, used on the inner side of the door; and *מַעֲלָיו* the brackets into which they were inserted.—Vers. 4 and 5. Next to these, Meremoth the son of Urijah, the son of Hakkoz, Meshullam the son of Berechiah, Zadok the son of Baana, and the Tekoites, repaired in the above order, each a portion of wall. *הִחֲזִיק*, to strengthen, means here to repair the gaps and holes in the wall; comp. Ezra xxvii. 9, 27. Meremoth ben Urijah repaired, according to ver. 21, another portion besides. Meshullam ben Berechiah was, according to vi. 18, a person of consideration in Jerusalem. The men of Tekoa, who do not occur among those who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii.), also repaired a second portion. “But their nobles brought not their neck to the service of their Lord.” The expression “to bring the neck to service” is, according to Jer. xxvii. 11, to be understood as meaning: to bring the

neck under the yoke of any one, *i.e.* to subject oneself to the service of another. צָנָאֲרָם stands for צָנָאֲרִים. It is questionable whether אֱלֹהֵיהֶם is to be taken as the plural of excellence, and understood of God, as in Deut. x. 17, Ps. cxxxv. 3, Mal. i. 6; or of earthly lords or rulers, as in Gen. xl. 1, 2 Sam. x. 3, 1 Kings xii. 27. The former view seems to us decidedly correct, for it cannot be discerned how the suffix should (according to Bertheau's opinion) prevent our thinking of the service of God, if the repairing of the wall of Jerusalem may be regarded as a service required by God and rendered to Him. Besides, the fact that אֱלֹהִים is only used of kings, and is inapplicable whether to the authorities in Jerusalem or to Nehemiah, speaks against referring it to secular rulers or authorities.

Vers. 6-12. From the gate of the old wall to the valley gate.—Ver. 6. שַׁעַר הַיְשָׁנָה does not mean the old gate, for הישנה is genitive. Schultz (*Jerus.* p. 90), Thenius, and Bertheau supply הַעִיר, gate of the old town, and explain the name from the fact that Bezetha, the new town, already existed as a suburb or village in front of the gate, which was named after the contrast. To this Arnold rightly objects (in Herzog's *Realencycl.* xviii. p. 628) that it is by no means proved that there was at that time any contrast between the old and new towns, and as well as Hupfeld (*die topograph. Streitfragen über Jerus.*, in the *morgenl. Zeitschrift*, xv. p. 231) supplies חֻמָּה: gate of the old wall. He does not, however, derive this designation from the remark (ver. 8), "They fortified Jerusalem unto the broad wall," as though this old wall received its name from having been left undestroyed by the Chaldeans, which is irreconcilable with the fact (4-8) that both the gate of the old wall and the portions of wall adjoining it on each side were now built, but understands the term "old wall" as used in contrast to the "broad wall," which had indeed been rebuilt after the destruction by Joash (2 Kings xiv. 13). This view we esteem to be correct. The individuals specified as the builders of this gate are not further known. That two *principes* were employed in the rebuilding of this gate is

explained by Ramb. as arising *vel quod penitus disturbata a Chaldaeis, vel quod magnis sumtibus reparanda fuit, quos unus princeps ferre non potuit.*—Ver. 7. Next unto them repaired Melatiah the Gibeonite, and Jadon the Meronothite, the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah. If Melatiah is to be regarded as the superintendent of the men of Gibeon, Jadon the Meronothite must be equally esteemed that of the men of Mizpah. Meronoth, mentioned only here and 1 Chron. xxvii. 30, must have been some small place near Mizpah. Mizpah (מִצְפָּה, the watch-tower) is probably the modern *Nebi Samwil*, two leagues to the north-east of Jerusalem; see rem. on Josh. xix. 26. The meaning of the words next following, לְכִסֵּא פֶּחַח וְגו', is questionable. Bertheau, together with Osiander, Cler., de Wette, and others, understands them as more precisely defining the men before named, as men of Gibeon and Mizpah, of the throne or belonging to the throne of the Pechah of Eber hannahar. This addition brings to light the fact that Jews who were not under the jurisdiction of Nehemiah, nevertheless took part in the restoration of the wall. It also distinguishes these men of Mizpah from those mentioned vers. 15 and 19, who were certainly not under the Pechah of Eber hannahar. Finally, the boundary of the little territory of the returned Jewish community must have been at about Mizpah and Gibeon; and a statement that certain inhabitants of this district were not under the Pechah of Jerusalem, but under the Pechah of the province west of Euphrates, would agree with the position of Gibeon and Mizpah. None, however, of these reasons are of much force. For if, according to vers. 5 and 27, the Tekoites repaired two different lengths of wall, without this fact implying any distinction between these two parties of Tekoite builders, the same may be the case with the men of Gibeon and Mizpah. Besides, neither in this verse nor in vers. 15 and 19 are the men of Mizpah in general spoken of, so as to make a distinction necessary; for in this verse two chiefs, Melatiah and Jadon, are designated as men of Gibeon and Mizpah, and in 15 and 19 two rulers of the district of



Mizpah are specified by name. Hence the view that part of the inhabitants of Mizpah were under the jurisdiction of the Pechah of the province west of Euphrates, and part under that of the Pechah of Jerusalem, is devoid of probability. Finally, there is no adequate analogy for the metonymy set up in support of this view, viz. that כִּסֵּא, a seat, a throne, stands for jurisdiction. The words in question can have only a local signification. כִּסֵּא may indeed by metonymy be used for the official residence, but not for the official or judicial district, or jurisdiction of the Pechah. לְכִסֵּא does not state the point to which, but the direction or locality in which, these persons repaired the wall: "towards the seat of the Pechah," i.e. at the place where the court or tribunal of the governor placed over the province on this side Euphrates was held when he came to Jerusalem to administer justice, or to perform any other official duties required of him. This being so, it appears from this verse that this court was within the northern wall, and undoubtedly near a gate.—Ver. 8. Next to him repaired Uzziel the son of Harhaiah of the goldsmiths, and next to him repaired Hananiah, a son of the apothecaries. צֹרֶפִּים is in explanatory apposition to the name Uzziel, and the plural is used to denote that his fellow-artisans worked with him under his direction. Hananiah is called בֶּן־הַרְקָהִים, son of the apothecaries, i.e. belonging to the guild of apothecaries. The obscure words, וַיַּעֲזְבוּנוּ, "and they left Jerusalem unto the broad wall," have been variously interpreted. From xii. 38, where the broad wall is also mentioned, it appears that a length of wall between the tower of the furnaces and the gate of Ephraim was thus named, and not merely a place in the wall distinguished for its breadth, either because it stood out or formed a corner, as Bertheau supposes; for the reason adduced for this opinion, viz. that it is not said that the procession went along the broad wall, depends upon a mistaken interpretation of the passage cited. The expression "the broad wall" denotes a further length of wall; and as this lay, according to xii. 38, west of the gate of Ephraim, the conjecture forces itself upon us, that the broad

wall was that 400 cubits of the wall of Jerusalem, broken down by the Israelite king Joash, from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate (2 Kings xiv. 13), and afterwards rebuilt by Uzziel of a greater breadth, and consequently of increased strength (Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 10. 3). Now the gate of Ephraim not being mentioned among the rebuilt gates, and this gate nevertheless existing (according to viii. 16) in the days of Nehemiah, the reason of this omission must be the circumstance that it was left standing when the wall of Jerusalem was destroyed. The remark, then, in this verse seems to say the same concerning the broad wall, whether we understand it to mean: the builders left Jerusalem untouched as far as the broad wall, because this place as well as the adjoining gate of Ephraim needed no restoration; or: the Chaldeans had here left Jerusalem, *i.e.* either the town or town-wall, standing. So Hupfeld in his above-cited work, p. 231; Arnold; and even older expositors.<sup>1</sup>

Vers. 9 and 10. Further lengths of wall were built by Rephaiah ben Hur, the ruler of the half district of Jerusalem, *i.e.* of the district of country belonging to Jerusalem (comp. ver. 19 with ver. 15, where Mizpah and the district of Mizpah are distinguished); by Jedaiah ben Harumaph,

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau's interpretation of this statement, viz. that at the rebuilding and re-fortification of the town after the captivity, the part of the town extending to the broad wall was left, *i.e.* was not rebuilt, but delayed for the present, answers neither to the verbal sense of the passage nor to the particular mentioned xii. 38, that at the dedication of the wall the second company of them that gave thanks went upon the wall from beyond the tower of the furnaces even unto the broad wall, and over from beyond the gate of Ephraim, etc. Haneberg (in Reusch's *theol. Literaturbl.* 1869, No. 12) supports this view, but understands by "the broad wall" the wall which had a broad circuit, *i.e.* the wall previous to the captivity, and hence infers that the Jerusalem now rebuilt was not equal in extent to the old city. But if a portion of the former city had here been left outside the new wall, the gate of Ephraim would have been displaced, and must have been rebuilt elsewhere in a position to the south of the old gate. Still less can the attempt of the elder Buxtorf (*Lexic. talm. rabb. s.v. עִיב*), now revived by Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. p. 174), to force upon the word עִיב the meaning *restaurare*, or fortify, be justified.

וַיִּבְנֶה בֵּיתוֹ, and indeed before (opposite) his house, *i.e.* the portion of wall which lay opposite his own dwelling; and by Hattush the son of Hashabniah. Whether Hattush is to be identified with the priest of this name (x. 5), or with the similarly named descendant of David (Ezra viii. 2), or with neither, cannot be determined.—Ver. 11. A second section of wall was repaired by Malchijah the son of Harim, and Hashshub ben Pahath-Moab, two families who came up with Zerubbabel, Ezra ii. 6 and 32. Bertheau understands מְדָה שְׁנִית of a second section of wall added to a first already repaired by the same builders. So, too, he says, did Mere-moth ben Urijah build one portion, ver. 4, and a second, ver. 21; comp. vers. 5 and 27, 15 and 19, 8 and 30. This first portion, however, which this mention of a second presupposes, not being named, he infers that our present text has not preserved its original completeness, and thinks it probable, from xii. 38 and 39, that certain statements, in this description, relating to the gate of Ephraim and its neighbourhood, which once stood before ver. 8, have been omitted. This inference is unfounded. The non-mention of the gate of Ephraim is to be ascribed, as we have already remarked on ver. 8, to other reasons than the incompleteness of the text; and the assertion that מְדָה שְׁנִית assumes that a former portion was repaired by the same builders, receives no support from a comparison of vers. 5 with 27, 15 with 19, and 8 with 30. Hananiah the son of Shelemiah, and Hanun the sixth son of Zalaph, who, according to ver. 30, built מְדָה שְׁנִי, are not identical with Hananiah the son of the apothecaries, ver. 8. The same remark applies to Ezer the son of Jeshua, the ruler of Mizpah (ver. 19), and Shallum the ruler of the district of Mizpah (ver. 15). Only in vers. 5 and 27, and 4 and 21, are the names of the builders the same. Moreover, besides vers. 21 and 27, מְדָה שְׁנִית occurs five times more (vers. 11, 19, 20, 24, and 30) with respect to builders not previously (nor subsequently) mentioned in this list. Hence, in five different places, the names of the building parties, and the notices of the portions of wall built by them respectively, must have been lost,—a circumstance à

*priori* incredible. When, however, we consider the verses, in which מִדָּה שְׁנִית occurs, more closely, the second length is, in vers. 19, 20, 21, 24, and 27, more nearly defined by a statement of locality: thus, in ver. 19, we have a second piece over against the ascent to the arsenal at the angle; in ver. 20, a second piece from the angle to the door of the house of Eliashib; in ver. 21, a second piece from the door of the house of Eliashib to . . .; in ver. 24, a second piece from the house of Azariah to . . ., who, according to ver. 23, built near his own house; in ver. 27, a second piece over against the great projecting tower . . ., as far as which, according to ver. 26, the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel. From all this, it is evident that מִדָּה שְׁנִית in these verses, always denotes a second portion of that length of wall previously spoken of, or a portion next to that of which the building was previously mentioned. And so must מִדָּה שְׁנִית be understood in the present verse (11), where it is used because Malchiah and Hashshub repaired or built the tower of the furnaces, besides the portion of wall. מִדָּה שְׁנִית may be rendered, "another or a further piece." The word שְׁנִית is chosen, because that previously mentioned is regarded as a first. The tower of the furnaces lay, according to this verse and xii. 38, where alone it is again mentioned, between the broad wall and the valley-gate. Now, since there was between the gate of Ephraim and the corner-gate a portion of wall four hundred cubits long (see 2 Kings xiv. 13), which, as has been above remarked, went by the name of the broad wall, it is plain that the tower of the furnaces must be sought for in the neighbourhood of the corner-gate, or perhaps even identified with it. This is the simplest way of accounting for the omission of any notice in the present description of this gate, which is mentioned not merely before (2 Chron. xxvi. 9; Jer. xxxi. 38; and 2 Kings xiv. 13), but also after, the captivity (Zech. xiv. 10). It is probable that the tower of the furnaces served as a defence for the corner-gate at the north-western corner of the town, where now lie, upon an earlier building of large stones with morticed edges, probably a fragment of the old Jewish wall,

the ruins of the ancient *Kal'at el Dshalud* (tower of Goliath), which might, at the time of the Crusades, have formed the corner bastion of the city: comp. Rob. *Palestine*, ii. p. 114; *Biblical Researches*, p. 252; and Tobler, *Topogr.* i. p. 67 sq. —Ver. 12. Next repaired Shallum, ruler of the other (comp. ver. 9) half district of Jerusalem, he and his daughters. חָזָא can only refer to Shallum, not to בְּלָא, which would make the daughters signify the daughters of the district, of the villages and places in the district.

Vers. 13 and 14. From the valley-gate to the dung-gate. The *valley-gate* lay in the west, in the neighbourhood of the present Jaffa gate (see rem. on ii. 13), "where," as Tobler, *Topogr.* i. p. 163, expresses it, "we may conclude there must almost always have been, on the ridge near the present citadel, the site in the time of Titus of the water-gate also (Joseph. *bell. Jud.* v. 7. 3), an entrance provided with gates." Hanun and the inhabitants of *Zanoah* are here connected, probably because Hanun was the chief or ruler of the inhabitants of this place. *Zanoah*, now *Zanna*, is in the *Wady Ismail*, west of Jerusalem; see rem. on Josh. xv. 34. They built and set up its doors, etc.; comp. ver. 6. The further statement, "and a thousand cubits on the wall unto the dung-gate," still depends on הָחַיִּיתִי, the principal verb of the verse. It is incomprehensible how Bertheau can say that this statement does not refer to the repairing of the wall, but only declares that the distance from the valley-gate to the dung-gate amounted to one thousand cubits. For the remark, that a section of such a length is, in comparison with the other sections, far too extensive, naturally proves nothing more than that the wall in this part had suffered less damage, and therefore needed less repair. The number one thousand cubits is certainly stated in round numbers. The length from the present Jaffa gate to the supposed site of the dung-gate, on the south-western edge of Zion, is above two thousand five hundred feet. The dung-gate may, however, have been placed at a greater distance from the road leading to *Baher*. הַשְּׂפוֹת is only another form for הָאֲשָׁפוֹת (without a prosthetic). Malchiah ben Rechab, per-

haps a Rechabite, built and fortified the dung-gate; for though the Rechabites were forbidden to build themselves houses (Jer. xxxv. 7), they might, without transgressing this paternal injunction, take part in building the fortifications of Jerusalem (Berth.). This conjecture is, however, devoid of probability, for a Rechabite would hardly be a prince or ruler of the district of Beth-haccerem. The name Rechab occurs as early as the days of David, 2 Sam. iv. 5. בֵּית־רַחֲבָם, *i.e.* the garden or vineyard-house, where, according to Jer. vi. 1, the children of Benjamin were wont to set up a banner, and to blow the trumpet in Tekoa, is placed by Jerome (Comm. Jer. vi.) upon a hill between Jerusalem and Tekoa; on which account Pococke (*Reise*, ii. p. 63) thinks Beth-Cherem must be sought for on the eminence now known as the Frank mountain, the Dshebel Fureidis, upon which was the Herodium of Josephus. This opinion is embraced with some hesitation by Robinson (*Pal.* ii. p. 397), and unreservedly by Wilson (*The Holy City*, i. p. 396) and v. de Velde, because "when we consider that this hill is the highest point in the whole district, and is by reason of its isolated position and conical shape very conspicuous, we shall find that no other locality better corresponds with the passage cited."

Ver. 15. The *fountain-gate* and a portion of wall adjoining it was repaired by Shallum the son of Col-hozeh, the ruler of the district of Mizpah. בָּלְחָזָה occurs again, xi. 5, apparently as the name of another individual. To יִבְנֶנּוּ is added יִטְלְלֵנּוּ, he covered it, from טָלַל, to shade, to cover, answering to the קָרוּחֵי of vers. 3 and 6, probably to cover with a layer of beams. The position of the fountain-gate is apparent from the description of the adjoining length of wall which Shallum also repaired. This was "the wall of the pool of Shelach (Siloah) by the king's garden, and unto the stairs that go down from the city of David." The word שֶׁלַח recalls שְׁלֹחַ; the pool of Shelach can be none other than the pool which received its water through the שֶׁלַח, *i.e.* *missio* (*aquæ*). By the researches of Robinson (*Pal.* ii. p. 148 sq.) and Tobler (*die Siloahquelle u. der Oelberg*, p. 6 sq.),

it has been shown that the pool of Siloah receives its water from a subterranean conduit 1750 feet long, cut through the rock from the Fountain of the Virgin, *Ain Sitti Miriam*, on the eastern slope of Ophel. Near to the pool of Siloah, on the eastern declivity of Zion, just where the Tyropœan valley opens into the vale of Kidron, is found an old and larger pool (*Birket el Hamra*), now covered with grass and trees, and choked with earth, called by Tobler the lower pool of Siloah, to distinguish it from the one still existing, which, because it lies north-west of the former, he calls the upper pool of Siloah. One of these pools of Siloah, probably the lower and larger, is certainly the king's pool mentioned ii. 14, in the neighbourhood of which lay, towards the east and south-east, the king's garden. The wall of the pool of Shelach need not have reached quite up to the pool, but may have gone along the edge of the south-eastern slope of Zion, at some distance therefrom. In considering the next particular following, "unto the stairs that go down from the city of David," we must turn our thoughts towards a locality somewhat to the north of this pool, the description now proceeding from the south-eastern corner of the wall northward. These stairs are not yet pointed out with certainty, unless perhaps some remains of them are preserved in the "length of rocky escarpment," which Robinson (*Pal.* ii. p. 102, and *Biblical Researches*, p. 247) remarked on the narrow ridge of the eastern slope of the hill of Zion, north of Siloam, at a distance of 960 feet from the present wall of the city, "apparently the foundations of a wall or of some similar piece of building."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau's view, that these stairs were situated where Mount Zion, upon which stood the city of David, descends abruptly towards the east, and therefore on the precipice running from south to north, which still rises ninety-one feet above the ground northwards of the now so-called Bab el Mogharibeh or dung-gate, opposite the southern part of the west wall of the temple area, is decidedly incorrect. For this place is two thousand feet, *i.e.* more than one thousand cubits, distant from the pool of Siloah, while our text places them immediately after the length of wall by this pool. The transposition of these "steps" to a position within the present wall of the city is, in Bertheau's case, connected with

Vers. 16–19. The wall from the steps leading from the city of David to the angle opposite the armoury. From ver. 16 onwards we find for the most part אֶחָדָא, after him, instead of אֶחָדָא, which only occurs again in vers. 17 and 19. Nehemiah the son of Azbuk, the ruler of half the district of Beth-zur (see rem. on 2 Chron. xi. 7), repaired the wall as far as “opposite the sepulchres of David, and unto the pool that was made, and to the house of the heroes.” The sepulchres of David are the sepulchres of the house of David in the city of David (comp. 2 Chron. xxxii. 33). “Opposite the sepulchres of David” is the length of wall on the eastern side of Zion; where was probably, as Thenius

the erroneous notion that the fountain-gate (ver. 15 and ii. 14) stood on the site of the present dung-gate (*Bab el Mogharibeh*), for which no other reason appears than the assumption that the southern wall of the city of David, before the captivity, went over Zion, in the same direction as the southern wall of modern Jerusalem, only perhaps in a rather more southerly direction,—an assumption shown to be erroneous, even by the circumstance that in this case the sepulchres of David, Solomon, and the kings of Judah would have stood outside the city wall, on the southern part of Zion; while, according to the Scripture narrative, David, Solomon, and the kings of Judah were buried in the city of David (1 Kings ii. 10, xi. 42, xiv. 31, xv. 8, and elsewhere). But apart from this consideration, this hypothesis is shattered by the statements of this fifteenth verse, which Bertheau cannot explain so inconsistently with the other statements concerning the building of the wall, as to make them say that any one coming from the west and going round by the south of the city towards the east, would first arrive at the fountain-gate, and then at the portion of wall in question; but is obliged to explain, so that the chief work, the building of the fountain-gate, is mentioned first; then the slighter work, the reparation of a length of wall as *supplementary*; and this makes the localities enumerated in ver. 13 succeed each other in the following order, in a direction from the west by south and east towards the north: “Valley-gate—one thousand cubits of wall as far as the dung-gate; dung-gate—the wall of the conduit towards the king’s garden, as far as the stairs which lead from the city of David—fountain-gate.” No adequate reason for this transposition of the text is afforded by the circumstance that no portion of wall is mentioned (vers. 14 and 15) as being repaired between the dung-gate and the valley-gate. For how do we know that this portion on the southern side of Zion was broken down and needing repair? Might not the length between these two gates have been left standing when the city was burnt by the Chaldeans?



endeavours to show in the *Zeitschr. of the deutsch morgenl. Gesellsch.* xxi. p. 495 sq., an entrance to the burying-place of the house of David, which was within the city. The "pool that was made" must be sought at no great distance, in the Tyropœan valley, but has not yet been discovered. The view of Krafft (*Topographie von Jerusalem*, p. 152), that it was the reservoir artificially constructed by Hezekiah, between the two walls for the water of the old pool (Isa. xxii. 11), rests upon incorrect combinations. "The house of the heroes" is also unknown. In vers. 17 and 18, the lengths of wall repaired by the three building parties there mentioned are not stated. "The Levites, Rehum the son of Bani," stands for: the Levites under Rehum the son of Bani. There was a Rehum among those who returned with Zerubbabel, xii. 3, Ezra ii. 2; and a Bani occurs among the Levites in ix. 5. After him repaired Hashabiah, the ruler of half the district of Keilah, for his district. Keilah, situate, according to Josh. xv. 44 and 1 Sam. xxiii. 1, in the hill region, is probably the village of Kila, discovered by Tobler (vol. iii. p. 151), eastward of Beit Dshibrin. By the addition לְפָנָיו, for his district, *i.e.* that half of the whole district which was under his rule, "it is expressly stated that the two halves of the district of Keilah worked apart one from the other" (Bertheau). The other half is mentioned in the verse next following.—Ver. 18. "Their brethren" are the inhabitants of the second half, who were under the rule of Bavai the son of Henadad.—Ver. 19. Next to these repaired Ezer the son of Jeshua, the ruler of Mizpah, another piece (on מִדְּה שְׁנִית, see rem. on ver. 11) opposite the ascent to the armoury of the angle. הַנֶּשֶׁק or הַנִּשְׁקָה (in most editions) is probably an abbreviation of בֵּית הַנֶּשֶׁק, arsenal, armoury; and הַמִּקְצוּצִים is, notwithstanding the article in הַנֶּשֶׁק, genitive: for to combine it as an accusative with עָלוּת, and read, "the going up of the armoury upon the angle," gives no suitable meaning. The locality itself cannot indeed be more precisely stated. The armoury was probably situate on the east side of Zion, at a place where the wall of the city formed an angle; or it occupied an angle within the city

itself, no other buildings adjoining it on the south. The opinion of Bertheau, that the armoury stood where the tower described by Tobler (*Dritte Wand.* p. 228) stands, viz. about midway between the modern Zion gate and the dung-gate, and of which he says that "its lower strata of stones are undoubtedly of a remoter date than the rebuilding of the wall in the sixteenth century," coincides with the assumption already refuted, that the old wall of the city of David passed, like the southern wall of modern Jerusalem, over Mount Zion.

Vers. 20-25. The wall from the angle to the place of the court of the prison by the king's upper house.—Ver. 20. After him Baruch the son of Zabbai emulously repaired a second length of wall, from the angle to the door of the house of Eliashib the high priest. Bertheau objects to the reading הֶחָרָה, and conjectures that it should be הֶהָרָה, "up the hill." But the reason he adduces, viz. that often as the word הֶחָרָה occurs in this description, a further definition is nowhere else added to it, speaks as much against, as for his proposed alteration; definitions of locality never, throughout the entire narrative, preceding הֶחָרָה, but uniformly standing after it, as also in the present verse. Certainly הֶחָרָה cannot here mean either to be angry, or to be incensed, but may without difficulty be taken, in the sense of the Tiphthah הֶחָרָה, to emulate, to contend (Jer. xxii. 15, xii. 5), and the perfect adverbially subordinated to the following verb (comp. Gesen. *Gramm.* § 142, 3, a). The Keri offers וְיִי instead of וְיִי, probably from Ezra ii. 9, but on insufficient grounds, the name וְיִי occurring also Ezra x. 28. Of the position of the house of Eliashib the high priest, we know nothing further than what appears from these verses (20 and 21), viz. that it stood at the northern part of the eastern side of Zion (not at the south-western angle of the temple area, as Bertheau supposes), and extended some considerable distance from south to north, the second length of wall built by Meremoth reaching from the door at its southern end to the תְּכֵלֶת, termination, at its northern end. On Meremoth, see rem. on ver. 4.—Ver. 22. Farther northwards repaired

the priests, the men of the district of Jordan. *קָרָר* does not, as Bertheau infers from xii. 28, signify the country round Jerusalem, but here, as there, the valley of the Jordan. See rem. on xii. 28 and on Gen. xiii. 10. Hence this verse informs us that priests were then dwelling in the valley of the Jordan, probably in the neighbourhood of Jericho. The length of wall built by these priests is not further particularized.—Ver. 23. Further on repaired Benjamin and Hashub over against their house, and Azariah the son of Maaseiah, by his house. Nothing further is known of these individuals.—Ver. 24. Next repaired Binnui the son of Henadad, a second portion from the house of Azariah, to the angle and to the corner; and further on (ver. 25) Palal the son of Uzai, from opposite the angle and the high tower which stands out from the king's house by the court of the prison. We join *הַעֲלִיזָן* to *הַמִּגְדָּל*, though it is also verbally admissible to combine it with *בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ*, “the tower which stands out from the king's upper house,” because nothing is known of an upper and lower king's house. It would be more natural to assume (with Bertheau) that there was an upper and a lower tower at the court of the prison, but this is not implied by *הַעֲלִיזָן*. The word means first, high, elevated, and its use does not assume the existence of a lower tower; while the circumstance that the same tower is in ver. 27 called the great (*הַגָּדוֹל*) tells in favour of the meaning high in the present case. The court of the prison was, according to Jer. xxxii. 2, in or near the king's house; it is also mentioned Jer. xxxii. 8, 12, xxxiii. 1, xxxvii. 21, xxxviii. 6, 13, 28, and xxxix. 14. But from none of these passages can it be inferred, as by Bertheau, that it was situate in the neighbourhood of the temple. His further remark, too, that the king's house is not the royal palace in the city of David, but an official edifice standing upon or near the temple area, and including the court of the prison with its towers, is entirely without foundation.<sup>1</sup> The royal palace lay, according

<sup>1</sup> Equally devoid of proof is the view of Ewald, Diestel (in Herzog's *Realencycl.* xiii. p. 325), Arnold, and others, that the royal palace stood upon Moriah or Ophel on the south side of the temple, in support of

to Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 5. 2, opposite the temple (*ἀντικρὺς ἔχων ναόν*), *i.e.* on the north-eastern side of Zion, and this is quite in accordance with the statements of this verse; for as it is not till ver. 27 that the description of the wall-building reaches the walls of Ophel, all the localities and buildings spoken of in vers. 24–27a must be sought for on the east side of Zion. The court of the prison formed, according to Eastern custom, part of the royal fortress upon Zion. The citadel had, moreover, a high tower. This is obvious from Cant. iv. 4, though the tower of David there mentioned, on which hung a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men, may not be identical with the tower of the king's house in this passage; from Mic. iv. 8, where the tower of the flock, the stronghold of the daughter of Zion, is the tower of the royal citadel; and from Isa. xxxii. 14, where citadel and tower (*בֵּרוֹךְ*, properly watch-tower) answer to the *מִצְדָּה* of the royal citadel, which lay with its forts upon the hill of Zion. This high tower of the king's house, *i.e.* of the royal citadel, stood, according to our verses, in the immediate neighbourhood of the angle and the corner (*רִפְּנִיָּה*); for the section of wall which reached to the *פֶּנֶה* lay opposite the angle and the high tower of the king's house. The wall here evidently formed a corner, running no longer from south to north, but turning eastwards, and passing over Ophel, the southern spur of Moriah. A length from this corner onwards was built by Pedaiiah the son of Parosh; comp. Ezra ii. 3.

Vers. 26 and 27. Having now reached the place where the wall encloses Ophel, a remark is inserted, ver. 26, on the dwellings of the Nethinim, *i.e.* of the temple servants. The Nethinim dwelt in Ophel as far as (the place) before the water-gate toward the east, and the tower that standeth out. *עַד נֶגֶד הַיְּמִינִי הַזֶּה* still depends upon *עַד נֶגֶד*. The water-gate towards the east, judging from xii. 37, lay beyond the south-eastern corner of the temple area. Bertheau, reasoning upon the view that the open space of the house of God, which Diestel adduces Neh. iii. 25. See the refutation of this view in the commentary on 1 Kings vii. 12 (note).

where Ezra spoke to the assembled people (Ezra x. 9), is identical with the open place before the water-gate mentioned Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16, places it on the east side of the temple area, near where the golden gate (*Rab er Rahmè*) now stands. This identity, however, cannot be proved; and even if it could, it would by no means follow that this open space lay on the east side of the temple area. And as little does it follow from xii. 37, as we shall show when we reach this passage. הַמִּגְדָּל הַיְּמָנִי is said by Bertheau to have belonged perhaps to the water-gate towards the east, since, by reason of the statements contained in vers. 31 and 32, we must not seek it so far northwards on the east side of the temple area, as to combine it with the remains of a tower projecting seven and a half feet from the line of wall at the north-east corner, and described by Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, p. 226). But even if the tower in question must not be identified with these remains, it by no means follows that it stood in the neighbourhood of the golden gate. Even Arnold, in his work already cited, p. 636, remarks, in opposition to Bertheau's view, that "it is evident from the whole statement that the tower standing out from the king's house, in vers. 25, 26, and 27, is one and the same, and that Bertheau's view of our having here three separate towers can hardly be maintained," although he, as well as Bertheau, transposes both the king's house and the court of the prison to the south of the temple area. The similar appellation of this tower as הַיְּמָנִי in the three verses speaks so decidedly for its identity, that very forcible reasons must be adduced before the opposite view can be adopted. In ver. 26 it is not a locality near the water-gate in the east which is indicated by הַמִּגְדָּל הַיְּמָנִי, but the western boundary of the dwellings of the Nethinim lying opposite. They dwelt, that is, upon Ophel, southwards of the temple area, on a tract of land reaching from the water-gate in the east to opposite the outstanding tower of the royal citadel in the west, *i.e.* from the eastern slope of the ridge of Ophel down to the Tyropœan valley.—Ver. 27. After them the Tekoites repaired a second piece from opposite the great tower that standeth out to

the wall of Ophel. The great (high) tower of the king's house within the city wall being some distance removed therefrom, the portion of wall on the eastern ridge of Zion from south to north, reaching as far as the turning and the corner, and the commencement of the wall running from this corner eastwards, might both be designated as lying opposite to this tower. The portion mentioned in our verse passed along the Tyropœan valley as far as the wall of Ophel. King Jotham had built much on the wall of Ophel (2 Chron. xxvii. 3); and Manasseh had surrounded Ophel with a very high wall (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14), *i.e.* carried the wall round its western, southern, and eastern sides. On the north no wall was needed, Ophel being protected on this side by the southern wall of the temple area.

Vers. 28–32. The wall of Ophel and the eastern side of the temple area.—Ver. 28. Above the horse-gate repaired the priests, each opposite his own house. The site of the horse-gate appears, from 2 Chron. xxiii. 15 compared with 2 Kings xi. 6, to have been not far distant from the temple and the royal palace; while according to the present verse, compared with ver. 27, it stood in the neighbourhood of the wall of Ophel, and might well be regarded as even belonging to it. Hence we have, with Thenius, to seek it in the wall running over the Tyropœan valley, and uniting the eastern edge of Zion with the western edge of Ophel in the position of the present dung-gate (*Bab el Mogharibeh*). This accords with Jer. xxxi. 40, where it is also mentioned; and from which passage Bertheau infers that it stood at the western side of the valley of Kidron, below the east corner of the temple area. The particular *מֵעַל*, “from over,” that is, above, is not to be understood of a point *northwards* of the horse-gate, but denotes the place where the wall, passing up from Zion to Ophel, ascended the side of Ophel east of the horse-gate. If, then, the priests here repaired each opposite his house, it is evident that a row of priests' dwellings were built on the western side of Ophel, south of the south-western extremity of the temple area.—Ver. 29. Zadok ben Immer (Ezra ii. 37) was probably the head of the priestly order of Immer.

Shemaiah the son of Shecaniah, the keeper of the east gate, can hardly be the same as the Shemaiah of the sons of Shecaniah entered among the descendants of David in 1 Chron. iii. 22. He might rather be regarded as a descendant of the Shemaiah of 1 Chron. xxvi. 6 sq., if the latter had not been enumerated among the sons of Obed-Edom, whose duty was to guard the south side of the temple. The east gate is undoubtedly the east gate of the temple, and not to be identified, as by Bertheau, with the water-gate towards the east (ver. 26). The place where Shemaiah repaired is not more precisely defined; nor can we infer, with Bertheau, from the circumstance of his being the keeper of the east gate, that he, together with his subordinate keepers, laboured at the fortification of this gate and its adjoining section of wall. Such a view is opposed to the order of the description, which passes on to a portion of the wall of Ophel; see rem. on ver. 31.—Ver. 30. אֶחָדִי here and in ver. 31 gives no appropriate sense, and is certainly only an error of transcription arising from the *scriptio defect.* אֶחָדִי. Hananiah the son of Shelemiah, and Hanun the sixth son of Zalaph, are not further known. The name of Meshullam the son of Berechiah occurs previously in ver. 4; but the same individual can hardly be intended in the two verses, the one mentioned in ver. 4 being distinguished from others of the same name by the addition *ben Meshezabeel*. שְׁנִי for שְׁנִי (vers. 27, 24, and elsewhere) is grammatically incorrect, if not a mere error of transcription. נָגַד נִשְׁכָּתוֹ, before his dwelling. נִשְׁכָּה occurs only here and xiii. 7, and in the plural הַנִּשְׁכָּחוֹת, xii. 44; it seems, judging from the latter passage, only another form for לְשָׁכָה, chamber; while in xiii. 7, on the contrary, נִשְׁכָּה is distinguished from לְשָׁכָה, xiii. 4, 5. Its etymology is obscure. In xiii. 7 it seems to signify dwelling.—Ver. 31. הַצֹּרֶף is not a proper name, but an appellative, son of the goldsmith, or perhaps better, member of the goldsmiths' guild, according to which הַצֹּרֶף does not stand for הַצֹּרֶף, but designates those belonging to the goldsmiths. The statements, (he repaired) unto the house of the Nethinim, and of the merchants opposite the gate הַמִּצְדִּיק, and to the upper chamber

of the corner, are obscure. This rendering is according to the Masoretic punctuation; while the LXX., on the contrary, translate according to a different division of the words: Malchiah repaired as far as the house of the Nethinim, and the spice-merchants (repaired) opposite the gate Miphkad, and as far as the ascent of the corner. This translation is preferred by Bertheau, but upon questionable grounds. For the objection made by him, that if the other be adopted, either the same termination would be stated twice in different forms, or that two different terminations are intended, in which case it does not appear why one only should first be mentioned, and then the other also, is not of much importance. In ver. 24 also two terminations are mentioned, while in ver. 16 we have even three together. And why should not this occur here also? Of more weight is the consideration, that to follow the Masoretic punctuation is to make the house of the Nethinim and of the merchants but *one* building. Since, however, we know nothing further concerning the edifice in question, the subject is not one for discussion. The rendering of the LXX., on the other hand, is opposed by the weighty objection that there is a total absence of analogy for supplying הַחֲזִיזִימִי; for throughout this long enumeration of forty-two sections of wall, the verb הִתְחַזְקוּ or הִתְחַזְקוּ, or some corresponding verb, always stands either before or after every name of the builders, and even the אֲחֵרֵי is omitted only once (ver. 25). To the statement, "as far as the house of the Nethinim and the merchants," is appended the further definition: before (opposite) the gate הַמִּפְקָד. This word is reproduced in the LXX. as a proper name (τοῦ Μαφεκάδ), as is also בֵּית הַנְּתִינִים, ὡς Βεθὰν Ναθὺλμ; in the Vulgate it is rendered appellatively: *contra portam judicalem*; and hence by Luther, *Rathsthor*. Thenius translates (*Stadt*, p. 9): the muster or punishment gate. מִפְקָד does not, however, signify punishment, although the view may be correct that the gate took the name הַמִּפְקָד from the הַבֵּית מִפְקָד mentioned Ezek. xliii. 21, where the bullock of the sin-offering was to be burnt without the sanctuary; and it may be inferred from this passage that



near the temple of Solomon also there was an appointed place for burning the flesh of the sin-offering without the sanctuary. In Ezekiel's temple vision, this מִפְקַד הַבֵּית is probably to be sought in the space behind the sanctuary, *i.e.* at the western end of the great square of five hundred cubits, set apart for the temple, and designated the *Gizra*, or separate place. In the temples of Solomon and Zerubabel, however, the place in question could not have been situate at the west side of the temple, between the temple and the city, which lay opposite, but only on the south side of the temple area, outside the court, upon Ophel, where Thenius has delineated it in his plan of Jerusalem before the captivity. Whether it lay, however, at the south-western corner of the temple space (Thenius), or in the middle, or near the east end of the southern side of the external wall of the temple or temple court, can be determined neither from the present passage nor from Ezekiel's vision. Not from Ezek. xliii. 21, because the temple vision of this prophet is of an ideal character, differing in many points from the actual temple; not from the present passage, because the position of the house of the Nethinim and the merchants is unknown, and the definition נֵגֶד, (before) opposite the gate Miphkad, admits of several explanations. Thus much only is certain concerning this Miphkad gate,—on the one hand, from the circumstance that the wall was built before (נֵגֶד) or opposite this gate, on the other, from its omission in xii. 39, where the prison-gate is mentioned as being in this neighbourhood in its stead,—that it was not a gate of the city, but a gate through which the מִפְקַד was reached. Again, it is evident that the עֲלִיָּה of the corner which is mentioned as the length of wall next following, must be sought for at the south-eastern corner of the temple area. Hence the house of the temple servants and the merchants must have been situate south of this, on the eastern side of Ophel, where it descends into the valley of Kidron. עֲלִיָּת הַפִּנָּה, the upper chamber of the corner, was perhaps a *ὑπερώου* of a corner tower, not at the north-eastern corner of the external circumvallation of the temple area (Bertheau), but at the

south-eastern corner, which was formed by the junction at this point of the wall of Ophel with the eastern wall of the temple area. If these views are correct, all the sections mentioned from ver. 28 to ver. 31 belong to the wall surrounding Ophel. This must have been of considerable length, for Ophel extended almost to the pool of Siloam, and was walled round on its western, southern, and eastern sides.—Ver. 32. The last section, between the upper chamber of the corner and the sheep-gate, was repaired by the goldsmiths and the merchants. This is the whole length of the east wall of the temple as far as the sheep-gate, at which this description began (ver. 1). The eastern wall of the temple area might have suffered less than the rest of the wall at the demolition of the city by the Chaldeans, or perhaps have been partly repaired at the time the temple was rebuilt, so that less restoration was now needed.

A survey of the whole enumeration of the gates and lengths of wall now restored and fortified, commencing and terminating as it does at the sheep-gate, and connecting almost always the several portions either built or repaired by the words (יָדוּ) or אֶחָדָיו, gives good grounds for inferring that in the forty-two sections, including the gates, particularized vers. 1–32, we have a description of the entire fortified wall surrounding the city, without a single gap. In ver. 7, indeed, as we learn by comparing it with xii. 29, the mention of the gate of Ephraim is omitted, and in 30 or 31, to judge by xii. 39, the prison-gate; while the wall lying between the dung-gate and the fountain-gate is not mentioned between vers. 14 and 15. The non-mention, however, of these gates and this portion of wall may be explained by the circumstance, that these parts of the fortification, having remained unharmed, were in need of no restoration. We read, it is true, in 2 Kings xxv. 10 and 11, that Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard of Nebuchadnezzar, burnt the king's house and all the great houses of the city, and that the army of the Chaldees broke down or destroyed (נִחְזַן) the walls of Jerusalem round about; but these words must not be so pressed as to make them express a total

levelling of the surrounding wall. The wall was only so far demolished as to be incapable of any longer serving as a defence to the city. And this end was fully accomplished when it was partially demolished in several places, because the portions of wall, and even the towers and gates, still perhaps left standing, could then no longer afford any protection to the city. The danger that the Jews might easily refortify the city unless the fortifications were entirely demolished, was sufficiently obviated by the carrying away into captivity of the greater part of the population. This explains the fact that nothing is said in this description of the restoration of the towers of Hananeel and Hammeah (ver. 11), and that certain building parties repaired very long lengths of wall, as *e.g.* the 1000 cubits between the fountain-gate and the dung-gate, while others had very short portions appointed them. The latter was especially the case with those who built on the east side of Zion, because this being the part at which King Zedekiah fled from the city, the wall may here have been levelled to the ground.

From the consideration of the course of the wall, so far as the description in the present chapter enables us to determine it with tolerable certainty, and a comparison with the procession of the two bands of singers round the restored wall in chap. xii. 31-40, which agrees in the chief points with this description, it appears that the wall on the northern side of the city, before the captivity, coincided in the main with the northern wall of modern Jerusalem, being only somewhat shorter at the north-eastern and north-western corners; and that it ran from the valley (or Jaffa) gate by the tower of furnaces, the gate of Ephraim, the old gate, and the fish-gate to the sheep-gate, maintaining, on the whole, the same direction as the second wall described by Josephus (*bell. Jud.* v. 4. 2.) In many places remains of this wall, which bear testimony to their existence at a period long prior to Josephus, have recently been discovered. In an angle of the present wall near the Latin monastery are found "remains of a wall built of mortice-edged stones, near which lie blocks so large that we at first took them for

portions of the natural rock, but found them on closer inspection to be morticed stones removed from their place. A comparatively large number of stones, both in the present wall between the north-west corner of the tower and the Damascus gate, and in the adjoining buildings, are morticed and hewn out of ancient material, and we can scarcely resist the impression that this must have been about the direction of an older wall." So Wolcott and Tipping in Robinson's *New Biblical Researches*. Still nearer to the gate, about three hundred feet west of it, Dr. Wilson remarks (*Lands of the Bible*, i. p. 421), "that the wall, to some considerable height above its foundation, bears evidence, by the size and peculiarity of its stones, to its high antiquity," and attributes this portion to the old second wall (see Robinson). "Eastward, too, near the Damascus gate, and even near the eastern tower, are found very remarkable remains of Jewish antiquity. The similarity of these remains of wall to those surrounding the site of the temple is most surprising" (Tobler, *Dritte Wand.* p. 339). From these remains, and the intimations of Josephus concerning the second wall, Robinson justly infers that the ancient wall must have run from the Damascus gate to a place in the neighbourhood of the Latin monastery, and that its course thence must have been nearly along the road leading northwards from the citadel to the Latin monastery, while between the monastery and the Damascus gate it nearly coincided with the present wall. Of the length from the Damascus gate to the sheep-gate no certain indications have as yet been found. According to Robinson's ideas, it probably went from the Damascus gate, at first eastwards in the direction of the present wall, and onwards to the highest point of Bezetha; but then bent, as Bertheau supposes, in a south-easterly direction, and ran to a point in the present wall lying north-east of the Church of St. Anne, and thence directly south towards the north-east corner of the temple area. On the south side, on the contrary, the whole of the hill of Zion belonged to the ancient city; and the wall did not, like the modern, pass across the middle of Zion, thus

excluding the southern half of this hill from the city, but went on the west, south, and south-east, round the edge of Zion, so that the city of Zion was as large again as that portion of modern Jerusalem lying on the hill of Zion, and included the sepulchres of David and of the kings of Judah, which are now outside the city wall. Tobler (*Dritte Wand.* p. 336) believes that a trace of the course of the ancient wall has been discovered in the cutting in the rock recently uncovered outside the city, where, at the building of the Anglican Episcopal school, which lies two hundred paces westward under *En-Nebi-Daûd*, and the levelling of the garden and cemetery, were found edged stones lying scattered about, and "remarkable artificial walls of rock," whose direction shows that they must have supported the oldest or first wall of the city; for they are just so far distant from the level of the valley, that the wall could, or rather must, have stood there. "And," continues Tobler, "not only so, but the course of the wall of rock is also to a certain extent parallel with that of the valley, as must be supposed to be the case with a rocky foundation to a city wall." Finally, the city was bounded on its western and eastern sides by the valleys of Gihon and Jehoshaphat respectively.

Vers. 33-38 (chap. iv. 1-6, A. V.). *The ridicule of Tobiah and Sanballat.*—Vers. 33 and 34. As soon as Sanballat heard that we were building (בְּנִיִּים, *partic.*, expresses not merely the resolve or desire to build, but also the act of commencing), he was wroth and indignant, and vented his anger by ridiculing the Jews, saying before his brethren, *i.e.* the rulers of his people, and the army of Samaria (חֵיל, like Esth. i. 3, 2 Kings xviii. 17),—in other words, saying publicly before his associates and subordinates,—“What do these feeble Jews? will they leave it to themselves? will they sacrifice? will they finish it to-day? will they revive the stones out of the heaps that are burned?” מָה עֹשִׂים, not, What will they do? (Bertheau), for the participle is present, and does not stand for the future; but, What are they doing? The form אֶמְלֵל, withered, powerless, occurs here only. The subject of

the four succeeding interrogative sentences must be the same. And this is enough to render inadmissible the explanation offered by older expositors of הִיֶּעֱזְבוּ לָהֶם: Will they leave to them, viz. will the neighbouring nations or the royal prefects allow them to build? Here, as in the case of the following verbs, the subject can only be the Jews. Hence Ewald seeks, both here and in ver. 8, to give to the verb עָזַב the meaning to shelter: Will they make a shelter for themselves, i.e. will they fortify the town? But this is quite arbitrary. Bertheau more correctly compares the passage, Ps. x. 14, עֲזַבְתִּי עַל אֱלֹהִים, we leave it to God; but incorrectly infers that here also we must supply עַל אֱלֹהִים, and that, Will they leave to themselves? means, Will they commit the matter to God? This mode of completing the sense, however, can by no means be justified; and Bertheau's conjecture, that the Jews now assembling in Jerusalem, before commencing the work itself, instituted a devotional solemnity which Sanballat was ridiculing, is incompatible with the correct rendering of the participle. עָזַב construed with לְ means to leave, to commit a matter to any one, like Ps. x. 14, and the sense is: Will they leave the building of the fortified walls to themselves? i.e. Do they think they are able with their poor resources to carry out this great work? This is appropriately followed by the next question: Will they sacrifice? i.e. bring sacrifices to obtain God's miraculous assistance? The ridicule lies in the circumstance that Sanballat neither credited the Jews with ability to carry out the work, nor believed in the overruling providence of the God whom the Jews worshipped, and therefore casts scorn by הִיִּצְבְּחִי both upon the faith of the Jews in their God and upon the living God Himself. As these two questions are internally connected, so also are the two following, by which Sanballat casts a doubt upon the possibility of the work being executed. Will they finish (the work) on this day, i.e. to-day, directly? The meaning is: Is this a matter to be as quickly executed as if it were the work of a single day? The last question is: Have they even the requisite materials? Will they revive the stones out of the heaps of rubbish which are burnt?

The building-stone of Jerusalem was limestone, which gets softened by fire, losing its durability, and, so to speak, its vitality. This explains the use of the verb *הִיָּיָה*, to revive, to give fresh vital power. To revive burnt stones means, to bestow strength and durability upon the softened crumbled stones, to fit the stones into a new building (Ges. *Lex.*). The construction *וְהָפָה שְׂרִיפֹת אֲבָנִים* is explained by the circumstance that *אֲבָנִים* is by its form masculine, but by its meaning feminine, and that *הָפָה* agrees with the form *אֲבָנִים*.—Ver. 35. Tobiah the Ammonite, standing near Sanballat, and joining in in his raillery, adds: “Even that which they build, if a fox go up he will break their stone wall;” *i.e.*, even if they build up walls, the light footsteps of the stealthy fox will suffice to tread them down, and to make breaches in their work.—Vers. 36 and 37. When Nehemiah heard of these contemptuous words, he committed the matter to God, entreating Him to hear how they (the Jews) were become a scorn, *i.e.* a subject of contempt, to turn the reproach of the enemies upon their own head, and to give them up to plunder in a land of captivity, *i.e.* in a land in which they would dwell as captives. He supplicates, moreover, that God would not cover, *i.e.* forgive (Ps. lxxxv. 3), their iniquity, and that their sin might not be blotted out from before His face, *i.e.* might not remain unpunished, “for they have provoked to wrath before the builders,” *i.e.* openly challenged the wrath of God, by despising Him before the builders, so that they heard it. *הִכְעִים* without an object, spoken of provoking the divine wrath by grievous sins; comp. 2 Kings xxi. 6 with 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6.—Ver. 38. The Jews continued to build without heeding the ridicule of their enemies, “and all the wall was joined together unto the half thereof,” *i.e.* the wall was so far repaired throughout its whole circumference, that no breach or gap was left up to half its height; “and the people had a heart to work,” *i.e.* the restoration went on so quickly because the people had a mind to work.

Chap. iv. *The attempts of the enemies to hinder the work by force, and Nehemiah's precautions against them.*—Vers. 1-8. When the enemies learnt that the restoration of the wall

was evidently getting on, they conspired together to fight against Jerusalem (vers. 1 and 2). The Jews then prayed to God, and set a watch (ver. 3). When the courage of the people began to fail, and their enemies spread a report of sudden attack being imminent, Nehemiah furnished the people on the wall with weapons, and encouraged the nobles and rulers to fight boldly for their brethren, their children, and their possessions (vers. 4–8). The Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites are here enumerated as enemies, besides Sanballat and Tobiah (vers. 2, 10, 19). The Arabians were incited to hostilities against the Jews by Geshem (11, 19), and the Ammonites by Tobiah; the Ashdodites, the inhabitants of the city and territory of Ashdod, in the coast district of Philistia, were perhaps encouraged to renew their old hatred of Judah by Sanballat the Horonite. When these enemies heard that the walls of Jerusalem were bandaged, *i.e.* that the breaches and damages in the wall were repaired, they were filled with wrath. The biblical expression, to lay on a bandage, here and 2 Chron. xxiv. 13, Jer. viii. 22, xxx. 17, xxxiii. 6, is derived from the healing of wounds by means of a bandage, and is explained by the sentence following: that the breaches began to be closed or stopped. The enemies conspired together to march against Jerusalem and injure it. לו, because the people of the town are meant. תוֹעָה occurs but once more, viz. in Isa. xxxii. 6, in the sense of error; here it signifies *calamities*, for, as Aben Ezra well remarks, *qui in angustiis constitutus est, est velut errans, qui nescit quid agat quove se vertat*.—Ver. 3. The Jews, on the other hand, made preparation by prayer, and by setting a watch (בִּישְׁמֶרֶת, comp. vii. 3, xiii. 30) day and night. We, viz. Nehemiah and the superintendents of the work, prayed and set a watch עָלֵיהֶם, against them, to ward off a probable attack. מִפְּנֵיהֶם, for fear of them, comp. ver. 10.—Ver. 4. The placing of the watch day and night, and the continuous labour, must have pressed heavily upon the people; therefore Judah said: “The strength of the bearers of burdens fails, and there is much rubbish; we are not able to build the wall.” That is to say, the labour is beyond our



power, we cannot continue it.—Ver. 5. Their discouragement was increased by the words of their enemies, who said: They (the Jews) shall not know nor see, till we come in the midst among them, and slay them, and cause the work to cease.—Ver. 6. When, therefore, the Jews who dwelt near them, *i.e.* in the neighbourhood of the adversaries, and heard their words, came to Jerusalem, “and said to us ten times (*i.e.* again and again), that from all places ye must return to us, then I placed,” etc. Jews came from all places to Jerusalem, and summoned those who were building there to return home, for adversaries were surrounding the community on all sides: Sanballat and the Samaritans on the north, the Ammonites on the east, the Arabians on the south, and the Philistines (Ashdodites) on the west. אֲשֶׁר before הָשׁוּבִי introduces their address, instead of כִּי; being thus used, *e.g.*, before longer speeches, 1 Sam. xv. 20, 2 Sam. i. 4; and for כִּי generally, throughout the later books, in conformity to Aramæan usage. “Return to us” (שׁוּב עַל), as in 2 Chron. xxx. 9, for שׁוּב אֶל), said the Jews who came from all quarters to Jerusalem to their fellow-townsmen, who from Jericho, Gibeon, and Tekoa (comp. iii. 2, 3, 5, 7) were working on the wall of Jerusalem. These words express their fear lest those who were left at home, especially the defenceless women, children, and aged men, should be left without protection against the attacks of enemies, if their able-bodied men remained any longer in Jerusalem to take part in the building of the wall.—Ver. 7a is hardly intelligible. We translate it: Then I placed at the lowest places behind the wall, at the dried-up places, I (even) placed the people, after their families, with their swords, their spears, and their bows. מִתַּחַת לַמָּקוֹם is a stronger expression for מִתַּחַת לַמָּקוֹם when used to indicate position, and מִן points out the direction. The sense is: at the lowest places from behind the wall. בַּצְחָתִים gives the nature of the places where the people were placed with arms. צָחִית and צָחִיָּה mean a dry or bare place exposed to the heat of the sun: bare, uncovered, or empty places, perhaps bare hills, whence approaching foes might be discerned at a distance. The second וְאֶעְיֹד is but

a reiteration of the verb, for the sake of combining it with its object, from which the **אֶמִיד** at the beginning of the verse was too far removed by the circumstantial description of the locality.<sup>1</sup>—Ver. 8. “And I looked, and rose up, and said.” These words can only mean: When I saw the people thus placed with their weapons, I went to them, and said to the nobles, etc., “Be not afraid of them (the enemies); remember the Lord, the great and the terrible,” who will fight for you against your enemies (Deut. iii. 22, xx. 3, and xxxi. 6), “and fight ye for your brethren, your sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses,” whom the enemies would destroy.

Vers. 9–17. Thus was the design of the enemy circumvented, and the Jews returned to their work on the wall, which they had forsaken to betake themselves to their weapons. The manner in which they resumed their building work was, that one half held weapons, and the other half laboured with weapons in hand.—Ver. 9. When our enemies heard that it (their intention) was known to us, and (that) God had brought their counsel to nought (through the measures with which we had met it), we returned all of us to the wall, every one to his work. The conclusion does not begin till **וַיָּשׁוּב**, **וַיָּפֶר הָאֱלֹהִים** belonging to the premiss, in continuation of **כִּי נִדְרַע**.—Ver. 10. From that day the half of my servants wrought at the work, and the other half of them held the

<sup>1</sup> Bertheau considers the text corrupt, regarding the word **מִתְחַתִּיּוֹת** as the object of **אֶמִיד**, and alters it into **מִתְחַשְׁבוֹת** or **חֲשִׁבֹנוֹת**, engines for hurling missiles (2 Chron. xxvi. 15), or into **מִתְחַיִּיּוֹת** (a word of his own invention), instruments for hurling. But not only is this conjecture critically inadmissible, it also offers no appropriate sense. The LXX. reads the text as we do, and merely renders **בִּצְחָחִיִּים** conjecturally by *ἐν τοῖς σκεπτενοῖς*. Besides, it is not easy to see how **חֲשִׁבֹנוֹת** could have arisen from a false reading of **מִתְחַתִּיּוֹת**; and it should be remembered that **מִתְחַשְׁבוֹת** does not mean a machine for hurling, while **מִתְחַיִּיּוֹת** is a mere fabrication. To this must be added, that such machines are indeed placed *upon* the walls of a fortress to hurl down stones and projectiles upon assaulting foes, and not *behind* the walls, where they could only be used to demolish the walls, and so facilitate the taking of the town by the enemy.

spears and shields, the bows and the armour, *i.e.* carried the arms. The servants of Nehemiah are his personal retinue, ver. 17, v. 10, 16, namely, Jews placed at his disposal as Pechah for official purposes. The ו before הַרְמָתִים was probably placed before this word, instead of before the הַפְּנִינִים following, by a clerical error; for if it stood before the latter also, it might be taken in the sense of *et—et*. מְהוֹלְכִים, instead of being construed with הַ, is in the accusative, as also in ver. 11, and even in Jer. vi. 23 and Isa. xli. 9, 13. Unnecessary and unsuitable is the conjecture of Bertheau, that the word בְּרָמָתִים originally stood after מְהוֹלְכִים, and that a fresh sentence begins with וְהַרְמָתִים: and the other half held the spears; and the spears, the shields, and the bows, and the armour, and the rulers, were behind the whole house of Judah,—a strange combination, which places the weapons and rulers behind the house of Judah. Besides, of the circumstance of the weapons being placed behind the builders, so that they might at any moment seize them, we not only read nothing in the text; but in vers. 11 and 12 just the contrary, viz. that the builders wrought with one hand, and with the other held a weapon. “The rulers were behind all the house of Judah,” *i.e.* each was behind his own people who were employed on the work, to encourage them in their labour, and, in case of attack, to lead them against the enemy.—In ver. 11 הַבּוֹנִים is prefixed after the manner of a title. With respect to those who built the wall, both the bearers of burdens were lading with the one hand of each workman, and holding a weapon with the other, and the builders were building each with his sword girt on his side. The ו prefixed to הַנְּשָׂאִים and הַבְּנִים means both; and נִשָּׂא בַמִּכָּל, bearers of burdens, who cleared away the rubbish, and worked as labourers. These, at all events, could do their work with one hand, which would suffice for emptying rubbish into baskets, and for carrying material in handle baskets. בְּאַחַת יָדוֹ, literally, with the one (namely) of his hands that was doing the work. The suffix of יָדוֹ points to the genitive following. אֶתֶּת וְאֶתֶּת, the one and the other hand. הַשֵּׁלֶךְ, not a missile, but a weapon that was stretched out, held forth, usually a sword or some

defensive weapon : see rem. on Josh. ii. 8, 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. The builders, on the contrary, needed both hands for their work : hence they had swords girt to their sides. "And he that sounded the trumpet was beside me." Nehemiah, as superintendent of the work, stood at the head of his servants, ready to ward off any attack ; hence the trumpeter was beside him, to be able to give to those employed on the wall the signal for speedy muster in case danger should threaten. —Ver. 13 sq. Hence he said to the nobles, the rulers, and the rest of the people, *i.e.* all employed in building, "The work is much (great) and wide, and we are separated upon the wall one far from another ; in what place ye hear the sound of the trumpet, assemble yourselves to me : our God will fight for us." —In ver. 15 the whole is summed up, and for this purpose the matter of ver. 10 is briefly repeated, to unite with it the further statement that they so laboured from early morning till late in the evening. "We (Nehemiah and his servants) laboured in the work, and half of them (of the servants) held the spears from the grey of dawn till the stars appeared." —Ver. 16. He took, moreover, a further precaution : he said to the people (*i.e.* to the labourers on the wall, and not merely to the warriors of the community, as Bertheau supposes) : Let every one with his servant lodge within Jerusalem, *i.e.* to remain together during the night also, and not be scattered through the surrounding district, "that they may be guardianship for us by night and labour by day." The abstracts, guardianship and labour, stand for the concretes, guards and labourers. As לָנוּ, *to us*, refers to the whole community separated on the walls, so is אִישׁ וְיָצְרוֹ to be understood of all the workers, and not of the fighting men only. From אִישׁ וְיָצְרוֹ it only appears that the fathers of families and master builders had servants with them as labourers. —Ver. 17. Nehemiah, moreover, and his brethren (his kinsmen and the members of his house), and his servants, and the men of the guard in his retinue, were constantly in their clothes ("not putting off our clothes" to rest). The last words, אִישׁ שְׁלָחוֹ הַמַּיִם, are very obscure, and give no tolerable sense, whether we explain הַמַּיִם of water for drinking or washing. Luther trans-

lates, Every one left off washing; but the words, Every one's weapon was water, can never bear this sense. Roediger, in *Gesen. Thes. s.v.* שָׁלַח, seeks to alter הַמִּים into בִּידוֹ, to which Böttcher (*N. krit. Aehrenl.* iii. p. 219) rightly objects: "how could בִּידוֹ have been altered into הַמִּים, or הַמִּים have got into the text at all, if some portion of it had not been originally there? What this בִּידוֹ expresses, would be far more definitely given with the very slight correction of changing the closing ם of הַמִּים, and reading הַמִּינִי = הַמִּינִי (comp. 2 Sam. xiv. 19); thus each had taken his missile on the right (in his right hand), naturally that he might be ready to discharge it in case of a hostile attack." This conjecture seems to us a happy emendation of the unmeaning text, since נִ might easily have been changed into ם; and we only differ in this matter from Böttcher, by taking שָׁלַח in its only legitimate meaning of weapon, and translating the words: And each laid his weapon on the right, viz. when he laid himself down at night to rest in his clothes, to be ready for fighting at the first signal from the watch.

#### CHAP. V.—ABOLITION OF USURY—NEHEMIAH'S UNSELFISHNESS.

The events related in this and the following chapter also occurred during the building of the wall. Zealously as the rulers and richer members of the community, following the example of Nehemiah, were carrying on this great undertaking by all the means in their power, the work could not fail to be a heavy burden to the poorer classes, who found it very difficult to maintain their families in these expensive times, especially since they were still oppressed by wealthy usurers. Hence great discontent arose, which soon vented itself in loud complaints. Those who had no property demanded corn for the support of their numerous families (ver. 2); others had been obliged to pledge their fields and vineyards, some to procure corn for their hunger, some to be able to pay the king's tribute; and these complained that they must now give their sons and daughters to bondage (vers.

3-5). When these complaints came to the ears of Nehemiah, he was angry with the rulers; and calling an assembly, he set before them the great injustice of usury, and called upon them to renounce it, to restore to their brethren their mortgaged lands, and to give them what they had borrowed (vers. 6-11). His address made the impression desired. The noble and wealthy resolved to perform what was required; whereupon Nehemiah caused them to take a solemn oath to this effect, indicating by a symbolical act that the heavy wrath of God would fall upon all who should fail to act according to their promise. To this the assembly expressed their Amen, and the people carried out the resolution (vers. 12, 13). Nehemiah then declared with what unselfishness he had exercised his office of governor, for the sake of lightening the heavy burden laid upon the people (vers. 14-19).

Vers. 1-5. *The people complain of oppression.*—Ver. 1. There arose a great cry of the people and of their wives against their brethren the Jews, *i.e.*, as appears from what follows (ver. 7), against the nobles and rulers, therefore against the richer members of the community. This cry is more particularly stated in vers. 2-5, where the malcontents are divided into three classes by שְׁלֹשָׁה, vers. 2, 3, 4.—Ver. 2. There were some who said: Our sons and our daughters are many, and we desire to receive corn, that we may eat and live. These were the words of those workers who had no property. נִקְחָה (from לָקַח), not to take by force, but only to desire that corn may be provided.—Ver. 3. Others, who were indeed possessed of fields, vineyards, and houses, had been obliged to mortgage them, and could now reap nothing from them. פָּרַב, to give as a pledge, to mortgage. The use of the participle denotes the continuance of the transaction, and is not to be rendered, We must mortgage our fields to procure corn; but, We have been obliged to mortgage them, and we desire to receive corn for our hunger, because of the dearth. For (1) the context shows that the act of mortgaging had already taken place, and was still continuing in force (we have been obliged to pledge them, and

they are still pledged); and (2) נִקְחָה must not be taken here in a different sense from ver. 2, but means, We desire that corn may be furnished us, because of the dearth; not, that we may not be obliged to mortgage our lands, but because they are already mortgaged. בִּרְעָב, too, does not necessarily presuppose a scarcity in consequence of a failure of crops or other circumstances, but only declares that they who had been obliged to pledge their fields were suffering from hunger.—Ver. 4. Others, again, complained: We have borrowed money for the king's tribute upon our fields and vineyards. לָקַח means to be dependent, *nexum esse*, and transitively to make dependent, like מָלֵא, to be full, and to make full: We have made our fields and our vineyards answerable for money for the king's tribute (Bertheau), *i.e.* we have borrowed money upon our fields for . . . This they could only do by pledging the crops of these lands, or at least such a portion of their crops as might equal the sum borrowed; comp. the law, Lev. xxv. 14-17.—Ver. 5. "And now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, and our sons as their sons; and lo, we are obliged to bring our sons and our daughters into bondage, and some of our daughters are already brought into bondage; and we have no power to alter this, and our fields and vineyards belong to others." "Our brethren" are the richer Jews who had lent money upon pledges, and בְּנֵיהֶם are their sons. The sense of the first half of the verse is: We are of one flesh and blood with these rich men, *i.e.*, as Ramb. already correctly explains it: *non sumus deterioris conditionis quam tribules nostri divites, nec tamen nostræ inopiæ ex lege divina Deut. xv. 7, 8, subvenitur, nisi maximo cum fœnore.* The law not only allowed to lend to the poor on a pledge (Deut. xv. 8), but also permitted Israelites, if they were poor, to sell themselves (Lev. xxv. 39), and also their sons and daughters, to procure money. It required, however, that they who were thus sold should not be retained as slaves, but set at liberty without ransom, either after seven years or at the year of jubilee (Lev. xxv. 39-41; Ex. xxii. 2 sq.). It is set forth as a special hardship in this verse that some of their daughters were brought into bondage for maid-servants.

אֵין לָאֵל יָדֵנוּ, literally, our hand is not to God, *i.e.* the power to alter it is not in our hand; on this figure of speech, comp. Gen. xxxi. 29. The last clause gives the reason: Our fields and our vineyards belonging to others, what they yield does not come to us, and we are not in a position to be able to put an end to the sad necessity of selling our daughters for servants.

Vers. 6-13. *The abolition of usury.*—Ver. 6. Nehemiah was very angry at this complaint and these things, *i.e.* the injustice which had been brought to his knowledge.—Ver. 7. “And my heart took counsel upon it (פָּלַטְי) according to the Chaldee use of פָּלַטְי, Dan. iv. 24), and I contended with the nobles and rulers, and said to them, Ye exact usury every one of his brother.” לָשֹׁאֵן means to lend to any one, and מִשְׁכָּן, also מִשְׁכָּנָה, Deut. xxiv. 10, Prov. xxii. 26, and מִשְׁכָּן, is the thing lent, the loan, what one borrows from or lends to another. Consequently מִשְׁכָּן לָשֹׁאֵן is to lend some one a loan; comp. Deut. xxiv. 10. This does not seem to suit this verse. For Nehemiah cannot reproach the nobles for lending loans, when he and his servants had, according to ver. 10, done so likewise. Hence the injustice of the transaction which he rebukes must be expressed in the emphatic precedence given to מִשְׁכָּן. Bertheau accordingly regards מִשְׁכָּן not as the accusative of the object, but as an independent secondary accusative in the sense of: for the sake of demanding a pledge, ye lend. But this rendering can be neither grammatically nor lexically justified. In the first respect it is opposed by מִשְׁכָּן לָשֹׁאֵן, Deut. xxiv. 10, which shows that מִשְׁכָּן in conjunction with לָשֹׁאֵן is the accusative of the object; in the other, by the constant use of מִשְׁכָּן in all passages in which it occurs to express a loan, not a demand for a pledge. From Ex. xxii. 24, where it is said, “If thou lend money (תַּלְוֶה) to the poor, thou shalt not be to him בְּנִשְׁכָּה, shalt not lay upon him usury,” it is evident that נִשְׁכָּה is one who lends money on usury, or carries on the business of a money-lender. This evil secondary meaning of the word is here strongly marked by the emphatic preposition of מִשְׁכָּן; hence Nehemiah is speaking of those who practise usury. “And I ap-



pointed a great assembly on their account," to put a stop to the usury and injustice by a public discussion of the matter. עֲלֵיהֶם, not against them (the usurers), but on their account.—Ver. 8. In this assembly he reproached them with the injustice of their behaviour. "We" (said he) "have, after our ability, redeemed our brethren the Jews which were sold unto the heathen; yet ye would sell your brethren, and they are to be sold to us." We (*i.e.* Nehemiah and the Jews living in exile, who were like-minded with him) have bought, in contrast to *ye* sell. They had redeemed their Jewish brethren who were sold to the heathen. כָּרִי אֲשֶׁר בָּנִי for כָּרִי בָנִי, *i.e.*, not according to the full number of those who were among us, meaning as often as a sale of this kind occurred (Bertheau); for כָּרִי does not mean completeness, multitude, but only sufficiency, supply, adequacy of means (Lev. xxv. 26); hence כָּרִי בָנִי is: according to the means that we had: *secundum sufficientiam vel facultatem, quæ in nobis est* (Ramb.), or *secundum possibilitatem nostram* (Vulg.). The contrast is still more strongly expressed by the placing of נִם before אֲנִי, so that נִם אֲנִי acquires the meaning of nevertheless (Ewald, § 354, a). The sale of their brethren for bond-servants was forbidden by the law, Lev. xxv. 42. The usurers had nothing to answer to this reproach. "They held their peace, and found no word," *sc.* in justification of their proceedings.—Ver. 9. Nehemiah, moreover, continued (וַיֹּאמֶר, the Chethiv, is evidently a clerical error for וַיִּאָּמֶר, for the Niphal וַיִּאָּמֶר does not suit): "The thing ye do is not good: ought ye not (= ye surely ought) to walk in the fear of our God, because of the reproach of the heathen our enemies?" *i.e.*, we ought not, by harsh and unloving conduct towards our brethren, to give our enemies occasion to calumniate us.—Ver. 10. "I, likewise my brethren and my servants (comp. iv. 17), have lent them money and corn; let us, I pray, remit (not ask back) this loan!" The participle נֹשִׂים says: we are those who have lent. Herewith he connects the invitation, ver. 11: "Restore unto them, I pray you, even this day (כִּהְיוֹם, about this day, *i.e.* even to-day, 1 Sam. ix. 13), their fields, their vineyards, their olive gardens, and their houses,

and the hundredth of the money, and of the corn, wine, and oil which you have lent them." Nehemiah requires, 1st, that those who held the lands of their poorer brethren in pledge should restore them their property without delay: 2d, that they should remit to their debtors all interest owing on money, corn, etc. that had been lent; not, as the words have been frequently understood, that they should give back to their debtors such interest as they had already received. That the words in ver. 11a bear the former, and not the latter signification, is obvious from the reply, ver. 12, of those addressed: "We will restore, *sc.* their lands, etc., and will not require of them, *sc.* the hundredth; so will we do as thou sayest." Hence we must not translate אֶשֶׁר אָתָּם נָשִׂים בָּהֶם, "which you had taken from them as interest" (de Wette),—a translation which, moreover, cannot be justified by the usage of the language, for לָקַח does not mean to take interest from another, to lend to another on interest. The אֶשֶׁר relates not to וּמֵאֵת, but to וְהִצִּיחָהּ . . . הָרֶגֶן; and הִשְׁבִּיחַ, to restore, to make good, is used of both the transactions in question, meaning in the first clause the restoration of the lands retained as pledges, and in the second, the remission (the non-requirement) of the hundredth. The hundredth taken as interest is probably, like the *centesima* of the Romans, to be understood of a monthly payment. One per cent. per month was a very heavy interest, and one which, in the case of the poor, might be exorbitant. The law, moreover, forbade the taking of any usury from their brethren, their poor fellow-countrymen, Ex. xxii. 25 and Lev. xxv. 36 sq. When the creditors had given the consent required, Nehemiah called the priests, and made them (the creditors) swear to do according to this promise, *i.e.* conscientiously to adhere to their agreement. Nehemiah obtained the attendance of the priests, partly for the purpose of giving solemnity to the oath now taken, and partly to give to the declaration made in the presence of the priests legal validity for judicial decisions.—Ver. 13. To make the agreement thus sworn to still more binding, Nehemiah confirmed the proceeding by a symbolical action: Also I shook

my lap, and said, So may God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth (fulfilleth) not this promise, and thus may he be shaken out and emptied. לָפָא means the lap of the garment, in which things are carried (Isa. xlix. 22), where alone the word is again found. The symbolical action consisted in Nehemiah's gathering up his garment as if for the purpose of carrying something, and then shaking it out with the words above stated, which declared the meaning of the act. The whole congregation said Amen, and praised the Lord, *sc.* for the success with which God had blessed his efforts to help the poor. And the people did according to this promise, *i.e.* the community acted in accordance with the agreement entered into.

Vers. 14-19. *Nehemiah's unselfish conduct.*—The transaction above related gave Nehemiah occasion to speak in his narrative of the unselfishness with which he had filled the office of governor, and of the personal sacrifices he had made for the good of his fellow-countrymen.—Ver. 14. The statement following is compared with the special occurrence preceding it by בְּ. As in this occurrence he had used his credit to do away with the oppression of the people by wealthy usurers, so also had he shown himself unselfish during his whole official career, and shunned no sacrifice by which he might lighten the burdens that lay upon his fellow-countrymen. "From the time that he appointed me to be their governor in the land of Judah, from the twentieth year even unto the two-and-thirtieth year of Artaxerxes the king, I and my servants have not eaten the bread of the governor." The subject of לֶחֶם is left undefined, but is obviously King Artaxerxes. מֶלֶךְ, their (the Jews') governor. This he was from the twentieth (comp. ii. 1) to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, in which, according to xiii. 6, he again visited the court of this monarch, returning after a short interval to Jerusalem, to carry out still further the work he had there undertaken. "The bread of the Pechah" is, according to ver. 15, the food and wine with which the community had to furnish him. The meaning is: During this whole period I drew no allow-

ances from the people.—Ver. 15. The former governors who had been before me in Jerusalem—Zerubbabel and his successors—had received allowances, הִכְבִּירוּ עַל הָעָם, had burdened the people, and had taken of them (their fellow-countrymen) for bread and wine (*i.e.* for the requirements of their table), “afterwards in money forty shekels.” Some difficulty is presented by the word אַחֲרֵי, which the LXX. render by ἔσχατον, the Vulgate *quotidie*. The meaning *ultra, præter*, besides (Ew. § 217, 1), can no more be shown to be that of אַחֲרֵי, than *over* can, which Bertheau attempts to justify by saying that after forty shekels follow forty-one, forty-two, etc. The interpretation, too: reckoned after money (Böttcher, *de Inferis*, § 409, b, and *N. krit. Aehrenl.* iii. p. 219), cannot be supported by the passages quoted in its behalf, since in none of them is אַחֲרֵי used *de illo quod normæ est*, but has everywhere fundamentally the local signification *after*. Why, then, should not אַחֲרֵי be here used adverbially, *afterwards*, and express the thought that this money was afterwards demanded from the community for the expenses of the governor’s table? “Even their servants bare rule over the people.” שָׁלַט denotes arbitrary, oppressive rule, abuse of power for extortions, etc. Nehemiah, on the contrary, had not thus acted because of the fear of God.—Ver. 16. “And also I took part in the work of this wall; neither bought we any land, and all my servants were gathered thither unto the work.” הָחִיז יָד בְּ = הָחִיז בְּ, to set the hand to something; here, to set about the work. The manner in which Nehemiah, together with his servants, set themselves to the work of wall-building is seen from iv. 10, 12, 15, and 17. Neither have we (I and my servants) bought any land, *i.e.* have not by the loan of money and corn acquired mortgages of land; comp. ver. 10.—Ver. 17. But this was not all; for Nehemiah had also fed a considerable number of persons at his table, at his own expense. “And the Jews, both one hundred and fifty rulers, and the men who came to us from the nations round about us, were at my table,” *i.e.* were my guests. The hundred and fifty rulers, comp. ii. 16, were the heads of the different houses of Judah collectively. These were al-

ways guests at Nehemiah's table, as were also such Jews as dwelt among the surrounding nations, when they came to Jerusalem.—Ver. 18. "And that which was prepared for one (*i.e.* a single) day was one ox, six choice (therefore fat) sheep, and fowls; they were prepared for me, *i.e.* at my expense, and once in ten days a quantity of wine of all kinds." The meaning of the last clause seems to be, that the wine was furnished every ten days: no certain quantity, however, is mentioned, but it is only designated in general terms as very great, לְהַרְבֵּה זָה, and with this, *i.e.* notwithstanding this, great expenditure, I did not require the bread of the Pechah (the allowance for the governor, comp. ver. 14), for the service was heavy upon the people. הָעֲבָרָה is the service of building the walls of Jerusalem. Thus Nehemiah, from compassion for his heavily burdened countrymen, resigned the allowance to which as governor he was entitled.—Ver. 19. "Think upon me, my God, for good, all that I have done for this people." Compare the repetition of this desire, xiii. 14 and 31. עֲשֵׂה עָלַי in the sense of עֲשֵׂה לִי, properly for the sake of this people, *i.e.* for them.

CHAP. VI.—SNARES LAID FOR NEHEMIAH—COMPLETION  
OF THE WALL.

When Sanballat and the enemies associated with him were unable to obstruct the building of the wall of Jerusalem by open violence (chap. iv.), they endeavoured to ruin Nehemiah by secret snares. They invited him to meet them in the plain of Ono (vers. 1, 2); but Nehemiah, perceiving that they intended mischief, replied to them by messengers, that he could not come to them on account of the building. After receiving for the fourth time this refusal, Sanballat sent his servant to Nehemiah with an open letter, in which he accused him of rebellion against the king of Persia. Nehemiah, however, repelled this accusation as the invention of Sanballat (vers. 3–9). Tobiah and Sanballat, moreover, hired a false prophet to make Nehemiah flee into the temple from fear of the snares prepared for him, that they might

then be able to calumniate him (10-14). The building of the wall was completed in fifty-two days, and the enemies were disheartened (15-17), although at that time many nobles of Judah had entered into epistolary correspondence with Tobiah, to obstruct the proceedings of Nehemiah (18, 19).

Vers. 1-9. *The attempts of Sanballat and his associates to ruin Nehemiah.*—Vers. 1, 2. When Sanballat, Tobiah, Geshem the Arabian, and the rest of the enemies, heard that the wall was built, and that no breaches were left therein, though the doors were then not yet set up in the gates, he sent, etc. וְשָׁמַע לוֹ, it was heard by him, in the indefinite sense of: it came to his ears. The use of the passive is more frequent in later Hebrew; comp. vers. 6, 7, xiii. 27, Esth. i. 20, and elsewhere. On Sanballat and his allies, see remarks on ii. 19. The "rest of our enemies" were, according to iv. 1 (iv. 7, A. V.), Ashdodites, and also other hostile individuals. וְהָעַתָּה וְנִי introduces a parenthetical sentence limiting the statement already made: Nevertheless, down to that time I had not set up the doors in the gates. The wall-building was quite finished, but doors to the gates were as yet wanting to the complete fortification of the city. The enemies sent to him, saying, Come, let us meet together (for a discussion) in the villages in the valley of Ono.—In ver. 7, וְנִיעֲצָה, let us take counsel together, is synonymous with וְנִיעֲצָה of the present verse. The form בְּפָרִים, elsewhere only בְּפָר, 1 Chron. xxvii. 25, or בְּפָר, village, 1 Sam. vi. 18, occurs only here. בְּפָרִי, however, being found Ezra ii. 25 and elsewhere as a proper name, the form בְּפָרִי seems to have been in use as well as בְּפָר. There is no valid ground for regarding בְּפָרִים as the proper name of a special locality. To make their proposal appear impartial, they leave the appointment of the place in the valley of Ono to Nehemiah. Ono seems, according to 1 Chron. viii. 12, to have been situate in the neighbourhood of Lod (Lydda), and is therefore identified by Van de Velde (*Mem.* p. 337) and Bertheau with Kefr Ana (كفر عانا) or Kefr Anna, one and three-quarter leagues north of Ludd. But no certain information

concerning the position of the place can be obtained from 1 Chron. viii. 12; and Roediger (in the *Hallische Lit. Zeitung*, 1842, No. 71, p. 665) is more correct, in accordance both with the orthography and the sense, in comparing it with Beit Unia (بيت اونيا), north-west of Jerusalem, not far from Beitin (Bethel); comp. Rob. *Pal.* ii. p. 351. The circumstance that the plain of Ono was, according to the present verse, somewhere between Jerusalem and Samaria, which suits Beit Unia, but not Kefr Ana (comp. Arnold in Herzog's *Realenc.* xii. p. 759), is also in favour of the latter view. "But they thought to do me harm." Probably they wanted to make him a prisoner, perhaps even to assassinate him.—Ver. 3. Nehemiah sent messengers to them, saying: "I am doing a great work, and I cannot come down thither. Why should the work cease whilst I leave it and come down to you?" That is, he let them know that he could not undertake the journey, because his presence in Jerusalem was necessary for the uninterrupted prosecution of the work of building.—Ver. 4. They sent to him four times in the same manner (בְּדִבְרֵי הָיָה, comp. 2 Sam. xv. 6), and Nehemiah gave them the same answer.—Ver. 5. Then Sanballat sent his servant in this manner, the fifth time, with an open letter, in which was written: "It is reported (נִשְׁמָע, it is heard) among the nations, and Gashmu saith, (that) thou and the Jews intend to rebel; for which cause thou buildest the wall, and thou wilt be their king, according to these words." "The nations" are naturally the nations dwelling in the land, in the neighbourhood of the Jewish community. On the form Gashmu, comp. rem. on ii. 19. הָיָה, the particip., is used of that which any one intends or prepares to do: thou art intending to become their king. עַל־כֵּן, therefore, for no other reason than to rebel, dost thou build the wall.—Ver. 7. It was further said in the letter: "Thou hast also appointed prophets to proclaim concerning thee in Jerusalem, saying, King of Judah; and now it will be reported to the king according to these words (or things). Come, therefore, and let us take counsel together," *sc.* to refute these things as

groundless rumours. By such accusations in an open letter, which might be read by any one, Sanballat thought to oblige Nehemiah to come and clear himself from suspicion by an interview.—Ver. 9. Nehemiah, however, saw through his stratagem, and sent word to him by a messenger: “There are no such things done<sup>a</sup> as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.” בִּזְיוֹן, a contraction of בִּזְיוֹן, from בִּזְיוֹן, which occurs again only in 1 Kings xii. 33, to invent, to feign, especially evil things.—Ver. 9. “For,” adds Nehemiah when writing of these things, “they all desired to make us afraid, thinking (לְאֵרֶךְ) their hands will cease from the work, that it be not done.” The last words, “And now strengthen my hands,” are to be explained by the fact that Nehemiah hastily transports himself into the situation and feelings of those days when he prayed to God for strength. To make this request fit into the train of thought, we must supply: I however thought, or said, Strengthen, O God, my hands. הִנֵּנִי is imperative. The translation, in the first pers. sing. of the imperfect, “I strengthened” (LXX., Vulg., Syr.), is only an attempt to fit into their context words not understood by the translators.

Vers. 10–14. A false prophet, hired by Tobiah and Sanballat, also sought, by prophesying that the enemies of Nehemiah would kill him in the night, to cause him to flee with him into the holy place of the temple, and to protect his life from the machinations of his enemies by closing the temple doors. His purpose was, as Nehemiah subsequently learned, to seduce him into taking an illegal step, and so give occasion for speaking evil of him.—Ver. 10. “And I came into the house of Shemaiah the son of Delaiah, the son of Mehetabeel, who was shut up.” Nothing further is known of this prophet Shemaiah. From what is here related we learn, that he was one of the lying prophets employed by Sanballat and Tobiah to ruin Nehemiah. We are not told what induced or caused Nehemiah to go into the house of Shemaiah; he merely recounts what the latter was hired by his enemies to effect. From the accessory clause, “and he was shut up,” we may perhaps infer that Shemaiah in some



way or other, perhaps by announcing that he had something of importance to communicate, persuaded Nehemiah to visit him at his house. **וְהָיָה עָצוּר** does not, however, involve the meaning which Bertheau gives it, viz. that Nehemiah went to Shemaiah's house, because the latter as **עָצוּר** could not come to him. The phrase says only, that when Nehemiah entered Shemaiah's house, he found him **עָצוּר**, which simply means shut up, shut in his house, not imprisoned, and still less in a state of ceremonial uncleanness (Ewald), or overpowered by the hand of Jahve—laid hold on by a higher power (Bertheau). It is evident from his proposal to Nehemiah, "Let us go together to the house of God," etc., that he was neither imprisoned in his house, nor prevented by any physical cause from leaving home. Hence it follows that he had shut himself in his house, to intimate to Nehemiah that also he felt his life in danger through the machinations of his enemies, and that he was thus dissimulating in order the more easily to induce him to agree to his proposal, that they should together escape the snares laid for them by fleeing to the temple. In this case, it may be uncertain whether Shemaiah had shut himself up, feigning that the enemies of Judah were seeking his life also, as the prophet of Jahve; or whether by this action he was symbolically announcing what God charged him to make known to Nehemiah. Either view is possible; while the circumstance that Nehemiah in ver. 12 calls his advice to flee into the temple a **נְבוּאָה** against him, and that it was quite in character with the proceedings of such false prophets to enforce their words by symbolical signs (comp. 1 Kings xxii. 11), favours the former. The going into the house of God is more closely defined by **אֶל-מוֹדֵד הַהִיכָל**, within the holy place, where, as is well known, no layman was allowed to enter. "And let us shut the doors of the holy place; for they (the enemies) will come to slay thee, and indeed this night will they come to slay thee." He seeks to corroborate his warning as a special revelation from God, by making it appear that God had not only made known to him the design of the enemies, but also the precise time at which they intended to carry it into execution.—

Ver. 11. Nehemiah, however, was not to be alarmed thereby, but exclaimed: Should such a man as I flee? and what man like me could go into the holy place and live? I will not go in.  $\text{וְיָחִי}$  is the perf. with *Vav* consecutive: that he may live. This word is ambiguous; it may mean: to save his life, or: and save his life, not, expiate such a transgression of the law with his life. Probably Nehemiah used it in the latter sense, having in mind the command, Num. xviii. 7, that the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.—Ver. 12. And I perceived,—viz. from the conduct of Shemaiah on my refusal to follow his advice,—and, lo, not God had sent him (*i.e.* had not commissioned or inspired him to speak these words;  $\text{לֹא}$  emphatically precedes  $\text{אֱלֹהִים}$ : not God, but himself), but that he pronounced this prophecy against me, because Tobiah and Sanballat had hired him. The verb  $\text{שָׁכַרְוּ}$  (sing.) agrees only with the latter word, although in fact it refers to both these individuals.—Ver. 13. “On this account was he hired that I might be afraid, and do so; and if I had sinned (by entering the holy place), it (my sin) would have been to them for an evil report, that they might defame me.” The use of  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  before two sentences, the second of which expresses the purpose of the first, is peculiar: for this purpose, that I might fear, etc., was he hired. To enter and to shut himself within the holy place would have been a grave desecration of the house of God, which would have given occasion to his enemies to cast suspicion upon Nehemiah as a despiser of God’s commands, and so to undermine his authority with the people.—In ver. 14 Nehemiah concludes his account of the stratagems of his enemies, with the wish that God would think upon them according to their works. In expressing it, he names, besides Tobiah and Sanballat, the prophetess Noadiah and the rest of the prophets who, like Shemaiah, would have put him in fear: whence we perceive, 1st, that the case related (vers. 10–13) is given as only one of the chief events of the kind ( $\text{מִיָּדָאִים}$ , like vers. 9, 19); and 2d, that false prophets were again busy in the congregation, as in the period preceding the captivity, and seeking to seduce the people from

hearkening to the voice of the true prophets of God, who preached repentance and conversion as the conditions of prosperity.

Vers. 15 and 16. *The wall completed, and the impression made by this work upon the enemies of the Jews.*—Ver. 15. The wall was finished on the twenty-fifth day of the month Elul, i.e. of the sixth month, in fifty-two days. According to this statement, it must have been begun on the third day of the fifth month (Ab). The year is not mentioned, the before-named (ii. 1) twentieth year of Artaxerxes being intended. This agrees with the other chronological statements of this book. For, according to ii. 1, it was in Nisan (the first month) of this year that Nehemiah entreated permission of the king to go to Jerusalem; and we learn from v. 14 and xiii. 6 that he was governor in Jerusalem from the twentieth year onwards, and must therefore have set out for that place immediately after receiving the royal permission. In this case, he might well arrive in Jerusalem before the expiration of the fourth month. He then surveyed the wall, and called a public assembly for the purpose of urging the whole community to enter heartily upon the work of restoration (ii. 11–17). All this might take place in the course of the fourth month, so that the work could be actually taken in hand in the fifth. Nor is there any reasonable ground, as Bertheau has already shown, for doubting the correctness of the statement, that the building was completed in fifty-two days, and (with Ewald) altering the fifty-two days into two years and four months.<sup>1</sup> For we must

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. p. 178, thinks that traces of the correct reading of this verse are found in the statement of Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 5. 7 sq., that the wall of Jerusalem was finished in two years and four months, and that the word שְׁנַתִּים may have been omitted from Neh. vi. 15 by an ancient clerical error, though he is obliged to admit that Josephus in other instances gives no trustworthy dates concerning Nehemiah, whom he makes arrive at Jerusalem in the twenty-fifth, and complete the wall in the twenty-eighth year of Xerxes. On the other hand, Bertheau has already remarked, that even if שְׁנַתִּים is supplied, no agreement with the statement of Josephus is obtained, since the question still remains how four months can be made out of fifty-two days, or

in this case consider, 1st, the necessity for hastening the work repeatedly pointed out by Nehemiah; 2d, the zeal and relatively very large number of builders—the whole community, both the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the men of Jericho, Tekoa, Gibeon, Mizpah, etc. having combined their efforts; 3d, that the kind of exertion demanded by such laborious work and unintermitted watchfulness as are described chap. iv., though it might be continued for fifty-two days, could scarcely endure during a longer period; and lastly, the amount of the work itself, which must not be regarded as the rebuilding of the whole wall, but only as the restoration of those portions that had been destroyed, the repair of the breaches (i. 3, ii. 13, vi. 1), and of the ruined gates,—a large portion of wall and at least one gate having remained uninjured (see p. 180). To this must be added that the material, so far as stone was concerned, was close at hand, stone needing for the most part to be merely brought out of the ruins; besides which, materials of all kind might have been collected and prepared beforehand. It is, moreover, incorrect to compute the extent of this fortified wall by the extent of the wall of modern Jerusalem.—Ver. 16. The news that the wall was finished spread fear among the enemies, viz. among the nations in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (comp. iv. 1, v. 9); they were much cast down, and perceived “that this work was effected with the help of our God.” The expression יָפִל בְּעֵינֵיהֶם occurs only here, and must be explained according to יָפִל פָּנָיו, his countenance fell (Gen. iv. 5), and יָפִל לֵב, the heart fails (*i.e.* the courage) (1 Sam. xvii. 32): they sank in their own eyes, *i.e.* they felt themselves cast down, discouraged.

Vers. 17–19. To this Nehemiah adds the supplementary remark, that in those days even nobles of Judah were in alliance and active correspondence with Tobiah, because he

*vice versa*, fifty-two days of four months. In fact, it is vain to seek for any common ground on which these two different statements can be harmonized; and hence the two years and four months of Josephus can scarcely be regarded as furnishing traces of another reading of the text.

had married into a respectable Jewish family.—Ver. 17. “Also in those days the nobles of Judah wrote many letters (מְרַבִּים אִגְרֵיהֶם, they made many, multiplied, their letters) passing to Tobiah, and those of Tobiah came to them.”—Ver. 18. For many in Judah were sworn unto him, for he was the son-in-law of Shecaniah the son of Arah; and his son Johanan had taken (to wife) the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berechiah. In this case Tobiah was connected with two Jewish families,—a statement which is made to confirm the fact that many in Judah were שְׁבֻעָה, associates of an oath, joined to him by an oath, not allies in consequence of a treaty sworn to (Bertheau). From this reason being given, we may conclude his affinity by marriage was confirmed by an oath. Shecaniah ben Arah was certainly a respectable Jew of the race of Arah, Ezra ii. 5. Meshullam ben Berechiah appears among those who shared in the work of building, iii. 4 and 30. According to xiii. 4, the high priest Eliashib was also related to Tobiah. From the fact that both Tobiah and his son Jehohanan have genuine Jewish names, Bertheau rightly infers that they were probably descended from Israelites of the northern kingdom of the ten tribes. With this the designation of Tobiah as “the Ammonite” may be harmonized by the supposition that his more recent or remote ancestors were naturalized Ammonites.—Ver. 19. “Also they reported his good deeds before me, and uttered my words to him.” טוֹבוֹתָיו, the good things in him, or “his good qualities and intentions” (Bertheau). The subject of the sentence is the nobles of Judah. מוֹצִיִּים לוֹ, they were bringing forth to him. On this matter Bertheau remarks, that there is no reason for assuming that the nobles of Judah endeavoured, by misrepresenting and distorting the words of Nehemiah, to widen the breach between him and Tobiah. This is certainly true; but, at the same time, we cannot further infer from these words that they were trying to effect an understanding between the two, and representing to Nehemiah how dangerous and objectionable his undertaking was; but were by this very course playing into the hands of Tobiah. For an understanding between two in-

dividuals, hostile the one to the other, is not to be brought about by reporting to the one what is the other's opinion of him. Finally, Nehemiah mentions also that Tobiah also sent letters to put him in fear (תִּבְיָהּ, infiu. Piel, like 2 Chron. xxxii. 18; comp. the participle above, vers. 9 and 14). The letters were probably of similar contents with the letter of Sanballat given in ver. 6.

## II.—NEHEMIAH'S FURTHER EXERTIONS IN BEHALF OF THE COMMUNITY.—CHAP. VII.—XII. 43.

The building of the wall being now concluded, Nehemiah first made arrangements for securing the city against hostile attacks (vii. 1-3); then took measures to increase the inhabitants of Jerusalem (vii. 4-73 and xi. 1 and 2); and finally endeavoured to fashion domestic and civil life according to the precepts of the law (chap. viii.-x.), and, on the occasion of the solemn dedication of the wall, to set in order the services of the Levites (chap. xii.).

### CHAP. VII.—THE WATCHING OF THE CITY. MEASURES TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF ITS INHABITANTS. LIST OF THE HOUSES THAT RETURNED FROM BABYLON WITH ZERUBBABEL.

Vers. 1-3. *The watching of the city provided for.*—Ver. 1. When the wall was built, Nehemiah set up the doors in the gates, to complete the fortification of Jerusalem (comp. vi. 1). Then were the gatekeepers, the singers, and the Levites entrusted with the care (שָׁמְרוּ, *præfici*; comp. xii. 14). The care of watching the walls and gates is meant in this connection. According to ancient appointment, it was the duty of the doorkeepers to keep watch over the house of God, and to open and close the gates of the temple courts; comp. 1 Chron. ix. 17-19, xxvi. 12-19. The singers and the Levites appointed to assist the priests, on the contrary,

had, in ordinary times, nothing to do with the service of watching. Under the present extraordinary circumstances, however, Nehemiah committed also to these two organized corporations the task of keeping watch over the walls and gates of the city, and placed them under the command of his brother Hanani, and of Hananiah the ruler of the citadel. This is expressed by the words, ver. 2: I gave Hanani . . . and Hananiah . . . charge over Jerusalem. הַבִּירָה is the fortress or citadel of the city lying to the north of the temple (see rem. on ii. 8), in which was probably located the royal garrison, the commander of which was in the service of the Persian king. The choice of this man for so important a charge is explained by the additional clause: "for he was a faithful man, and feared God above many." The כִּי before אִישׁ is the so-called Caph *veritatis*, which expresses a comparison with the idea of the matter: like a man whom one may truly call faithful. מֵרַבִּים is comparative: more God-fearing than many.—Ver. 3. The Chethiv וַיֹּאמֶר is both here and v. 9 certainly a clerical error for the Keri וַיֹּאמְרוּ, though in this place, at all events, we might read וַיֹּאמְרוּ, it was said to them. "The gates of Jerusalem are not to be opened till the sun be hot; and while they (the watch) are yet at their posts, they are to shut the doors and lock them; and ye shall appoint watches of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, some to be at their watch-posts, others before their house." וַיִּשְׁלֹחַ in Hebrew is used only here, though more frequently in the Talmud, of closing the doors. וַיִּשְׁלֹחַ, to make fast, *i.e.* to lock, as more frequently in Syriac. The *infin. absol.* וַיַּעֲמִיר instead of the *temp. fin.* is emphatic: and you are to appoint. The sense is: the gates are to be occupied before daybreak by the Levites (singers and other Levites) appointed to guard them, and not opened till the sun is hot and the watch already at their posts, and to be closed in the evening before the departure of the watch. After the closing of the gates, *i.e.* during the night, the inhabitants of Jerusalem are to keep watch for the purpose of defending the city from any kind of attack, a part occupying the posts, and the other part watching before their (each

before his own) house, so as to be at hand to defend the city.

Vers. 4-73a. *The measures taken by Nehemiah for increasing the number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem.*—Ver. 4. The city was spacious and great, and the people few therein, and houses were not built. רַחֲבָה יָרִים, broad on both sides, that is, regarded from the centre towards either the right or left hand. The last clause does not say that there were no houses at all, for the city had been re-inhabited for ninety years; but only that houses had not been built in proportion to the size of the city, that there was still much unoccupied space on which houses might be built.—Ver. 5. And God put into my heart, *i.e.* God inspired me with the resolution; comp. ii. 12. What resolution, is declared by the sentences following, which detail its execution. The resolution to gather together the nobles and rulers of the people for the purpose of making a list of their kinsmen, and thus to obtain a basis for the operations contemplated for increasing the inhabitants of Jerusalem. הָחָרִים וְהַסְּגִיִּים are combined, as in ii. 16. On הַתִּיחֵשׁ, comp. 1 Chron. v. 17.

While this resolve was under consideration, Nehemiah found the register, *i.e.* the genealogical registry, of those who came up at first (from Babylon). בְּרִאשֹׁנָה, at the beginning, *i.e.* with Zerubbabel and Joshua under Cyrus (Ezra ii.), and not subsequently with Ezra (Ezra vii.). "And I found written therein." These words introduce the list now given. This list, vers. 6-73a, is identical with that in Ezra ii., and has been already discussed in our remarks on that chapter.

CHAP. VIII.—X.—PUBLIC READING OF THE LAW. THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES. A PUBLIC FAST HELD, AND A COVENANT MADE TO KEEP THE LAW.

These three chapters form a connected whole, and describe acts of worship and solemnities conducted by Ezra and other priests and Levites, Nehemiah as the secular governor being only twice mentioned in them (viii. 9, x. 2). The contents of



the three chapters are as follows: On the approach of the seventh month, which opened with the feast of trumpets, and during which occurred both the feast of tabernacles and the great day of atonement, the people were gathered to Jerusalem; and Ezra, at the request of the congregation, read to the assembled people out of the book of the law on the first and second days. It being found written in the law, that the Israelites were to dwell in booths during the seventh month, it was resolved to keep the festival in accordance with this direction; and this resolution was carried into execution by erecting booths made with branches of trees on house-tops, in courts, and in the public places of the city, and celebrating the seven-days' festival by a daily public reading of the law (chap. viii.). On the twenty-fourth day of the same month, the congregation again assembled, with fasting and mourning, to make a public confession of their sins, and to renew their covenant with God (chap. ix. x.).

The second clause of vii. 73 belongs to chap. viii., and forms one sentence with viii. 1. "When the seventh month came, and the children of Israel were in their cities, the whole people gathered themselves together as one man in the open space that was before the water-gate," etc. The capitular division of the Masoretic text is erroneous, and makes the words, "and the children of Israel were in their cities," appear a mere repetition of the sentence, "and all Israel dwelt in their cities." The chronological statement, "when the seventh month came," without mention of the year, points back to the date in vi. 15: the twenty-fifth Elul, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes; on which day the building of the wall was completed. Elul, the sixth month, is followed by Tishri, the seventh, and there is nothing against the inference that the seventh month of the same year is intended; the dedication of the wall not being related till chap. xii., and therefore occurring subsequently, while all the facts narrated in chap. viii.—xi. might, without any difficulty, occur in the interval between the completion of the wall and its dedication. For, besides the public reading of the law on the first two days of the seventh month, the cele-

bration of the feast of tabernacles, and the public fast on the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month (chap. viii.-xi.), nothing more is recorded (xi. 1, 2) than the execution of the resolve made by Nehemiah, immediately after the completion of the wall (vii. 4), viz. to increase the inhabitants of Jerusalem, by appointing by lot one of every ten dwellers in the surrounding country to go to Jerusalem and dwell there. This is succeeded by lists of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and of the cities of Benjamin and Judah, and lists of the priests and Levites (xi. 3-xii. 26).

Chap. viii. 1-8. *The public reading of the law.*—Vers. 1-3. The introduction to this narrative (vii. 73b-viii. 1a) is identical with Ezra iii. 1. The same matter, the assembling of the people on the approach of the seventh month, is described in the same words. But the object of this assembling of the people was a different one from that mentioned in Ezra iii. Then they met to restore the altar of burnt-offering and the sacrificial worship; now, on the contrary, for the due solemnization of the seventh month, the festal month of the year. For this purpose the people came from the cities and villages of Judah to Jerusalem, and assembled “in the open space before the water-gate,” i.e. to the south-east of the temple space. On the situation of the water-gate, see rem. on iii. 26, xii. 37 sq., and Ezra x. 9. “And they spake unto Ezra the scribe” (see rem. on Ezra vii. 11). The subject of *וְיִסְמְרוּ* is the assembled people. These requested, through their rulers, that Ezra should fetch the book of the law of Moses, and publicly read it. This reading, then, was desired by the assembly. The motive for this request is undoubtedly to be found in the desire of the congregation to keep the new moon of the seventh month, as a feast of thanksgiving for the gracious assistance they had received from the Lord during the building of the wall, and through which it had been speedily and successfully completed, in spite of the attempts of their enemies to obstruct the work. This feeling of thankfulness impelled them to the hearing of the word of God for the purpose of making His law their rule of life. The assembly consisted of men and women indiscriminately

(אִישׁ וְעַד אִשָּׁה), like Josh. vi. 21, viii. 25, 1 Sam. xxii. 19, 1 Chron. xvi. 3), and כָּל מִבֵּין לְשֹׁמֵעַ, every one that understood in hearing, which would certainly include the elder children. The first day of the seventh month was distinguished above the other new moons of the year as the feast of trumpets, and celebrated as a high festival by a solemn assembly and a cessation from labour; comp. Lev. xxiii. 23-25, Num. xxix. 1-6.—Ver. 3. Ezra read out of the law “from the light (*i.e.* from early morning) till mid-day;” therefore for about six hours. Not, however, as is obvious from the more particular description vers. 4-8, without cessation, but in such wise that the reading went on alternately with instructive lectures on the law from the Levites. “And the ears of all the people were directed to the law,” *i.e.* the people listened attentively. כָּל מִבֵּין לְשֹׁמֵעַ must be understood according to מִבְּיָנֵינוּ of ver. 2. In vers. 4-8 the proceedings at this reading are more nearly described.—Ver. 4. Ezra stood upon a raised stage of wood which had been made for the purpose (לְדָבָר, for the matter). מִנְדָּל, usually a tower, here a high scaffold, a pulpit. Beside him stood six persons, probably priests, on his right, and seven on his left hand. In 1 Esdras, seven are mentioned as standing on his left hand also, the name Azariah being inserted between Anaiah and Urijah. It is likely that this name has been omitted from the Hebrew text, since it is improbable that there was one person less on his right than on his left hand. “*Perhaps* Urijah is the father of the Meremoth of iii. 4, 21; Maaseiah, the father of the Azariah of iii. 23; Pedaiah, the individual named iii. 21; the Azariah to be inserted, according to 1 Esdras, the same named iii. 23; a Meshullam occurs, iii. 4, 6; and a Malchiah, iii. 11, 14, 31” (Bertheau).—Ver. 5. Ezra, standing on the raised platform, was above the assembled people (he was מַעַל כָּל-הָעָם). When he opened the book, it was “in the sight of all the people,” so that all could see his action; and “all the people stood up” (עָמְדוּ). It cannot be shown from the O. T. that it had been from the days of Moses a custom with the Israelites to stand at the reading of the law, as the Rabbis assert; comp. Vitranga, *de Synag. vet.* p. 167.—Ver. 6.

Ezra began by blessing the Lord, the great God, perhaps with a sentence of thanksgiving, as David did, 1 Chron. xxix. 10, but scarcely by using a whole psalm, as in 1 Chron. xvi. 8 sq. To this thanksgiving the people answered Amen, Amen (comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 36), lifting up their hands (בְּמַעַל יְדֵיהֶם, with lifting up of their hands; the form מַעַל occurring only here), and worshipping the Lord, bowing down towards the ground.—Ver. 7. And Jeshua, Bani, etc., the Levites, expounded the law to the people (לְהַבִּין, to cause to understand, here to instruct, by expounding the law). The ו copulative before הַלֵוִיִּם must certainly have been inserted in the text by a clerical error; for the previously named thirteen (or fourteen) persons are Levites, of whom Jeshua, Bani, Sherebiah, and Hodijah occur again, ix. 4, 5. The names Jeshua, Sherebiah, Shabtai, and Jozabad are also met with xii. 14, xi. 16, but belong in these latter passages to other individuals who were heads of classes of Levites.—Ver. 8. “And they (the Levites) read in (out of) the book of the law of God, explained and gave the sense; and they (the assembled auditors) were attentive to the reading.” The Rabbis understand מִפָּרֵשׁ = the Chaldee מִפְּרָשׁ, of a rendering of the law into the vulgar tongue, *i.e.* a paraphrase in the Chaldee language for those who were not acquainted with the ancient Hebrew. But this cannot be shown to be the meaning of פָּרֵשׁ, this word being used in the Targums for the Hebrew פָּרֵשׁ, *e.g.* Lev. xxiv. 16, and for בִּיאֵר, Deut. i. 5. It is more correct to suppose a paraphrastic exposition and application of the law (Pfeiffer, *dubia ver.* p. 480), but not “a distinct recitation according to appointed rules” (Gusset. and Bertheau). שׁוֹם is *infin. abs.* instead of the *temp. finit.*: and gave the sense, made the law comprehensible to the hearers. וַיְבִינֵי בְּמִקְרָא, not with older interpreters, Luther (“so that what was read was understood”), and de Wette, “and they (the Levites) made what was read comprehensible,” which would be a mere tautology, but with the LXX., Vulgate, and others, “and they (the hearers) attended to the reading,” or, “obtained an understanding of what was read” (לְהַבִּין בְּ, like ver. 12, Dan. ix. 23, x. 11). Vitranga (*de syn. vet.* p. 420)

already gives the correct meaning: *de doctoribus narratur, quod legerint et dederint intellectum, de auditoribus, quod lectum intellexerint*. The manner of proceeding with this reading is not quite clear. According to vers. 5-8, the Levites alone seem to have read to the people out of the book of the law, and to have explained what they read to their auditors; while according to ver. 3, Ezra read to the assembled people, and the ears of all were attentive to the book of the law, while we are told in ver. 5 that Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people. If, however, we regard vers. 4-8 as only a more detailed description of what is related vers. 2, 3, it is obvious that both Ezra and the thirteen Levites mentioned in ver. 7 read out of the law. Hence the occurrence may well have taken place as follows: Ezra first read a section of the law, and the Levites then expounded to the people the portion just read; the only point still doubtful being whether the thirteen (fourteen) Levites expounded in succession, or whether they all did this at the same time to different groups of people.

Vers. 9-12. *The celebration of the feast of the new moon.*—Ver. 9. Then Nehemiah, the Tirshatha (see remarks on Ezra ii. 63), and the priest Ezra the scribe, and the Levites who were teaching the people, said to all the people, "This day is holy to the Lord our God. Mourn not, nor weep; for all the people wept when they heard the words of the law." וַיִּהְיֶה is the new moon of the seventh month. The portion read made a powerful impression upon the assembled crowds. Undoubtedly it consisted of certain sections of Deuteronomy and other parts of the Thorah, which were adapted to convict the people of their sin in transgressing the commands of the Lord, and of the punishments to which they had thus exposed themselves. They were so moved thereby that they mourned and wept. This induced Nehemiah, Ezra, and the Levites, who had been applying what was read to the hearts of their hearers, to encourage them.—Ver. 10. And he said to them (viz. Nehemiah as governor and head of the community, though the fact that his address is mentioned does not exclude the participation of Ezra and the Levites):

"Go, eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send gifts to them for whom nothing is prepared, for this day is holy to our Lord; neither be ye sorry, for joy in Jahve is your refuge." מִשְׁכָּנִים, fatnesses (λιπάσματα, LXX.), fat pieces of meat, not "rich cakes" (Bertheau); comp. מִשְׁתֶּה שְׂמִינִים, Isa. xxv. 6. מִמְתַּקִּים, sweetened drinks. The sense is: Make glad repasts on good feast-day food and drink; and send portions to the poor who have prepared nothing, that they too may rejoice on this festival. מְנוּחַ, gifts, are portions of food; Esth. ix. 19, 22; 1 Sam. i. 4. Hence we see that it was customary with the Israelites to send portions of food and drink, on festivals, to the houses of the poor, that they too might share in the joy of the day. לֹא־אֶשֶׁר אֵין נֶבֶן לֹא־אֵין נֶבֶן (see rem. on 1 Chron. xv. 12), to them for whom nothing is prepared, who have not the means to prepare a feast-day meal. Because the day is holy to the Lord, they are to desire it with holy joy. הִרְיֹת יְהוָה is a joy founded on the feeling of communion with the Lord, on the consciousness that we have in the LORD a God long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth (Ex. xxxiv. 6). This joy is to be to them כִּיעֹז, a strong citadel or refuge, because the Almighty is their God; comp. Jer. xvi. 19.—Ver. 11. The Levites also strove to pacify the people, saying: "Hold your peace, *i.e.* give over weeping, for the day is holy; neither be ye grieved."—Ver. 12. This address had its effect. The people went their way, some to their houses, some to their lodgings, to partake of festal repasts, and to keep the feast with joy; "for they gave heed to the words that were declared to them," *i.e.* they took to heart the address of Nehemiah, Ezra, and the Levites.

Vers. 13–18. *Celebration of the feast of tabernacles.*—Ver. 13. On the second day were gathered together the heads of the houses of all the people, of the priests, and of the Levites to Ezra the scribe, to attend to the words of the law. The infinitive לְהִשְׁמָעַל may indeed be taken (as by Bertheau) as the continuation of the finite verb, instead of as infinitive absolute (Ewald, § 352, c); this is, however, admissible only in cases where the second verb either states what must be done, or further describes the condition of affairs, while

לְהִשָּׁבֵיל here states the purpose for which the heads of the people, etc. assembled themselves unto Ezra. Hence we take לְהִשָּׁבֵיל in its usual meaning, and the ו before it as explicative. הִשָּׁבֵיל אֵל, as in Ps. xli. 1, expresses taking an attentive interest in anything. They desired to be further and more deeply instructed in the law by Ezra.—Vers. 14, 15. And they found written in the law that the Lord had commanded Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month; and that they should publish and proclaim in all their cities, and in Jerusalem, saying: “Go forth to the mount, and fetch olive branches, etc. to make booths, as it is written.” This statement is not to be understood as saying that the heads of the people sought in the law, fourteen days before the feast, for information as to what they would have to do, that they might prepare for the due celebration of the feast of tabernacles (Bertheau). The text only states that the heads of the people again betook themselves to Ezra on the second day, to receive from him instruction in the law, and that in reading the law they found the precept concerning the celebration of the festival in booths, *i.e.* they met with this precept, and were thereby induced to celebrate the approaching festival in strict accordance with its directions. The law concerning the feast of tabernacles, of which the essentials are here communicated, is found Lev. xxiii. 39-43. In Deut. xvi. 13 they were only commanded to keep the feast with gladness. The particular of dwelling in booths or bowers is taken from Lev. xxiii. 43; the further details in ver. 15 relate to the carrying out of the direction: “Ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook” (Lev. xxiii. 43). Go to the mountain, a woody district, whence branches may be obtained. עֲלֵי, state constructive plural of עֶלֶה, leaf, foliage, here leafy boughs or branches of trees. זֵית, the olive, עֵץ שִׁטָּה, the wild olive (oleaster), the myrtle, the palm, and branches of thick-leaved trees, are here mentioned (the two latter being also named in Leviticus). כְּפָתוּרִיב does not relate to the preparation of the

booths, but to the precept that the feast should be kept in booths. In ver. 16 the accomplishment of the matter is related, presupposing a compliance with the proclamation sent out into all the cities in the land, and indeed so speedy a compliance that the booths were finished by the day of the feast. The object (the branches of ver. 15) must be supplied to יִבְיֵאוּ from the context. They made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God, and in the open space at the water-gate (see on ver. 3), and the open space at the gate of Ephraim. On the situation of this gate, see rem. on iii. 8, p. 179. The open space before it must be thought of as within the city walls. On these two public places, booths were probably made by those who had come to Jerusalem, but did not dwell there; while the priests and Levites belonging to other places would build theirs in the courts of the temple.—Ver. 17. And the whole community that had returned from captivity (comp. Ezra vi. 21) made themselves booths and dwelt in booths; for since the days of Joshua the son of Nun unto that day, had not the children of Israel done so. יֵז, so, refers to the dwelling in booths; and the words do not tell us that the Israelites had not celebrated this festival since the days of Joshua, that is, since they had taken possession of Canaan: for, according to Ezra iii. 4, those who returned from captivity kept this feast in the first year of their return; and a celebration is also mentioned after the dedication of Solomon's temple, 2 Chron. vii. 9, 1 Kings viii. 65. The text only states that since the days of Joshua the whole community had not *so* celebrated it, *i.e.* had not dwelt in booths. Neither do the words imply that since the days of Joshua to that time no booths at all had been made at the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, but only that this had not been done by the whole congregation. On former occasions, those who came up to Jerusalem may have regarded this precept as non-essential, and contented themselves by keeping the feast with solemn assemblies, sacrifices, and sacrificial feasts, without making booths and dwelling in them for seven days.—



Ver. 18. And the book of the law was read from day to day. **וַיִּקְרָא** with the subject indefinite, while Ramb. and others supply Ezra. The reading of the law was only ordered at that celebration of the feast of tabernacles which occurred during the sabbatical year, Deut. xxxi. 10 sq. The last day was the seventh, for the eighth as a **זִמְנוֹת** did not belong to the feast of tabernacles; see rem. on Lev. xxiii. 36. **כַּשֶּׁשֶׁשֶׁת** like 2 Chron. iv. 20, and elsewhere.

Chap. ix. *The day of general fasting and prayer.*—On the twenty-fourth day of the month, *i.e.* two days after the termination of the feast of tabernacles, the children of Israel re-assembled in the temple to humble themselves before God with mourning and fasting, and, after the reading of the law, to confess their own sins and the sins of their fathers (1-3). After the Levites had invited them to praise God (4, 5), a general confession was made, in which the congregation was reminded of all the grace and favour shown by God to His people, from the days of Abraham down to the time then present; and all the departures of the people from their God, all their rebellions against Him, were acknowledged, to show that the bondage and oppression to which Israel was now subjected were the well-deserved punishment of their sins (6-37). This confession of sin much resembles the confession of the faithfulness of God and the unfaithfulness of Israel in the 106th Psalm, both in its plan and details, but differs from this “Hallelujah Psalm” in the circumstance that it does not rise to the praise of God, to the hallelujah, but stops at the confession that God is righteous and true in all that He has done, and that Israel has done wickedly, without definitely uttering a request for pardon and deliverance from oppression.

Vers. 1-3. On the twenty-second of Tishri was the Hazereth of the feast of tabernacles; on the twenty-fourth the congregation re-assembled in the temple, “with fasting and with sackcloths (penitential garments made of hair; see rem. Joel i. 8) and earth upon them,” *i.e.* spread upon their heads (1 Sam. iv. 12; 2 Sam. i. 2; Job ii. 12),—the external marks of deep mourning and heaviness of heart.—Ver. 2. “And the seed of Israel separated themselves from

all strangers, and stood and confessed all their sins, and the iniquities of their fathers." This separation from strangers does not specially relate to the dissolution of the marriages contracted with heathen women, nor to any measures taken that only Israelites should be admitted to this assembly (Bertheau). It was rather a voluntary renunciation of connection with the heathen, and of heathen customs.—Ver. 3. And they stood up (*i.e.* remained standing) in their place (comp. viii. 7), and read in the book of the law of the Lord their God, *i.e.* listened to the reading of the law, a fourth part of the day (about three hours), and a fourth part (the next three hours) they confessed (made a confession of their sins), and worshipped the LORD their God. This confession and worship is more nearly described 4–37.—Vers. 4 and 5. There stood upon the scaffold of the Levites, *i.e.* upon the platform erected for the Levites (comp. viii. 4), Jeshua and seven other Levites whose names are given, and they cried with a loud voice to God, and said to the assembled congregation, "Stand up, bless the LORD your God for ever and ever! and blessed be the name of Thy glory, which is exalted above all blessing and praise." The repetition of the names of the Levites in ver. 5 shows that this invitation to praise God is distinct from the crying to God with a loud voice of ver. 4, and seems to say that the Levites first cried to God, *i.e.* addressed to Him their confessions and supplications, and after having done so, called upon the congregation to worship God. Eight names of Levites being given in both verses, and five of these—Jeshua, Bani, Kadmiel, Shebaniah, and Sherebiah—being identical, the difference of the three others in the two verses—Bunni, Bani, and Chenani (ver. 4), and Hashabniah, Hodijah, and Pethahiah (ver. 5)—seems to have arisen from a clerical error,—an appearance favoured also by the circumstance that Bani occurs twice in ver. 4. Of the other names in question, Hodijah occurs x. 14, and Pethahiah Ezra x. 23, as names of Levites, but פְּנִי and חֲשַׁבְנִיָּה nowhere else. Hence Bunni, Bani, and Chenani (ver. 4), and Hashabniah (ver. 5), may be assigned to a clerical error; but we have no means for restoring the

correct names. With regard to the matter of these verses, Ramb. remarks on ver. 4: *constitisse opinor omnes simul, ita tamen ut unus tantum eodem tempore fuerit precatus, ceteris ipsi adstantibus atque sua etiam vice Deum orantibus*, hence that the eight Levites prayed to God successively; while Bertheau thinks that these Levites entreated God, in penitential and supplicatory psalms, to have mercy on His sinful but penitent people. In this case we must also regard their address to the congregation in ver. 5 as a liturgical hymn, to which the congregation responded by praising God in chorus. To this view may be objected the circumstance, that no allusion is made in the narrative to the singing of penitential or other songs. Besides, a confession of sins follows in vers. 6-37, which may fitly be called a crying unto God, without its being stated by whom it was uttered. "This section," says Bertheau, "whether we regard its form or contents, cannot have been sung either by the Levites or the congregation. We recognise in it the speech of an individual, and hence accept the view that the statement of the LXX., that after the singing of the Levites, ver. 4, and the praising of God in ver. 5, Ezra came forward and spoke the words following, is correct, and that the words *καὶ εἶπεν* "Εσδρας, which it inserts before ver. 6, originally stood in the Hebrew text." But if Psalms, such as Ps. cv., cvi., and cvii., were evidently appointed to be sung to the praise of God by the Levites or by the congregation, there can be no reason why the prayer vers. 6-37 should not be adapted both in form and matter for this purpose. This prayer by no means bears the impress of being the address of an individual, but is throughout the confession of the whole congregation. The prayer speaks of *our* fathers (vers. 9, 16), of what is come upon *us* (ver. 33), addresses Jahve as *our* God, and says *we* have sinned. Of course Ezra might have uttered it in the name of the congregation; but that the addition of the LXX., *καὶ εἶπεν* "Εσδρας, is of no critical value, and is a mere conjecture of the translators, is evident from the circumstance that the prayer does not begin with the words יהוה יהוה of ver. 6, but passes into the form of direct ad-

dress to God in the last clause of ver. 5: Blessed be the name of *Thy* glory. By these words the prayer which follows is evidently declared to be the confession of those who are to praise the glory of the Lord; and the addition, "and Ezra said," characterized as an unskilful interpolation. According to what has now been said, the summons, קִימוּ בְּרַכּוּ אֶת יְהוָה, ver. 5, like the introductions to many Hodu and Hallelujah Psalms (*e.g.* Ps. cv. 1, cvi. 1), is to be regarded as only an exhortation to the congregation to praise God, *i.e.* to join in the praises following, and to unite heartily in the confession of sin. This view of the connection of vers. 5 and 6 explains the reason why it is not stated either in ver. 6, or at the close of this prayer in ver. 37, that the assembled congregation blessed God agreeably to the summons thus addressed to them. They did so by silently and heartily praying to, and praising God with the Levites, who were reciting aloud the confession of sin. On וַיְבָרְכוּ R. Sal. already remarks: *nunc incipiunt loqui Levitæ versus Shechinam s. ad ipsum Deum.* The invitation to praise God insensibly passes into the action of praising. If, moreover, vers. 6-37 are related in the manner above stated to ver. 5, then it is not probable that the crying to God with a loud voice (ver. 4) was anything else than the utterance of the prayer subsequently given, vers. 6-37. The repetition of the names in ver. 5 is not enough to confirm this view, but must be explained by the breadth of the representation here given, and is rescued from the charge of mere tautology by the fact that in ver. 4 the office of the individuals in question is not named, which it is by the word הַלְלִים in ver. 5. For הַלְלִים in ver. 4 belongs as genitive to מַעֲלֵה, and both priests and laymen might have stood on the platform of the Levites. For this reason it is subsequently stated in ver. 5, that Jeshua, etc., were Levites; and in doing this the names are again enumerated. In the exhortation, Stand up and bless, etc., Bertheau seeks to separate "for ever and ever" from the imp. בְּרַכּוּ, and to take it as a further qualification of אֱלֹהֵיכֶם. This is, however, unnatural and arbitrary; comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 26. Still more arbitrary is it to supply "One day all

people" to וַיְבָרְכֵהוּ, "shall bless Thy name," etc. וַיְמַדְּכֵם וגו' adds a second predicate to יְשׁוּעָה: and which is exalted above all blessing and praise, *i.e. sublimius est quam ut pro dignitate laudari possit* (R. Sal.).

In ver. 6 this praising of God begins with the acknowledgment that Jahve, the Creator of heaven and earth, chose Abram and made a covenant with him to give the land of Canaan to his seed, and had performed this word (vers. 6-8). These verses form the theme of that blessing the name of His glory, to which the Levites exhorted. This theme is then elucidated by facts from Israel's history, in four strophes. *a.* When God saw the affliction of His people in Egypt, He delivered them by great signs and wonders from the power of Pharaoh, gave them laws and judgments on Sinai, miraculously provided them with food and water in the wilderness, and commanded them to take possession of the promised land (vers. 9-15). *b.* Although their fathers rebelled against Him, even in the wilderness, God did not withdraw His mercy from them, but sustained them forty years, so that they lacked nothing; and subdued kings before them, so that they were able to conquer and possess the land (vers. 16-25). *c.* After they were settled in the land they rebelled again, and God delivered them into the hand of their oppressors; but as often as they cried unto Him, He helped them again, till at length, because of their continued opposition, He gave them into the power of the people of the lands, yet of His great mercy did not wholly cast them off (vers. 26-31). *d.* May He now too look upon the affliction of His people, as the God that keepeth covenant and mercy, although they have deserved by their sins the troubles they are suffering (vers. 32-37).

Vers. 6-8. "Thou art Jahve alone; Thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, and all their host, the earth and all that is thereon, the sea and all therein; and Thou givest life to them all, and the host of heaven worshippeth Thee. Ver. 7. Thou art Jahve, the God who didst choose Abram, and broughtest him forth out of Ur of the Chaldees, and gavest him the name of Abraham: Ver. 8. And foundest

his heart faithful before Thee, and madest a covenant with him to give the land of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Jebusites, and the Girgashites, to give to his seed, and hast performed Thy word; for Thou art righteous." Jahve alone is God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all creatures in heaven and on earth. In order duly to exalt the almightiness of God, the notion of heaven is enhanced by the addition "heaven of heavens," as in Dent. x. 14, 1 Kings viii. 27; and that of earth by the addition "the sea and all therein;" comp. Ps. cxlvi. 6. **בְּלִי-צָבָאִם**, Gen. ii. 1, here refers only to heaven. **בְּחַיָּה**, to cause to live = to give and preserve life. **בְּכֻלָּם** relates to all creatures in heaven and earth. The host of heaven who worshipped God are the angels, as in Ps. cxlviii. 2, ciii. 21. This only God chose Abram; comp. Gen. xii. 1 with xi. 31 and xv. 7, xvii. 5, where God bestowed upon the patriarch Abram the name of Abraham. The words, "Thou foundest his heart faithful," refer to **הָאֱמִיץ** there mentioned. The making of a covenant alludes to Gen. xvii. 5 sq.; the enumeration of six Canaanitish nations to Dent. vii. 1, Ex. iii. 8; comp. with Gen. xv. 20 sq. This His word God performed (fulfilled), for He is righteous. God is called **צַדִּיק**, inasmuch as with Him word and deed correspond with each other; comp. Dent. xxxii. 4.

Vers. 9-15. The fulfilment of this word by the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, and their guidance through the wilderness to Canaan.—Ver. 9. "And Thou sawest the affliction of our fathers in Egypt, and heardest their cry by the Red Sea: Ver. 10. And showedst signs and wonders upon Pharaoh and all his servants, and on all the people of his land, because Thou knewest that they dealt proudly against them, and madest Thyself a name, as this day. Ver. 11. And Thou dividedst the sea before them, and they went through the midst of the sea on dry land; and their persecutors Thou threwest into the deeps, as a stone into the mighty waters." In ver. 9 are comprised two subjects, which are carried out in vers. 10, 11: (1) the affliction of the Israelites in Egypt, which God saw (comp. Ex. iii. 7), and out of which He

delivered them by the signs and wonders He showed upon Pharaoh (ver. 10); (2) the crying for help at the Red Sea, when the Israelites perceived Pharaoh with his horsemen and chariots in pursuit (Ex. xiv. 10), and the help which God gave them by dividing the sea, etc. (ver. 11). The words in ver. 10a are supported by Deut. vi. 22, on the ground of the historical narrative, Ex. vii.-x. The expression *בִּי הִיִּידִי עֲלֵיהֶם* is formed according to *אֲשֶׁר יָרִי עֲלֵיהֶם*, Ex. xviii. 11. *הִיִּידִי עַל* occurs Ex. xxi. 14 in a general sense. On *וַהֲעֵשׂ לָךְ שֵׁם וְגו'*, comp. Jer. xxxii. 20, Isa. lxiii. 12, 14, 1 Chron. xvii. 22. A name as this day—in that the miracles which God then did are still praised, and He continues still to manifest His almighty power. The words of ver. 11 are supported by Ex. xiv. 21, 22, 28, and xv. 19. *בְּמַצֹּלוֹת בְּמֹאֲבָן* are from Ex. xv. 5; *בְּמַיִם עֲיִים* from Ex. xv. and Isa. xliii. 16.—Ver. 12. “And Thou leddest them in the day by a cloudy pillar, and in the night by a pillar of fire, to give them light in the way wherein they should go. Ver. 13. And Thou camest down upon mount Sinai, and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right judgments and true laws, good statutes and commandments: Ver. 14. And madest known unto them Thy holy Sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses Thy servant. Ver. 15. And gavest them bread from heaven for their hunger, and broughtest forth water for them out of the rock for their thirst; and Thou commandedst them to go in and possess the land, which Thou hadst lifted up Thine hand to give them.” Three particulars in the miraculous leading of Israel through the wilderness are brought forward: *a.* Their being guided in the way by miraculous tokens of the divine presence, in the pillar of fire and cloud, ver. 12; comp. Ex. xiii. 21, Num. xiv. 14. *b.* The revelation of God on Sinai, and the giving of the law, vers. 13, 14. The descent of God on Sinai and the voice from heaven agree with Ex. xix. 18, 20, and xx. 1 sq., compared with Deut. iv. 36. On the various designations of the law, comp. Ps. xix. 9, cxix. 43, 39, 142. Of the commandments, that concerning the Sabbath is specially mentioned, and spoken of as a benefit

bestowed by God upon the Israelites, as a proclamation of His holy Sabbath, inasmuch as the Israelites were on the Sabbath to share in the rest of God; see rem. on Ex. xx. 9–11.

c. The provision of manna, and of water from the rock, for their support during their journey through the wilderness on the way to Canaan; Ex. xvi. 4, 10 sq., Ex. xvii. 6, Num. xx. 8; comp. Ps. lxxviii. 24, 15, cv. 40. לָבוֹא לָרֶשֶׁת like Deut. ix. 1, 5, xi. 31, and elsewhere. נִשְׁאַתְּ אֶת־יָרְדֵּךְ is to be understood according to Num. xiv. 30.

Vers. 16–25. Even the fathers to whom God had shown such favour, repeatedly departed from and rebelled against Him; but God of His great mercy did not forsake them, but brought them into possession of the promised land.—Ver. 16. “And they, even our fathers, dealt proudly, and hardened their necks, and hearkened not to Thy commandments. Ver. 17. They refused to obey, and were not mindful of Thy wonders that Thou didst amongst them; and hardened their necks, and appointed a captain to return to their bondage. But Thou art a God ready to pardon, gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and forsookest them not.” In these verses the conduct of the children of Israel towards God is contrasted with His kindness towards this stiff-necked people, the historical confirmation following in ver. 18. וְהֵם is emphatic, and prefixed to contrast the conduct of the Israelites with the benefits bestowed on them. The contrast is enhanced by the ו explicative before אֲבוֹתֵינוּ, *even* our fathers (which J.D. Michaelis would expunge, from a misconception of its meaning, but which Bertheau with good reason defends). Words are accumulated to describe the stiff-necked resistance of the people. הִזְיִירִי as above, ver. 10. “They hardened their necks” refers to Ex. xxxii. 9, xxxiii. 3, xxxiv. 9, and therefore already alludes to the worship of the golden calf at Sinai, mentioned ver. 18; while in ver. 17, the second great rebellion of the people at Kadesh, on the borders of the promised land, Num. xiv., is contemplated. The repetition of the expression, “they hardened their hearts,” shows that a second grievous transgression is already spoken of in ver. 17. This is made even clearer by the next clause, וְנִתְּנָנוּ רָאשׁ וְגו',



which is taken almost verbally from Num. xiv. 4: "They said one to another, Let us make a captain (נִתְּנָה רֹאשׁ), and return to Egypt;" the notion being merely enhanced here by the addition לְעִבְדָּתָם, to their bondage. The comparison with Num. xiv. 4 also shows that בְּמִרְיָם is a clerical error for בְּמַעְרִיָּם, as the LXX. read; for בְּמִרְיָם, in their stubbornness, after לְעִבְדָּתָם, gives no appropriate sense. In spite, however, of their stiff-neckedness, God of His mercy and goodness did not forsake them. אֱלֹהֵי סְלִיחוֹת, a God of pardons; comp. Dan. ix. 9, Ps. cxxx. 4. חֲנֻן וְרַחוּם וְנֹרָא is a reminiscence of Ex. xxxiv. 6. The ו before הָסֵד came into the text by a clerical error.—Ver. 18. "Yea, they even made them a molten calf, and said, This is thy god that brought thee up out of Egypt, and wrought great provocations. Ver. 19. Yet Thou, in Thy manifold mercies, didst not forsake them in the wilderness; the pillar of the cloud departed not from them by day to lead them, and the pillar of fire by night to show them light in the way wherein they should go. Ver. 20. Thou gavest also Thy good Spirit to instruct them, and withheldest not Thy manna from their mouth, and gavest them water for their thirst: Ver. 21. And forty years didst Thou sustain them in the wilderness; they lacked nothing, their clothes waxed not old, and their feet swelled not." אַף כִּי, also (even this) = yea even. On the worship of the golden calf, see Ex. xxiv. 4. The words "they did (wrought) great provocations" involve a condemnation of the worship of the molten calf; nevertheless God did not withdraw His gracious presence, but continued to lead them by the pillar of cloud and fire. The passage Num. xiv. 14, according to which the pillar of cloud and fire guided the march of the people through the wilderness after the departure from Sinai, *i.e.* after their transgression in the matter of the calf, is here alluded to. עֲמוּד הָעָנָן is rhetorically enhanced by אֵלֶּה: and with respect to the cloudy pillar, it departed not; so, too, in the second clause, אֵת-עֲמוּד הָאֵשׁ; comp. Ewald, § 277, *d*. The words, ver. 20, "Thou gavest Thy good Spirit," etc., refer to the occurrence, Num. xi. 17, 25, where God endowed the seventy elders with the spirit of prophecy for the confirmation

of Moses' authority. The definition "good Spirit" recalls Ps. cxliii. 10. The sending of manna is first mentioned Num. xi. 6-9, comp. Josh. v. 12; the giving of water, Num. xx. 2-8.—In ver. 21, all that the Lord did for Israel is summed up in the assertion of Deut. ii. 7, viii. 4, לֹא הָקִדְרוּ; see the explanation of these passages.—Vers. 22-25. The Lord also fulfilled His promise of giving the land of Canaan to the Israelites notwithstanding their rebelliousness. Ver. 22. "And Thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst divide them by boundaries; and they took possession of the land of Sihon, both the land of the king of Heshbon, and the land of Og king of Bashan. Ver. 23. And Thou didst multiply their children as the stars of heaven, and bring them into the land which Thou hadst promised to their fathers, that they should go in to possess. Ver. 24. And the children went in and possessed the land, and Thou subduedst before them the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, and gavest them into their hands, both their kings and the people of the land, to do with them according to their pleasure. Ver. 25. And they took fortified cities, and a fat land, and took possession of houses filled with all kinds of goods, wells digged, vineyards and olive gardens, and fruit trees in abundance; and they ate and became fat, and delighted themselves in Thy great goodness." וַיַּחֲלִקֵם לְפָאָה is variously explained. Aben Ezra and others refer the suffix to the Canaanites, whom God scattered in *multos angulos* or *varias mundi partes*. Others refer it to the Israelites. According to this view, Ramb. says: *fecisti eos per omnes terræ Cananæ angulos habitare*; and Gusset.: *distribuisti eis terram usque ad angulum h. l. nulla vel minima regionum particula excepta*. But חָלַק, Piel, generally means the dividing of things; and when used of persons, as in Gen. xlix. 7, Lam. iv. 16, to divide, to scatter, *sensu malo*, which is here inapplicable to the Israelites. חָלַק signifies to divide, especially by lot, and is used chiefly concerning the partition of the land of Canaan, in Kal, Josh. xiv. 5, xviii. 2, and in Piel, Josh. xiii. 7, xviii. 10, xix. 51. The word פָּאָה also frequently occurs in Joshua, in the sense of a corner or side lying towards a certain quarter of the

heavens, and of a boundary; comp. Josh. xv. 5, xviii. 12, 14, 15, 20. According to this, Bertheau rightly takes the words to say: Thou didst divide them (the kingdoms and nations, *i.e.* the land of these nations) according to sides or boundaries, *i.e.* according to certain definite limits. Sihon is the king of Heshbon (Deut. i. 4), and the ו before אֶת־אֲרִי' ח' 'ח is not to be expunged as a gloss, but regarded as explicative: and, indeed, both the land of the king of Heshbon and the land of Og. The conquest of these two kingdoms is named first, because it preceded the possession of Canaan (Num. xxi. 21-35). The increase of the children of the Israelites is next mentioned, ver. 23; the fathers having fallen in the wilderness, and only their children coming into the land of Canaan. The numbering of the people in the plains of Moab (Num. xxvi.) is here alluded to, when the new generation was found to be twice as numerous as that which marched out of Egypt; while the words לָבוֹא לָרִשֶׁתָּהּ, here and in ver. 15, are similar to Deut. i. 10. The taking possession of Canaan is spoken of in ver. 24. וַתִּבְנֶנּוּ recalls Deut. ix. 3. בְּרָצוֹנָם, according to their pleasure, comp. Dan. viii. 4. Fortified cities, as Jericho and Ai.

Vers. 26-31. But even in that good land the fathers were disobedient: they rejected the commands of God, slew the prophets who admonished them, and were not brought back to the obedience of God even by the chastisements inflicted on them, till at length God delivered them into the hands of Gentile kings, though after His great mercy He did not utterly forsake them.—Ver. 26. “And they were disobedient, and rebelled against Thee, and cast Thy law behind their backs, and slew Thy prophets which testified against them to turn them to Thee, and they wrought great provocations. Ver. 27. And Thou deliveredst them into the hand of their oppressors, so that they oppressed them; and in the time of their oppression they cried unto Thee. Then Thou heardest them from heaven, and according to Thy manifold mercies Thou gavest them deliverers, who delivered them out of the hand of their oppressors. Ver. 28. And when they had rest, they again did evil before Thee. Then Thou deliveredst

them into the hand of their enemies, so that they had dominion over them; and they cried again unto Thee, and Thou heardest from heaven, and didst deliver them according to Thy great mercy, many times."—Ver. 26 again contains, like ver. 16, a general condemnation of the conduct of the children of Israel towards the Lord their God during the period between their entrance into Canaan and the captivity, which is then justified by the facts adduced in the verses following. In proof of their disobedience, it is mentioned that they cast the commands of God behind their back (comp. 1 Kings xiv. 19, Ezek. xxiii. 35), and slew the prophets, *e.g.* Zechariah (2 Chron. xxiv. 21), the prophets of the days of Jezebel (1 Kings xviii. 13, xix. 10), and others who rebuked their sins to turn them from them. הָעֵידָךְ, to testify against sinners, comp. 2 Kings xvii. 13, 15. The last clause of ver. 26 is a kind of refrain, repeated from ver. 18.—Vers. 27 and 28 refer to the times of the judges; comp. Judg. ii. 11–23. מוֹשְׁעֵיִם are the judges whom God raised up to deliver Israel out of the power of their oppressors; comp. Judg. iii. 9 sq. with ii. 16. רַבּוֹת עֲתִידִים, multitudes of times, is a co-ordinate accusative: at many times, frequently; רַבּוֹת like Lev. xxv. 51.—Ver. 29. "And testifiedst against them, to bring them back again to Thy law; yet they hearkened not to Thy commandments, and sinned against Thy judgments, which if a man do he shall live in them, and gave a resisting shoulder, and hardened their neck, and would not hear. Ver. 30. And Thou didst bear with them many years, and didst testify against them by Thy Spirit through Thy prophets; but they would not hearken, therefore Thou gavest them into the hand of the people of the lands. Ver. 31. Nevertheless in Thy great mercy Thou didst not utterly consume them, nor forsake them; for Thou art gracious and merciful."—Vers. 29 and 30 treat of the times of the kings. וְהָעֵדָה בָּהֶם is the testimony of the prophets against the idolatrous people; comp. ver. 26. וְכִמְשַׁבְּטִיהֶם is emphatically prefixed, and taken up again by בָּם. The sentence, which if a man do he shall live in them, is formed upon Lev. xviii. 5, comp. Ezek. xx. 11. On the figurative expression, they gave a resisting shoulder,

comp. Zech. vii. 11. The simile is taken from the ox, who rears against the yoke, and desires not to bear it; comp. Hos. iv. 16. The sentences following are repeated from ver. 16. מִשְׁפַּחַת עֲלֵיהֶם is an abbreviated expression for מִשְׁפַּחַת חֶסֶד, Ps. xxxvi. 11, cix. 12, Jer. xxxi. 3, to draw out, to extend for a long time favour to any one: Thou hadst patience with them for many years, viz. the whole period of kingly rule from Solomon to the times of the Assyrians. The delivering into the power of the people of the lands, *i.e.* of the heathen (comp. Ps. cvi. 40 sq.), began with the invasion of the Assyrians (comp. ver. 32), who destroyed the kingdom of the ten tribes, and was inflicted upon Judah also by means of the Chaldeans.—Ver. 31. But in the midst of these judgments also, God, according to His promise, Jer. iv. 27, v. 10, 18, xxx. 11, and elsewhere, did not utterly forsake His people, nor make a full end of them; for He did not suffer them to become extinct in exile, but preserved a remnant, and delivered it from captivity.

Vers. 32-37. May then, God, who keepeth covenant and mercy, now also look upon the affliction of His people, though kings, rulers, priests, and people have fully deserved this punishment; for they are now bondmen, and in great affliction, in the land of their fathers. Ver. 32. "And now, our God, the great, the mighty, and the terrible God, who keepeth covenant and mercy, let not all the trouble that hath come upon us, on our kings, our princes, our priests, our prophets, and our fathers, and on all Thy people, since the times of the kings of Assyria unto this day, seem little to Thee. Ver. 33. Thou art just in all that is come upon us; for Thou hast done right, but we have done wickedly. Ver. 34. And our kings, our princes, our priests, and our fathers have not kept Thy law, nor hearkened to Thy commandments and Thy testimonies, wherewith Thou didst testify against them. Ver. 35. And they have not served Thee in their kingdom, and in Thy great goodness that Thou gavest them, and in the large and fat land which Thou gavest up to them, and have not turned from their wicked works. Ver. 36. Behold, we are now bondmen; and the land that Thou gavest

unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof, and the good thereof, behold, we are bondmen in it. Ver. 37. And it yieldeth much increase unto the kings whom Thou hast set over us because of our sins; and they have dominion over our bodies, and over our cattle at their pleasure, and we are in great distress." The invocation of God, ver. 32, like that in i. 5, is similar to Deut. x. 17. **אֵל יִמְעַט לְפָנֶיךָ** stands independently, the following clause being emphasized by **אֵת**, like *e.g.* ver. 19: Let not what concerns all our trouble be little before Thee; comp. the similar construction with **מְעַט** in Josh. xx. 17. What seems little is easily disregarded. The prayer is a *litotes*; and the sense is, Let our affliction be regarded by Thee as great and heavy. The nouns **לְמַלְכֵינוּ**, etc., are in apposition to the suffix of **מִצְרָתֵנוּ**, the object being continued by **ל**.—Ver. 33. Thou art just: comp. ver. 8, Deut. xxxii. 4, Ezra ix. 15. **עַל כָּל**, upon all, *i.e.* concerning all that has befallen us; because their sins deserved punishment, and God is only fulfilling His word upon the sinners. In ver. 34, **אֵת** again serves to emphasize the subject. In the enumeration of the different classes of the people, the prophets are here omitted, because, as God's witnesses, they are not reckoned among these who had transgressed, though involved (ver. 32) in the sufferings that have fallen on the nation.—Ver. 35. **הֵם** are the fathers who were not brought to repentance by God's goodness. **בְּמַלְכוּתָם**, in their independent kingdom. **טוֹבֶךָ הָרַב**, Thy much good, *i.e.* the fulness of Thy goodness, or "in the midst of Thy great blessing" (Bertheau). The predicate **הָרְחֵבָה**, the wide, extensive country, is derived from Ex. iii. 8. In ver. 36 sq., the prayer that God would not lightly regard the trouble of His people, is supported by a statement of the need and affliction in which they still are. They are bondmen in the land which God gave to their fathers as a free people, bondmen of the Persian monarchs; and the increase of the land which God appointed for His people belongs to the kings who rule over them. The rulers of the land dispose of their bodies and their cattle, by carrying off both men and cattle for their use, *e.g.* for military service. **כְּרִצֻּנִים** like ver. 24.

Chap. x. *A covenant made* (1-32), *and an engagement entered into, to furnish what was needed for the maintenance of the temple, its services, and ministers* (vers. 33-40).—Vers. 1-28. For the purpose of giving a lasting influence to this day of prayer and fasting, the assembled people, after the confession of sin (given in chap. ix.), entered into a written agreement, by which they bound themselves by an oath to separate from the heathen, and to keep the commandments and ordinances of God,—a document being prepared for this purpose, and sealed by the heads of their different houses.—Ver. 1. And because of all this we make and write a sure covenant; and our princes, Levites, and priests sign the sealed (document). *בְּכָל-זֶה* does not mean *post omne hoc*, after all that we have done this day (Schmid, Bertheau, and others); still less, *in omni hoc malo, quod nobis obtigerat* (Rashi, Aben Ezra), but upon all this, *i.e.* upon the foundation of the preceding act of prayer and penitence, we made *אִמְנָה*, *i.e.* a settlement, a sure agreement (the word recurs xi. 23); hence *פָּרַת* is used as with *בְּרִית*, ix. 8. *אִמְנָה* may again be taken as the object of *בְּתָבִים*, we write it; *עַל הַחֲתוּם* be understood as “our princes sealed.” *הַחֲתוּם* is the sealed document; comp. Jer. xxii. 11, 14. *עַל הַחֲתוּם* means literally, Upon the sealed document were our princes, etc.; that is, our princes sealed or signed it. Signing was effected by making an impression with a seal bearing a name; hence originated the idiom *אֲשֶׁר עַל הַחֲתוּם*, “he who was upon the sealed document,” meaning he who had signed the document by sealing it. By this derived signification is the plural *עַל הַחֲתוּמִּים* (ver. 2), “they who were upon the document,” explained: they who had signed or sealed the document.—Ver. 2. At the head of the signatures stood Nehemiah the Tirshatha, as governor of the country, and Zidkijah, a high official, of whom nothing further is known, perhaps (after the analogy of Ezra iv. 9, 17) secretary to the governor. Then follow (in vers. 3-9) twenty-one names, with the addition: these, the priests. Of these twenty-one names, fifteen occur in chap. xii. 2-7 as chiefs of the priests who came up with Joshua and Zerubbabel from Babylon, and in xii.

11–20 as heads of priestly houses. Hence it is obvious that all the twenty-one names are those of heads of priestly classes, who signed the agreement in the names of the houses and families of their respective classes. Seraiah is probably the prince of the house of God dwelling at Jerusalem, mentioned xi. 11, who signed in place of the high priest. For further remarks on the orders of priests and their heads, see xii. 1 sq. — Vers. 10–14. The Levites who sealed were: Jeshua the son of Azaniah, Binnui of the sons of Henadad, Kadmiel, and their brethren, fourteen names. Sons of Jeshua and Kadmiel returned, together with seventy-four other Levites, with Zerubbabel and Jeshua; Ezra ii. 4; Neh. vii. 42. Jeshua, Binnui, Kadmiel, and Sherebiah are also named in xii. 8 as heads of orders of Levites. Of the rest nothing further is known, but we may regard them as heads of Levitical houses.—Vers. 15–28. The heads of the people. Forty-four names, thirteen of which are found in the list (Ezra ii.) of the kindreds who returned with Zerubbabel; see Ezra ii. The rest are names either of the heads of the different houses into which these kindreds were divided, or of the elders of the smaller towns of Benjamin and Judah. The fact that, while only thirty-three kindreds and places are enumerated in Ezra ii., forty-four occur here,—although names of kindreds mentioned in Ezra ii., *e.g.* Shephatiah, Arah, Zaccai, etc., are wanting here,—is to be explained partly by the circumstance that these kindreds included several houses whose different heads all subscribed, and partly by fresh accessions during the course of years to the number of houses.

Vers. 29–32. All the members of the community acceded to the agreement thus signed by the princes of the people, and the heads of the priests and Levites, and bound themselves by an oath to walk in the law of the Lord, and to separate themselves from the heathen.—Vers. 29 and 30. And the rest of the people, the priests, the Levites, the door-keepers, the singers, the Nethinim, and all that had separated themselves from the people of the lands unto the law of God, their wives, their sons, and their daughters, all who



had knowledge and understanding, held with their brethren, their nobles, and entered into an oath and curse, etc. מְחֻיָּקִים is the predicate of the subjects in ver. 29: they were holding with their brethren, *i.e.* uniting with them in this matter. "The rest of the people, the priests," etc., are the members of the community, exclusive of the princes and heads of the priestly and Levitical orders. The Nethinim, to whom belonged the servants of Solomon (see rem. on Ezra ii. 43 sq.), were probably also represented in the assembly by the heads of the Levites. To these are added all who had separated themselves, etc., *i.e.* the descendants of those Israelites who had been left in the land, and who now joined the new community; see rem. on Ezra vi. 21. The connection of נִבְרַל with אֶל־תֹּרֶה is significant: separated from the heathen to the law of God, *i.e.* to live according thereto; comp. Ezra vi. 21. Not, however, the men only, but also women and children of riper years, acceded to the covenant. כָּל־יֹדֵעַ מִבֵּין, every one knowing, understanding (מִבֵּין and יֹדֵעַ being connected as an asyndeton, to strengthen the meaning), refers to sons and daughters of an age sufficient to enable them to understand the matter. אֲדִירֵיהֶם, their nobles, is connected in the form of an apposition with אֲחֵיהֶם, instead of the adjective הָאֲדִירִים. The princes and the heads of the community and priesthood are intended. בּוֹא בְּאָלָה, to enter into an oath, comp. Ezek. xvii. 13. אָלָה is an oath of self-imprecation, grievous punishments being imprecated in case of transgression; שְׁבוּעָה, a promissory oath to live conformably with the law. We hence perceive the tenor of the agreement entered into and sealed by the princes. *Non subscripsit quidem populus*, remarks Clericus, *sed ratum habuit, quidquid nomine totius populi a proceribus factum erat, juravitque id a se observatum iri.* Besides the general obligation to observe all the commandments, judgments, and statutes of God, two points, then frequently transgressed, are specially mentioned in vers. 31 and 32. In ver. 31: that we would not give our daughters to the people of the lands, etc.; see rem. on Ezra ix. 2. In ver. 32: that if the people of the land brought wares or any victuals on the Sabbath-day,

to sell, we would not buy it of them on the Sabbath, or on a holy day; and would let the seventh year lie, and the loan of every hand. The words עָמִי הָאֶרֶץ וְגו' are prefixed absolutely, and are afterwards subordinated to the predicate of the sentence by מֵהֶם. מִקְחוֹת, wares for sale, from לָקַח; to take, in the sense of to buy, occurs only here. נָקַח מֵהֶם, to take from them, *i.e.* to buy. יוֹם קֹדֶשׁ beside שַׁבָּת means the other holy days, the annual festivals, on which, according to the law, Num. xxviii. and xxix., no work was to be done. To the sanctification of the Sabbath pertained the celebration of the sabbatical year, which is therefore named immediately afterwards. The words נָטַשׁ אֶת־הַשָּׁנָה הַזֹּאת, to let the seventh year lie, *i.e.* in the seventh year to let the land lie untilled and unsown, is an abbreviation taken from the language of the law, Ex. xxiii. 10. מִשָּׂא כָל־יָד also depends upon נָטַשׁ. This expression (מִשָּׂא, not מִשָּׂאָה, being the reading of the best editions) is to be explained from Deut. xv. 2, and means the loan, that which the hand has lent to another; see rem. on Deut. xv. 2.

Vers. 33–40. *Agreement to provide for the expenses of the temple and its ministers.*—If the community seriously intended to walk by the rule of God's law, they must take care that the temple service, as the public worship of the community, should be provided for according to the law and a firm footing and due solemnity thus given to religion. For this purpose, it was indispensable to guarantee the contributions prescribed for the necessary expenses of the temple worship, and the support of its ministers. Hence this entering into a solemn agreement to observe the law was regarded as a suitable occasion for regulating the services prescribed by the law with respect to the temple and its ministers, and mutually binding themselves to their observance.—Ver. 33. We ordained for ourselves (עָלֵינוּ, upon us, inasmuch as such things are spoken of as are taken upon one). לָתֵת עָלֵינוּ, to lay upon ourselves the third part of a shekel yearly for the service of the house of our God. It is not said who were to be bound to furnish this contribution, but it is assumed that it was a

well-known custom. This appointed payment is evidently only a revival of the Mosaic precept, Ex. xxx. 13, that every man of twenty years of age and upwards should give half a shekel as a *תְּרוּמָה* to the Lord,—a tribute which was still paid in Christ's days, Matt. xvii. 24. In consideration, however, of the poverty of the greater portion of the community, it was now lowered to a third of a shekel. The view of Aben Ezra, that a third of a shekel was to be paid in addition to the half shekel levied in conformity with the law, is unsupported by the text. *הַעֲבוֹדָה*, the service of the house of God, is not the building and repairs of the temple, but the regular worship. For, according to ver. 34, the tax was to be applied to defraying the expenses of worship, to supplying the shew-bread, the continual meat and burnt offerings (Num. xxviii. 3-8), the sacrifices for the Sabbaths, new moons (Num. xxviii. 9-15), and festivals (Num. xxviii. 16-29, 38),—for the *קָדָשִׁים*, holy gifts, by which, from their position between the burnt-offering and the sin-offering, we may understand the thank-offerings, which were offered in the name of the congregation, as *e.g.* the two lambs at Pentecost, Lev. xxiii. 19, and the offerings brought at feasts of dedication, comp. Ex. xxiv. 5, Ezra vi. 17,—for the sin-offerings which were sacrificed at every great festival; and finally for all the work of the house of our God, *i.e.* whatever else was needful for worship (לְכָל מְלָאכָה). The establishment of such a tax for the expenses of worship, does not justify the view that the contributions promised by Artaxerxes in his edict, Ezra vii. 20 sq., of things necessary to worship had ceased, and that the congregation had now to defray the expenses from their own resources. For it may readily be supposed, that besides the assistance afforded by the king, the congregation might also esteem it needful to furnish a contribution, to meet the increased requirements of worship, and thus to augment the revenues of the temple,—the royal alms being limited to a certain amount (see Ezra vii. 22).—Ver. 35. “And we cast lots among the priests, the Levites, and the people for the wood-offering, to bring it into the house of our God, after

our houses, at times appointed, year by year, to burn upon the altar of the LORD our God, as it is written in the law." In the law we merely find it prescribed that wood should be constantly burning on the altar, and that the priest should burn wood on it every morning, and burn thereon the burnt-offering (Lev. vi. 12 sq.). The law gave no directions concerning the procuring of the wood; yet the rulers of the people must, at all events, have always provided for the regular delivery of the necessary quantity. Nehemiah now gives orders, as he himself tells us, xiii. 31, which make this matter the business of the congregation, and the several houses have successively to furnish a contribution, in the order decided by casting lots. The words, "at times appointed, year by year," justify the conclusion that the order was settled for several years, and not that all the different houses contributed in each year.<sup>1</sup>—Vers. 36–38. It was also arranged to contribute the first-fruits prescribed in the law. The infinitive לְהָבִיא depends on הָעֲמִידִי, and is co-ordinate with לָחֵץ, ver. 33. The first-fruits of the ground, comp. Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26, Deut. xxvi. 2; the first-fruits of all fruit trees, comp. Num. xviii. 13, Lev. xix. 23; the first-born of our sons who were redeemed according to the estimation of the priest, Num. xviii. 16, and of our cattle (*i.e.* .

<sup>1</sup> Josephus (*bello Jud.* ii. 17. 6) speaks of α τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἑορτή, which he places on the fourteenth day of the month Ἀῶος, *i.e.* Ab, the fifth month of the Jewish year. From this Bertheau infers that the plural מִצִּיּוֹנִים, here and xiii. 31, denotes the one season or day of delivery in each year. But though the name of this festival is derived from the present verse, the LXX. translating קָרְבַּן הָעֵצִים, ἐπὶ κλήρου ξυλοφορίας, it appears even from what Josephus says of this feast, ἐν ᾗ παῖσιν ἔθος ὕλην τῶ βαμῶ προσφέρειν, that the feast of wood-carrying does not designate that one day of the year on which the wood was delivered for the service of the altar. According to Mishna Taanit, chap. iv. (in Lightfoot's *horæ hebraicæ in Matth.* i. 1), nine days in the year were appointed for the delivery of wood, viz. 1st Nisan, 20th Tammuz, 5th, 7th, and 10th Ab, etc. Further particulars are given in Lundius, *jüd. Heiligtümer*, p. 1067 sq. The feast of wood-carrying may be compared with our harvest festival; and Bertheau's inference is not more conclusive than would be the inference that our harvest festival denotes the one day in the year on which the harvest is gathered in.

in the case of the unclean, the required redemption, Ex. xiii. 12 sq., Num. xviii. 15), and the firstlings of the herds and of the flocks, the fat of which was consumed on the altar, the flesh becoming the share of the priests, Num. xviii. 17. In ver. 38 the construction is altered, the first person of the imperfect taking the place of the infinitive: and we will bring the first-fruits. עֲרֹסוֹת, probably groats or ground flour; see rem. on Num. xv. 20, etc. תְּרוּמוֹת, heave-offerings, the offering in this connection, is probably that of wheat and barley, Ezek. xlv. 13, or of the fruits of the field, which are suitably followed by the "fruit of all manner of trees." On "the first of the wine and oil," comp. Num. xviii. 12. These offerings of first-fruits were to be brought into the chambers of the house of God, where they were to be kept in store, and distributed to the priests for their support. "And the tithes of our ground (will we bring) to the Levites; and they, the Levites, receive the tithes in all our country towns. (Ver. 39) And a priest, a son of Aaron, shall be with the Levites when the Levites take tithes; and the Levites shall bring the tithe of the tithes to the house of our God, into the chambers of the treasury." The parenthetical sentences in these verses, וְהָם הַלְוִיִּם הַמְעֹשְׂרִים and בְּעֶשֶׂר הַלְוִיִּם, have been variously understood. עֶשֶׂר in the Piel and Hiphil meaning elsewhere to pay tithe, comp. Deut. xiv. 22, xxvi. 12, Gen. xxviii. 22, many expositors adhere to this meaning in these passages also, and translate ver. 38: for they, the Levites, must give again the tenth (to the priests); and ver. 39: when the Levites give the tenth; while the LXX., Vulgate, Syriac, Rashi, Aben Ezra, Clericus, Bertheau, and others, take עֶשֶׂר and הַמְעֹשְׂרִים in these sentences as signifying to collect tithe. We prefer the latter view, as giving a more suitable sense. For the remark that the Levites must give back the tenth (ver. 38) does not present so appropriate a motive for the demand that the tithes should be paid, as that the tithes are due to the Levites. Still less does the addition, in our agricultural towns, suit the sentence: the Levites must give back the tithe to the priests. Again, the fact that it is not said till

ver. 39 that the Levites have to give the tenth of the tenth to the priests, speaks still more against this view. A priest is to be present when the Levites take the tenth, so that the share of the priests may not be lessened. On "the tenth of the tenth," comp. Num. xviii. 26. Hezekiah had provided store-chambers in the temple, in which to deposit the tithes, 1 Chron. xxxi. 11.—Ver. 40 is confirmatory of the preceding clause: the Levites were to bring the tithe of the tithes for the priests into the chambers of the temple; for thither are both the children of Israel and the Levites, to bring all heave-offerings of corn, new wine, and oil: for there are the holy vessels for the service of the altar (comp. Num. iv. 15), and the priests that minister, and the doorkeepers and the singers, for whose maintenance these gifts provide. "And we will not forsake the house of our God," *i.e.* we will take care that the service of God's house shall be provided for; comp. xiii. 11–14.

CHAP. XI.—INCREASE OF THE INHABITANTS OF JERUSALEM.  
LIST OF THE INHABITANTS OF JERUSALEM, AND OF  
THE OTHER TOWNS.

Vers. 1 and 2 narrate the carrying out of Nehemiah's resolution, chap. vii. 4, to make Jerusalem more populous, and follow vii. 5 as to matter, but the end of chap. x. as to time. For while Nehemiah, after the completion of the wall, was occupied with the thought of bringing into the thinly populated capital a larger number of inhabitants, and had for this purpose convoked a public assembly, that a list of the whole Israelite population of the towns of Benjamin and Judah might be taken in hand, the seventh month of the year arrived, in which all the people assembled at Jerusalem to perform those acts of worship and solemnities (described viii.–x.) in which this month abounded. Hence it was not till after the termination of these services that Nehemiah was able to carry out the measures he had resolved on. For there can be no doubt that vers. 1 and 2 of the present chapter narrate the execution of these measures. The state-

ment that one in ten of all the people was appointed by lot to dwell in Jerusalem, and the remaining nine in other cities, and that the people blessed the men who showed themselves willing to dwell at Jerusalem, can have no other meaning than, that the inhabitants of Jerusalem were increased in this proportion, and that this was consequently the measure which God had, according to vii. 5, put it into Nehemiah's heart to take. The statement taken by itself is indeed very brief, and its connection with vii. 5 not very evident. But the brevity and abruptness do not justify Bertheau's view, that these two verses are not the composition of Nehemiah himself, but only an extract from a larger context, in which this circumstance was fully explained. For Nehemiah's style not unfrequently exhibits a certain abruptness; comp. *e.g.* the commencements of chaps. v. and vi., or the information xiii. 6, which are no less abrupt, and which yet no one has conceived to be mere extracts from some other document. Besides, as the connection between vii. 5 and xi. 1 is interrupted by the relation of the events of the seventh month, so, too, is the account of the building of the wall, iv. 17, vi. 15 sq., and vii. 1, interrupted by the insertion of occurrences which took place during its progress. The first sentence, ver. 1, "And the rulers of the people dwelt at Jerusalem," cannot be so closely connected with the next, "and the rest of the people cast lots," etc., as to place the rulers in direct contrast to the rest of the people, but must be understood by its retrospect to vii. 4, which gives the following contrast: The rulers of the people dwelt at Jerusalem, but few of the people dwelt there; to this is joined the next sentence: and the rest of the people cast lots. The "rest of the people" does not mean the assembled people with the exception of the rulers, but the people with the exception of the few who dwelt at Jerusalem. These cast lots to bring (לְהַבִּיאַ) one of ten to dwell in Jerusalem. The predicate, the holy city, occurs here and ver. 18 for the first time. Jerusalem is so called, on the ground of the prophecies, Joel iii. 17 and Isa. xlviii. 2, because the sanctuary of God, the temple, was there. בְּעָרִים

means, in the other cities of Judah and Benjamin. הַמְּתִנְיָבִים, those who showed themselves willing to dwell in Jerusalem, is taken by most expositors in contrast to those who were bound to do this in consequence of the decision of the lot; and it is then further supposed that some first went to Jerusalem of their free choice, and that the lot was then cast with respect to the rest. There are not, however, sufficient grounds for this conclusion, nor yet for the assumption that the decision of the lot was regarded as a constraint. The disposal of the lot was accepted as a divine decision, with which all had, whether willingly or unwillingly, to comply. All who willingly acquiesced in this decision might be designated as מְתִנְיָבִים; and these departed to Jerusalem accompanied by the blessings of the people. Individuals are not so much meant, as chiefly fathers of families, who went with their wives and children.

Vers. 3–36. *The inhabitants of Jerusalem and the other cities.*—Ver. 3. The title reads: "These are the heads of the province who dwelt at Jerusalem; and in the cities of Judah dwelt every one in his possession in their cities, Israel, the priests, the Levites, the Nethinim, and the sons of Solomon's servants." הַמְּדִינָה is, as in Ezra ii. 1, the land of Judah, as a province of the Persian kingdom. The repetition of יְהוּדָה after יְהוּדָה is not to be understood as contrasting those who dwelt in the cities with the dwellers in Jerusalem in the sense of "but in the cities of Judah dwelt," etc., but is here a mere pleonasm. Even the enumeration of the different classes of inhabitants: Israel, the priests, etc., clearly shows that no such contrast is intended; for Israel, the priests, etc., dwelt not only in Jerusalem, but also, according to ver. 20, in the other cities of Judah. And this is placed beyond all doubt by the contents of the list following; the inhabitants of Jerusalem being enumerated 4–24, and the inhabitants of the other cities of Judah and Benjamin, 25–36. If, however, this title refers to the whole of the following list, it cannot, as Rambach and others thought, contain only an enumeration of those who, in consequence of the lot, had taken up their residence at Jerusalem, but



must be intended as a list of the population of the whole province of Judah in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah. It seems strange that the title should announce רָאשֵׁי הַמִּדִּינָה, while in the list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem are given, besides the heads, the numbers of their brethren, *i.e.* of the individuals or fathers of families under these heads; and that in the list of the inhabitants of the other cities, only inhabitants of Judah and Benjamin are spoken of. Hence this statement refers *a potiori* to the heads, including the houses and families belonging to them, while in the case of the other cities it is assumed that the inhabitants of each locality were under a head. With ver. 4 begins the enumeration of the heads dwelling in Jerusalem, with their houses; and the first clause contains a special title, which affirms that (certain) of the children of Judah and of the children of Benjamin dwelt at Jerusalem. On the parallel list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem before the captivity, 1 Chron. ix. 2-34, and its relation to the present list, see the remarks on 1 Chron. ix.

Vers. 4b-6. Of the children of Judah two heads: Athaiah of the children of Perez (comp. 1 Chron. ii. 4), and Maaseiah of the children of Shela. It has been already remarked on 1 Chron. ix. 5, that הַשְּׁלִי is wrongly pointed, and should be read הַשְּׁלִי. בֶּלְ-חִיָּה is a proper name, as in iii. 15. Athaiah and Maaseiah are not further known. There were in all four hundred and sixty-eight able-bodied men of the sons of Perez, *i.e.* four hundred and sixty-eight fathers of families of the race of Perez, among whom are probably included the fathers of families belonging to Shela, the younger brother of Perez.—Vers. 7-9. Of the Benjamites there were two heads of houses: Sallu, and after him Gābbai-Sallai, with nine hundred and twenty-eight fathers of families. Their chief was Joel the son of Zichri, and Jehuda the son of Sennah over the city as second (prefect).—Vers. 10-14. Of the priests: Jedaiah, Joiarib, and Jachin, three heads of houses, therefore of orders of priests (for יָר before Joiarib probably crept into the text by a clerical error; see rem. on 1 Chron. ix. 10); Seraiah, a descendant of Ahitub, as ruler of

the house of God, and their brethren, *i.e.* the eight hundred and twenty-two ministering priests belonging to these three orders. Also Adaiah, of the house or order of Malchiah, and his brethren, two hundred and forty-two fathers of families; and lastly, Amashai, of the order of Immer, with one hundred and twenty-eight brethren, *i.e.* priests. And their chief was Zabdiel ben Haggadolim (LXX. *υἱὸς τῶν μεγάλων*). *עֲלֵיהֶם* refers to all the before-named priests. *רָאשִׁים לְאֲבוֹת*, heads of fathers, *i.e.* of families, ver. 13, is striking, for the brethren of Adaiah (*אַחָיו*), in number two hundred and forty-two, could not be heads of houses, but only fathers of families. The words seem to have come into the text only by comparing it with 1 Chron. ix. 13. If they were genuine, we should be obliged to understand *רָאשִׁים לְאֲבוֹת* of fathers of families, contrary to general usage.—Vers. 15–18. Of Levites, Shemaiah, a descendant of Bunni, with the members of his house; Shabbethai and Jozabad, “of the heads of the Levites over the outward business of the house of God,” *i.e.* two heads of the Levites who had the care of the outward business of the temple, probably charged with the preservation of the building and furniture, and the office of seeing that all things necessary for the temple worship were duly delivered. The names Shabbethai and Jozabad have already occurred, viii. 7, as those of two Levites, and are here also personal names of heads of Levites, as the addition *מֵרָאשֵׁי הַלֵּוִיִּם* informs us. As the office of these two is stated, so also is that of those next following in ver. 17; whence it appears that Shemaiah, of whom no such particular is given, was head of the Levites charged with attending on the priests at the sacrificial worship (the *מְלָאכְתָּה בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים*, ver. 22). The three named in ver. 17, Mattaniah an Asaphite, Bakbukiah, and Abda a Jeduthunite, are the chiefs of the three Levitical orders of singers. Mattaniah is called *רָאשׁ הַתְּחִלָּה*, head of the beginning, which gives no meaning; and should probably, as in the LXX. and Vulgate, be read *רָאשׁ הַתְּהִלָּה*: head of the songs of praise,—he praised for who praised, *i.e.* sounded the *Hodu* for prayer; comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 5, where Asaph is called the chief of the band of

singers. He is followed by Bakbukiah as second, that is, leader of the second band (מִשְׁנֵה מִאֲחֵי like מִשְׁנֵה, 1 Chron. xvi. 5); and Abda the Jeduthunite, as leader of the third. All the Levites in the holy city, *i.e.* all who dwelt in Jerusalem, amounted to two hundred and eighty-four individuals or fathers of families. The number refers only to the three classes named vers. 15-17. For the gatekeepers are separately numbered in ver. 19 as one hundred and seventy-two, of the families of Akkub and Talmon.

Certain special remarks follow in vers. 20-24.—Ver. 20 states that the rest of the Israelites, priests, and Levites dwelt in all the (other) cities of Judah, each in his inheritance. These cities are enumerated in ver. 25 sq.—Ver. 21. The Nethinim dwelt in Ophel, the southern slope of Mount Moriah; see rem. on iii. 26. Their chiefs were Zihah and Gispa. צִיחָה occurs Ezra ii. 43, followed by גִּשְׁפָּא, as head of a division of Levites; whence Bertheau tries, but unsuccessfully, to identify the latter name with גִּשְׁפָּא. For it does not follow that, because a division of Nethinim was descended from Hasupha, that Gishpa, one of the chiefs of those Nethinim who dwelt on Ophel, must be the same individual as this Hasupha.—Ver. 22. And the overseer (chief) of the Levites at Jerusalem was Uzzi, the son of Bani, of the sons of Asaph, the singers, in the business of the house of God. The מְלָאכָה of the house of God was the duty of the Levites of the house of Shemaiah, ver. 15. Hence the remark in the present verse is supplementary to ver. 15. The chiefs or presidents of the two other divisions of Levites—of those to whom the outward business was entrusted, and of the singers—are named in vers. 16 and 17; while, in the case of those entrusted with the business of the house of God, ver. 15, the chiefs are not named, probably because they were over the singers, the sons of Asaph, who in ver. 15 had not as yet been named. This is therefore done afterwards in ver. 22. לְגַגֵּר מְלָאכָה, *coram opere, i.e. circa ea negotia, quæ coram in templo exigenda erant* (Burm. in Ramb.), does not belong to הַמְשָׁרְרִים, but to פְּקִידֵי הָאֱלֹהִים: Uzzi was overseer of the Levites in respect of their business in the house of God, *i.e.* of those

Levites who had the charge of this business. The reason of this is thus given in ver. 23: "for a command of the king was over them, and an ordinance was over the singers concerning the matter of every day." **עֲלֵיהֶם** refers to the Levites. "A command of the king was over them" means: the king had commanded them. This command was concerning **דְּבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ**, the matter of every day. The words stand at the end of the verse, because they refer to the two subjects **הַפִּלֶקֶה** and **אַמְנָה**. **אַמְנָה** is an arrangement depending upon mutual agreement, a treaty, an obligation entered into by agreement; comp. x. 1. The meaning of the verse is: The every-day matter was laid upon the Levites by the command of the king, upon the singers by an agreement entered into. **דְּבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ**, *pensum quotidianum*, is correctly explained by Schmid: *de rebus necessariis in singulos dies*. That we are not to understand thereby the contribution for every day, the rations of food (Ramb., Berth.), but the duty to be done on each day, is obvious from the context, in which not provisions, but the business of the Levites, is spoken of; and Uzzi the Asaphite was placed over the Levites in respect of their business in the house of God, and not in respect of food and drink. The business of the Levites in the house of God was determined by the command of the king; the business of the singers, on the contrary, especially that one of the singers should exercise a supervision over the services of the Levites in worship, was made the matter of an **אַמְנָה**, an agreement entered into among themselves by the different divisions of Levites. The king is not David, who once regulated the services of the Levites (1 Chron. xxiii. 4 sq.), but the Persian king Artaxerxes, who is mentioned as **הַפִּלֶקֶה** in ver. 24; and **מִצִּוַת הַפִּלֶקֶה** undoubtedly refers to the full power bestowed by Artaxerxes upon Ezra to order all that concerned the worship of God at Jerusalem; Ezra vii. 12 sq.—Ver. 24. Finally, the official is named who had to transact with the king the affairs of the people, *i.e.* of the whole Jewish community in Judah and Jerusalem. Pethahiah, a Jew of the descendants of Zerah, was at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people. **לִיד הַפִּלֶקֶה** can scarcely be understood

of a royal commissioner at Jerusalem, but certainly designates an official transacting the affairs of the Jewish community at the hand of the king, at his court.

Vers. 25-36. *The inhabitants of the towns of Judah and Benjamin.*—The heads who, with their houses, inhabited country districts are here no longer enumerated, but only the towns, with their adjacent neighbourhoods, which were inhabited by Jews and Benjamites; and even these are but summarily mentioned.—Vers. 25-30. The districts inhabited by the children of Judah. “And with respect to the towns in their fields, there dwelt of the sons of Judah in Kirjath-arba and its daughters,” etc. The use of אֵל as an introductory or emphatic particle is peculiar to this passage, אֵל being elsewhere customary in this sense; comp. *Ew.* § 310, *a.* אֵל denotes a respect to something. חֲצֵרִים, properly enclosures, signifies, according to *Lev.* xxv. 31, villages, towns, boroughs, without walls. שָׂדֵה, fields, field boundaries. בְּנוֹתֶיהָ, the villages and estates belonging to a town; as frequently in the lists of towns in the book of Joshua. Kirjath-arba is Hebron, *Gen.* xxiii. 2. Jekabzeel, like Kabzeel, *Josh.* xv. 21. חֲצֵרֶיהָ, its enclosed places, the estates belonging to a town, as in *Josh.* xv. 45 sq. Jeshua, mentioned only here, and unknown. Moladah and Beth-phelet, *Josh.* xv. 26, 27. Hazar-shual, *i.e.* Fox-court, probably to be sought for in the ruins of Thaly; see *rem.* on *Josh.* xv. 28. Beersheba, now Bir es Seba; see *rem.* on *Gen.* xxi. 31. Ziklag, at the ancient Asluj, see *Josh.* xv. 31. Mekonah, mentioned only here, and unknown. En-rimmon; see *rem.* on *1 Chron.* iv. 32. Zareah, Jarmuth, Zanoah, and Adullam in the plains (see *Josh.* xv. 33-35), where were also Lachish and Azekah; see on *2 Chron.* xi. 9.—In ver. 30b the whole region then inhabited by Jews is comprised in the words: “And they dwelt from Beer-sheba (the south-western boundary of Canaan) to the valley of Hinnom, in Jerusalem,” through which ran the boundaries of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah (*Josh.* xv. 8).—Vers. 31-35. The dwellings of the Benjamites. Ver. 31. The children of Benjamin dwelt from Geba to Michmash, Aija, etc. Geba, according to *2 Kings* xxiii. 8

and Josh. xiv. 10, the northern boundary of the kingdom of Judah, is the half-ruined village of Jibia in the Wady el Jib, three leagues north of Jerusalem, and three-quarters of a league north-east of Ramah (Er Ram); see on Josh. xviii. 24. Michmash (מִכְמָשׁ or מִכְמָשׁ), now Mukhmas, sixty-three minutes north-east of Geba, and three and a half leagues north of Jerusalem; see rem. on 1 Sam. xiii. 2. Aija (אֵיָא or אֵיָא, Isa. x. 28), probably one with אֵיָא, Josh. vii. 2, viii. 1 sq., the situation of which is still a matter of dispute, Van de Velde supposing it to be the present Tell el Hadshar, three-quarters of a league south-east of Beitin; while Schegg, on the contrary, places it in the position of the present Tayibeh, six leagues north of Jerusalem (see Delitzsch on Isa. vol. i. p. 277, etc., translation),—a position scarcely according with Isa. x. 28 sq., the road from Tayibeh to Michmash and Geba not leading past Migron (Makhrun), which is not far from Beitin. We therefore abide by the view advocated by Krafft and Strauss, that the ruins of Medinet Chai or Gai, east of Geba, point out the situation of the ancient Ai or Ajja; see rem. on Josh. vii. 2. Bethel is the present Beitin; see on Josh. vii. 2. The position of Nob is not as yet certainly ascertained, important objections existing to its identification with the village el-Isawije, between Anâta and Jerusalem; comp. Valentiner (in the *Zeitschrift d. deutsch. morgld. Gesellsch.* xii. p. 169), who, on grounds worthy of consideration, transposes Nob to the northern heights before Jerusalem, the road from which leads into the valley of Kidron. Ananiah (אֲנַנְיָה), a place named only here, is conjectured by Van de Velde (after R. Schwartz), *Mem.* p. 284, to be the present Beit Hanina (חֲנִינָא), east of Nebi Samwil; against which conjecture even the exchange of  $\psi$  and  $\pi$  raises objections; comp. Tobler, *Topographie*, ii. p. 414. Hazor of Benjamin, supposed by Robinson (*Palestine*) to be Tell 'Assur, north of Tayibeh, is much more probably found by Tobler, *Topographie*, ii. p. 400, in Khirbet Arsûr, perhaps Assur, عسور, eight minutes eastward of Bir Nebâla (between Rama and

Gibeon); comp. Van de Velde, *Mem.* p. 319. Ramah, now er Râm, two leagues north of Jerusalem; see rem. on Josh. xviii. 25. Githaim, whither the Beerothites fled, 2 Sam. iv. 3, is not yet discovered. Tobler (*dritte Wand.* p. 175) considers it very rash to identify it with the village Katanneh in Wady Mansur. Hadid, 'Αδιδά, see rem. on Ezra ii. 33. Zeboim, in a valley of the same name (1 Sam. xiii. 18), is not yet discovered. Neballat, mentioned only here, is preserved in Beith Nebala, about two leagues north-east of Ludd (Lydda); comp. Rob. *Palestine*, and Van de Velde, *Mem.* p. 336. With respect to Lod and Ono, see rem. on 1 Chron. viii. 12; and on the valley of craftsmen, comp. 1 Chron. iv. 14. The omission of Jericho, Gibeon, and Mizpah is the more remarkable, inasmuch as inhabitants of these towns are mentioned as taking part in the building of the wall (iii. 2, 7).—Ver. 36. The enumeration concludes with the remark, "Of the Levites came divisions of Judah to Benjamin," which can only signify that divisions of Levites who, according to former arrangements, belonged to Judah, now came to Benjamin, *i.e.* dwelt among the Benjamites.

CHAP. XII. 1-43.—LISTS OF PRIESTS AND LEVITES. DEDICATION OF THE WALL OF JERUSALEM.

The list of the inhabitants of the province, chap. xi., is followed by lists of the priests and Levites (xii. 1-26). These different lists are, in point of fact, all connected with the genealogical register of the Israelite population of the whole province, taken by Nehemiah (vii. 5) for the purpose of enlarging the population of Jerusalem, though the lists of the orders of priests and Levites in the present chapter were made partly at an earlier, and partly at a subsequent period. It is because of this actual connection that they are inserted in the history of the building of the wall of Jerusalem, which terminates with the narrative of the solemn dedication of the completed wall in vers. 27-43.

Vers. 1-26. *Lists of the orders of priests and Levites.*—Vers. 1-9 contain a list of the heads of the priests and

Levites who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Joshua. The high priests during five generations are next mentioned by name, vers. 10, 11. Then follow the names of the heads of the priestly houses in the days of Joiakim the high priest; and finally, vers. 22-26, the names of the heads of the Levites at the same period, with titles and subscriptions.

Vers. 1-9. Ver. 1a contains the title of the *first list*, vers. 1-9. "These are the priests and Levites who went up with Zerubbabel . . . and Joshua;" comp. Ezra ii. 1, 2. Then follow, vers. 1b-7, the names of the priests, with the subscription: "These are the heads of the priests and of their brethren, in the days of Joshua." עֲדָתֵיהֶם still depends on אֲשֶׁר. The brethren of the priests are the Levites, as being their fellow-tribesmen and assistants. Two-and-twenty names of such heads are enumerated, and these reappear, with but slight variations attributable to clerical errors, as names of priestly houses in vers. 12-21, where they are given in conjunction with the names of those priests who, in the days of Joiakim, either represented these houses, or occupied as heads the first position in them. The greater number, viz. 15, of these have already been mentioned as among those who, together with Nehemiah, sealed as heads of their respective houses the agreement to observe the law, chap. x. Hence the present chapter appears to be the most appropriate place for comparing with each other the several statements given in the books of Nehemiah and Ezra, concerning the divisions or orders of priests in the period immediately following the return from the captivity, and for discussing the question how the heads and houses of priests enumerated in Neh. x. and xii. stand related on the one hand to the list of the priestly races who returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua, and on the other to the twenty-four orders of priests instituted by David. For the purpose of giving an intelligible answer to this question, we first place in juxtaposition the three lists given in Nehemiah, chaps. x. and xii.



NEH. X. 3-9.	NEH. XII. 1-7.	NEH. XII. 12-21.
Priests who sealed the Covenant.	Priests who were Heads of their Houses.	Priestly Houses, and their respective Heads.
1. Seraiah. 2. Azariah. 3. Jeremiah. 4. Pashur. 5. Amariah. 6. Malchijah. 7. Hattush. 8. Shebaniah. 9. Malluch. 10. Harim. 11. Meremoth. 12. Obadiah. 13. Daniel. 14. Ginnethon. 15. Baruch. 16. Meshullam. 17. Abijah. 18. Mijamin. 19. Maaziah. 20. Bilgai. 21. Shemaiah.	1. Seraiah.* 2. Jeremiah.* 3. Ezra.* 4. Amariah.* 5. Malluch.* 6. Hattush.* 7. Shecaniah.* 8. Rehum.* 9. Meremoth.* 10. Iddo. 11. Ginnethon.* 12. Abijah.* 13. Miamin.* 14. Maadiah.* 15. Bilgah.* 16. Shemaiah.* 17. Joiarib. 18. Jedaiah. 19. Sallu. 20. Amok. 21. Hilkiah. 22. Jedaiah.	Seraiah, . . Meraiah. Jeremiah, . . Hananiah. Ezra, . . Meshullam. Amariah, . . Jehohanan. Meluchi, . . Jonathan.  Shebaniah, . . Joseph. Harim, . . Adna. Meraioth, . . Helkai. Idiah, . . Zecariah. Ginnethon, . . Meshullam. Abijah, . . Zichri. Miniamin, . . Moadiah, . . Piltai. Bilgah, . . Shammua. Shemaiah, . . Jehonathan. Joiarib, . . Mathnai. Jedaiah, . . Uzzi. Sallai, . . Kallai. Amok, . . Eber. Hilkiah, . . Hashabiah. Jedaiah, . . Nethaneel.

When, in the first place, we compare the two series in chap. xii., we find the name of the head of the house of Minjamin, and the names both of the house and the head, Hattush, between Meluchi and Shebaniah, omitted. In other respects the two lists agree both in the order and number of the names, with the exception of unimportant variations in the names, as מְלֻכִּי (*Chethiv*, ver. 14) for מְלֻכָּה (ver. 2); שְׁבַנְיָה (ver. 3) for שְׁבַנְיָה (ver. 14, x. 6); יְרֵחָם (ver. 3), a transposition of יְרֵחָם (ver. 15, x. 6); מְרִיזֹת (ver. 15) instead of מְרִמּוֹת (ver. 3, x. 6); עֲדִיָּה (*Chethiv*, ver. 16) instead of עֲדִיָּה (ver. 4); מִיָּמִין (ver. 5) for מִנְיָמִין (ver. 17); מוֹעֲדָה (ver. 17) for מַעֲדָה (ver. 4), or, according to a different pronunciation, מַעֲדָה (x. 9); מִלֵּי (ver. 20) for מִלֵּי (ver. 7).—If we next compare the two lists in chap. xii. with that in chap. x., we find that of the twenty-two names given (chap. xii.), the fifteen marked thus \* occur also in chap. x.; עֲזַרְיָה, x. 4, being evidently a

clerical error, or another form of עֲזַרְיָה, xii. 2, 13. Of the names enumerated in chap. x., Pashur, Malchiah, Obadiah, Daniel, Baruch, and Meshullam are wanting in chap. xii., and are replaced by Iddo and the six last: Joiarib, Jedaiah, Sallu, Amok, Hilkiyah, and Jedaiah. The name of Eliashib the high priest being also absent, Bertheau seeks to explain this difference by supposing that a portion of the priests refused their signatures because they did not concur in the strict measures of Ezra and Nehemiah. This conjecture would be conceivable, if we found in chap. x. that only thirteen orders or heads of priests had signed instead of twenty-two. Since, however, instead of the seven missing names, six others signed the covenant, this cannot be the reason for the difference between the names in the two documents (chap. x., xii.), which is probably to be found in the time that elapsed between the making of these lists. The date of the list, chap. xii. 1-7, is that of Zerubbabel and Joshua (B.C. 536); that of the other in chap. xii., the times of the high priest Joiakim the son of Joshua, *i.e.*, at the earliest, the latter part of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, perhaps even the reign of Xerxes.

How, then, are the two lists in chap. xii. and that in chap. x., agreeing as they do in names, related to the list of the priests who, according to Ezra ii. 36-39 and Neh. vii. 39-42, returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Joshua? The traditional view, founded on the statements of the Talmud,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Hieros. Taanith, f. 68a; Tosafta Taanith, c. 11, in Babyl. Erachin, f. 12b. The last statement is, according to Herzfeld, *Gesch.* i. p. 393, as follows: "Four divisions of priests returned from captivity, viz. Jedaiah, Charim, Paschur, and Immer. These the prophets of the returned captives again divided into twenty-four; whereupon their names were written upon tickets and put in an urn, from which Jedaiah drew five, and each of the other three before-named divisions as many: it was then ordained by those prophets, that even if the division Joiarib (probably the first division before the captivity) should return, Jedaiah should nevertheless retain his position, and Joiarib should be מַפְלֵל (associated with him, belonging to him)." Comp. Bertheau on Neh. p. 230, and Oehler in Herzog's *Realencycl.* xii. p. 185, who, though refusing this tradition the value of independent historical testimony, still give it more weight than it deserves.

is, that the four divisions given in Ezra ii. and Neh. vii., "the sons of Jedaiah, the sons of Immer, the sons of Pashur and Harim," were the priests of the four (Davidic) orders of Jedaiah, Immer, Malchijah, and Harim (the second, sixteenth, fifth, and third orders of 1 Chron. xxiv.). For the sake of restoring, according to the ancient institution, a greater number of priestly orders, the twenty-two orders enumerated in Neh. xii. were formed from these four divisions; and the full number of twenty-four was not immediately completed, only because, according to Ezra ii. 61 and Neh. vii. 63 sq., three families of priests who could not find their registers returned, as well as those before named, and room was therefore left for their insertion in the twenty-four orders: the first of these three families, viz. Habaiah, being probably identical with the eighth class, Abia; the second, Hakkoz, with the seventh class of the same name. See Oehler's before-cited work, p. 184 sq. But this view is decidedly erroneous, and the error lies in the identification of the four races of Ezra ii. 36, on account of the similarity of the names Jedaiah, Immer, and Harim, with those of the second, sixteenth, and third classes of the Davidic division,—thus regarding priestly races as Davidic priestly classes, through mere similarity of name, without reflecting that even the number 4487, given in Ezra ii. 36 sq., is incompatible with this assumption. For if these four races were only four orders of priests, each order must have numbered about 1120 males, and the twenty-four orders of the priesthood before the captivity would have yielded the colossal sum of from 24,000 to 26,000 priests. It is true that we have no statement of the numbers of the priesthood; but if the numbering of the Levites in David's times gave the amount of 38,000 males, the priests of that time could at the most have been 3800, and each of the twenty-four orders would have included in all 150 persons, or at most seventy-five priests of the proper age for officiating. Now, if this number had doubled in the interval of time extending to the close of the captivity, the 4487 who returned with Zerubabel would have formed more than half of the whole number

of priests then living, and not merely the amount of four classes. Hence we cannot but regard Jedaiah, Immer, Pashur, and Harim, of Ezra ii. 36, as names not of priestly orders, but of great priestly races, and explain the occurrence of three of these names as those of certain of the orders of priests formed by David, by the consideration, that the Davidic orders were named after heads of priestly families of the days of David, and that several of these heads, according to the custom of bestowing upon sons, grandsons, etc., the names of renowned ancestors, bore the names of the founders and heads of the greater races and houses. The classification of the priests in Ezra ii. 36 sq. is genealogical, *i.e.* it follows not the division into orders made by David for the service of the temple, but the genealogical ramification into races and houses. The sons of Jedaiah, Immer, etc., are not the priests belonging to the official orders of Jedaiah, Immer, etc., but the priestly races descended from Jedaiah, etc. The four races (mentioned Ezra ii. 36, etc.), each of which averaged upwards of 1000 men, were, as appears from Neh. xii. 1-7 and 12, divided into twenty-two houses. From this number of houses, it was easy to restore the old division into twenty-four official orders. That it was not, however, considered necessary to make this artificial restoration of the twenty-four classes immediately, is seen from the circumstances that both under Joiakim, *i.e.* a generation after Zerubbabel's return (xii. 12-21), only twenty-two houses are enumerated, and under Nehemiah, *i.e.* after Ezra's return (in Neh. x.), only twenty-one heads of priestly houses sealed the document. Whether, and how the full number of twenty-four was completed, cannot, for want of information, be determined. The statement of Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 14. 7, that David's division into orders continues to this day, affords no sufficient testimony to the fact.

According, then, to what has been said, the difference between the names in the two lists of chap. x. and xii. is to be explained simply by the fact, that the names of those who sealed the covenant, chap. x., are names neither of orders nor houses, but of heads of houses living in the days

of Ezra and Nehemiah. Of these names, a portion coincides indeed with the names of the orders and houses, while the rest are different. The coincidence or sameness of the names does not, however, prove that the individuals belonged to the house whose name they bore. On the contrary, it appears from xii. 13 and 16, that of two Meshullams, one was the head of the house of Ezra, the other of the house of Ginnethon; and hence, in chap. x., Amariah may have belonged to the house of Malluch, Hattush to the house of Shebaniah, Malluch to the house of Meremoth, etc. In this manner, both the variation and coincidence of the names in chap. x. and xii. may be easily explained; the only remaining difficulty being, that in chap. x. only twenty-one, not twenty-two, heads of houses are said to have sealed. This discrepancy seems, indeed, to have arisen from the omission of a name in transcription. For the other possible explanation, viz. that in the interval between Joiakim and Nehemiah, the contemporary of Eliashib, one house had died out, is very far-fetched.

Vers. 8 and 9. *The heads of Levitical houses in the time of Jeshua the high priest.*—Of these names we meet, chap. x. 10 sq., with those of Jeshua, Binnui, Kadmiel, and Sherebiah, as of heads who sealed the covenant; while those of Sherebiah, and Jeshua the son (?) of Kadmiel, are again cited in ver. 24 as heads of Levites, *i.e.* of Levitical divisions. The name יהודה does not occur in the other lists of Levites in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and is perhaps miswritten for הוריה (x. 10, xiii. 7). Mattaniah is probably Mattaniah the Asaphite, the son of Micha, the son of Zabdi, head of the first band of singers (xi. 17); for he was על הירוד, over the singing of praise. The form הירוד, which should probably be read according to the Keri הירוד, is a peculiar formation of an abstract noun; comp. Ewald, § 165, *b.*—Ver. 9. Bakbukiah and Unni (*Chethiv* עני), their brethren, were before them (opposite them) למשמרות, at the posts of service, *i.e.* forming in service the opposite choir. Ver. 24 forbids us to understand משמרות as watch-posts, though the omission of the doorkeepers (comp. Ezra ii. 42) is remarkable. Bakbu-

kiah recurs ver. 24; the name Unni is not again met with, though there is no occasion, on this account, for the inapt conjecture of Bertheau, that the reading should be וְעִנִּי or וְעִנִּי.

Vers. 10 and 11. A note on *the genealogy of the high-priestly line* from Jeshua to Jaddua is inserted, so to speak, as a connecting link between the lists of Levites, to explain the statements concerning the dates of their composition,—dates defined by the name of the respective high priests. The lists given vers. 1–9 were of the time of Jeshua; those from ver. 12 and onwards, of the days of Joiakim and his successors. The name יֹחָנָן, as is obvious from vers. 22 and 23, is a clerical error for יֹחָנָן, Johanan, Greek *Ἰωάννης*, of whom we are told, Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 7. 1, that he murdered his brother Jesus, and thus gave Bagothes, the general of Artaxerxes Mnemon, an opportunity for taking severe measures against the Jews.

Vers. 12–21 contains *the list of the priestly houses and their heads*, which has been already explained in conjunction with that in vers. 1–7.

Vers. 22–26. *The list of the heads of the Levites*, vers. 22 and 24, is, according to ver. 26, that of the days of Joiakim, and of the days of Nehemiah and Ezra. Whence it follows, that it does not apply only to the time of Joiakim; for though Ezra might indeed have come to Jerusalem in the latter days of Joiakim's high-priesthood, yet Nehemiah's arrival found his successor Eliashib already in office, and the statements of vers. 22 and 23 must be understood accordingly.—Ver. 22. "With respect to the Levites in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua were recorded the heads of the houses, and also (those) of the priests during the reign of Darius the Persian." To judge from the הַלְוִיִּם with which it commences, this verse seems to be the title of the list of Levites following, while the rest of its contents rather seems adapted for the subscription of the preceding list of priests (vers. 12–21). עַל מַלְכוּתוֹ, under the reign. The use of עַל with reference to time is to be explained by the circumstance that the time, and here therefore the reign of Darius, is re-

garded as the ground and soil of that which is done in it, as *e.g.* ἐπὶ νυκτὶ, upon night = at night-time. Darius is Darius Nothus, the second Persian monarch of that name; see p. 148, where also the meaning of this verse has been already discussed. In ver. 23, the original document in which the list of Levites was originally included, is alluded to as the book of the daily occurrences or events of the time, *i.e.* the public chronicle, a continuation of the former annals of the kingdom. יְמֵי, and also to the days of Johanan, the son of Eliashib. So far did the official records of the chronicle extend. That Nehemiah may have been still living in the days of Johanan, *i.e.* in the time of his high-priesthood, has been already shown, p. 150. The statements in vers. 22 and 23 are aphoristic, and of the nature of supplementary and occasional remarks.—Ver. 24. The names Hashabiah, Sherebiah, Jeshua, and Kadmiel, frequently occur as those of heads of Levitical orders: the two first in x. 12 sq., Ezra viii. 18 sq.; the two last in ver. 8, x. 10, and Ezra ii. 40; and the comparison of these passages obliges us to regard and expunge as a gloss the קַדְמִיֶּל before Kadmiel. Opposite to these four are placed their brethren, whose office it was “to praise (and) to give thanks according to the commandment of David,” etc.: comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 4, xxiii. 30, 2 Chron. v. 13; and בְּמִצֹּחַ ר', 2 Chron. xxix. 25. מִשְׁמָר לְעֹמֶת מִשְׁמָר, ward opposite ward, elsewhere used of the gatekeepers, 1 Chron. xxvi. 16, is here applied to the position of the companies of singers in divine worship. The names of the brethren, *i.e.* of the Levitical singers, follow, ver. 25, where the first three names must be separated from those which follow, and combined with ver. 24. This is obvious from the consideration, that Mattaniah and Bakbukiah are mentioned in xi. 17 as presidents of two companies of singers, and with them Abda the Jeduthunite, whence we are constrained to suppose that עֲבִדָּה is only another form for עֲבָדָה of xi. 17. According, then, to what has been said, the division into verses must be changed, and ver. 25 should begin with the name מִשְׁלֵם. Meshullam, Talmon, and Akkub are chiefs of the doorkeepers; the two last

names occur as such both in xi. 19 and Ezra ii. 42, and even so early as 1 Chron. ix. 17, whence we perceive that these were ancient names of races of Levitical doorkeepers. In Ezra ii. 42 and 1 Chron. ix. 17, שָׁלוּם, answering to מְשָׁלֵם of the present verse, is also named with them. The combination שְׁמֵרִים שְׁוֹעָרִים מְשָׁמֵר is striking: we should at least have expected שְׁוֹעָרִים שְׁמֵרִים מְשָׁמֵר, because, while שְׁוֹעָרִים cannot be combined with מְשָׁמֵר, שְׁמֵרִים may well be so; hence we must either transpose the words as above, or read according to xi. 19, שְׁמֵרִים בְּשְׁוָעָרֵם. In the latter case, בְּשְׁוָעָרֵם is more closely defined by the apposition הַשְּׁעָרִים: at the doors, viz. at the treasure-chambers of the doors. On אֲכָפִים, see rem. on 1 Chron. xxvi. 15, 17.—Ver. 26 is the final subscription of the two lists in vers. 12–21 and vers. 24, 25.

Vers. 27–43. *The dedication of the wall of Jerusalem.*—The measures proposed for increasing the numbers of the inhabitants of Jerusalem having now been executed (vii. 5 and xi. 1 sq.), the restored wall of circumvallation was solemnly dedicated. Vers. 27–29 treat of the preparations for this solemnity.—Ver. 27. At the dedication (*i.e.* at the time of, בְּ denoting nearness of time) they sought the Levites out of all their places, to bring them to Jerusalem to keep the dedication. Only a portion of the Levites dwelt in Jerusalem (xi. 15–18); the rest dwelt in places in the neighbourhood, as is more expressly stated in vers. 28 and 29. וְשִׂמְחָה, to keep the dedication *and* joy, is not suitable, chiefly on account of the following וּבְתוֹרוֹת, *and* with songs of praise. We must either read בְּשִׂמְחָה, dedication with joy (comp. Ezra vi. 16), or expunge, with the LXX. and Vulgate, the ו before בְּתוֹרוֹת. בְּ must be repeated before מְצִלְתֵּם from the preceding words. On the subject, comp. 1 Chron. xiii. 8, xv. 16, and elsewhere.—Vers. 28, 29. And the sons of the singers, *i.e.* the members of the three Levitical companies of singers (comp. ver. 25 and xi. 17), gathered themselves together, both out of the Jordan valley round about Jerusalem, and the villages (or fields, הַצִּירִים, comp. Lev. xxv. 31) of Netophathi, and from Beth-Gilgal, etc. הַבֶּכָר does not mean the district round



Jerusalem, the immediate neighbourhood of the city (Bertheau). For, according to established usage, הַבֶּכֶר is used to designate the Jordan valley (see rem. on iii. 22); and פְּכִיבוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם is here added to limit the בֶּכֶר,—the whole extent of the valley of the Jordan from the Dead Sea to the Sea of Galilee not being intended, but only its southern portion in the neighbourhood of Jericho, where it widens considerably westward, and which might be said to be round about Jerusalem. The villages of Netophathi (comp. 1 Chron. ix. 16) are the villages or fields in the vicinity of Netopha, *i.e.* probably the modern village of Beit Nettif, about thirteen miles south-west of Jerusalem: comp. Rob. *Palestine*; Tobler, *dritte Wand.* p. 117, etc.; and V. de Velde, *Mem.* p. 336. Bertheau regards Beth-Gilgal as the present Jiljilia, also called Gilgal, situate somewhat to the west of the road from Jerusalem to Nablous (Sichem), about seventeen miles north of the former town. This view is, however, questionable, Jiljilia being apparently too distant to be reckoned among the פְּכִיבוֹת of Jerusalem. “And from the fields of Geba and Azmaveth.” With respect to Geba, see rem. on xi. 31. The situation of Azmaveth is unknown; see rem. on Ezra ii. 24 (p. 30). For the singers had built them villages in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and dwelt, therefore, not in the before-named towns, but in villages near them.—Ver. 30. The dedication began with the purification of the people, the gates, and the wall, by the priests and Levites, after they had purified themselves. This was probably done, judging from the analogy of 2 Chron. xxix. 20, by the offering of sin-offerings and burnt-offerings, according to some special ritual unknown to us, as sacrifices of purification and dedication. This was followed by the central-point of the solemnity, a procession of two bands of singers upon the wall (vers. 31-42).—Ver. 31. Nehemiah brought up the princes of Judah upon the wall, and appointed two great companies of those who gave thanks, and two processions. These went each upon the wall in different directions, and stopped opposite each other at the house of God. The princes of Judah are

the princes of the whole community,—Judah being used in the sense of יהודים, iii. 34. מַעַל לְחוֹמָה, upwards to the wall, so that they stood upon the wall. הָעֵמִיד, to place, *i.e.* to cause to take up a position, so that those assembled formed two companies or processions. תּוֹרָה, acknowledgment, praise, thanks, and then thankofferings, accompanied by the singing of psalms and thanksgivings. Hence is derived the meaning: companies of those who gave thanks, in vers. 31, 38, 40. וַתִּהְיוּ, *et processiones*, solemn processions, is added more closely to define תּוֹרָה. The company of those who gave thanks consisted of a number of Levitical singers, behind whom walked the princes of the people, the priests, and Levites. At the head of one procession went Ezra the scribe (ver. 36), with one half of the nobles; at the head of the second, Nehemiah with the other half (38). The one company and procession went to the right upon the wall. Before לִיָּמִין we must supply, “one band went” (הַתּוֹרָה הַיְּמָנִית הוֹלֶכֶת), as is evident partly from the context of the present verse, partly from ver. 38. These words were probably omitted by a clerical error caused by the similarity of הוֹלֶכֶת וַתִּהְיוּ. Thus the first procession went to the right, *i.e.* in a southerly direction, upon the wall towards the dung-gate (see rem. on iii. 14); the second, ver. 38, went over against the first (לְמֵאֵל), *i.e.* in an opposite direction, and therefore northwards, past the tower of the furnaces, etc. The starting-point of both companies and processions is not expressly stated, but may be easily inferred from the points mentioned, and can have been none other than the valley-gate, the present Jaffa gate (see rem. on ii. 13). Before a further description of the route taken by the first company, the individuals composing the procession which followed it are enumerated in vers. 32–36. After them, *i.e.* after the first company of them that gave thanks, went Hoshaiiah and half of the princes of Judah. Hoshaiiah was probably the chief of the one half of these princes. The seven names in vers. 33 and 34 are undoubtedly the names of the princes, and the ו before עֲרִיָּה is explicative: even, namely. Bertheau’s remark, “After the princes came the orders of priests, Azariah,” etc., is in-

correct. It is true that of these seven names, five occur as names of priests, and heads of priestly houses, viz.: Azariah, x. 3; Ezra, xii. 2; Meshullam, x. 8; Shemaiah, x. 9 and xii. 6; and Jeremiah, xii. 2. But even if these individuals were heads of priestly orders, their names do not here stand for their orders. Still less do Judah and Benjamin denote the half of the laity of Judah and Benjamin, as Bertheau supposes, and thence infers that first after the princes came two or three orders of priests, then half of the laity of Judah and Benjamin, and then two more orders of priests. Ver. 38, which is said to give rise to this view, by no means confirms it. It is true that in this verse הָעָם הַזֶּה, besides Nehemiah, are stated to have followed the company of those who gave thanks; but that הָעָם in this verse is not used to designate the people as such, but is only a general expression for the individuals following the company of singers, is placed beyond doubt by ver. 40, where הָעָם is replaced by הָעָם הַזֶּה; while, beside the half of the rulers, with Nehemiah, only priests with trumpets and Levites with stringed instruments (ver. 41) are enumerated as composing the second procession. Since, then, the priests with trumpets and Levites with musical instruments are mentioned in the first procession (vers. 35 and 36), the names enumerated in vers. 33 and 34 can be only those of the one half of the סִנְיִים of the people, *i.e.* the one half of the princes of Judah. The princes of Judah, *i.e.* of the Jewish community, consisted not only of laymen, but included also the princes, *i.e.* heads of priestly and Levitical orders; and hence priestly and Levitical princes might also be among the seven whose names are given in vers. 33 and 34. A strict severance, moreover, between lay and priestly princes cannot be made by the names alone; for these five names, which may designate priestly orders, pertain in other passages to laymen, viz.: Azariah, in iii. 23; Ezra, as of the tribe of Judah, 1 Chron. iv. 17; Meshullam, Neh. iii. 4, x. 21, and elsewhere; Shemaiah, Ezra vi. 13, x. 31, 1 Chron. iii. 22, iv. 37 (of Judah), v. 4 (a Reubenite), and other passages (this name being very usual; comp. Simonis *Onomast.* p. 546); Jeremiah, 1 Chron.

v. 24 (a Manassite), xii. 4 (a Benjamite), xii. 10 (a Gadite). Even the name Judah is met with among the priests (ver. 36), and among the Levites, ver. 8, comp. also xi. 9, and that of Benjamin, iii. 33 and Ezra x. 32. In the present verses, the two names are not those of tribes, but of individuals, *nomina duorum principum* (R. Sal.).—Ver. 35. The princes of the congregation were followed by certain “of the sons of the priests” (seven in number, to judge from ver. 41) with trumpets; also by Jonathan the son of Zechariah, who, as appears from the subsequent זַחַרְיָהוּ, was at the head of the Levitical musicians, *i.e.* the section of them that followed this procession. His brethren, *i.e.* the musicians of his section, are enumerated in ver. 36,—eight names being given, among which are a Shemaiah and a Judah. “With the musical instruments of David, the man of God:” comp. 2 Chron. xxix. 26; 1 Chron. xv. 16, xxiii. 5; Ezra iii. 10. “And Ezra the scribe before them,” viz. before the individuals enumerated from ver. 32, immediately after the company of those who gave thanks, and before the princes, like Nehemiah, ver. 38.—Ver. 37. After this insertion of the names of the persons who composed the procession, the description of the route it took is continued. From “upon the wall, toward the dung-gate (31), it passed on” to the fountain-gate; and נִגְרָם, before them (*i.e.* going straight forwards; comp. Josh. v. 6, 20, Amos iv. 3), they went up by the stairs of the city of David, the ascent of the wall, up over the house of David, even unto the water-gate eastward. These statements are not quite intelligible to us. The stairs of the city of David are undoubtedly “the stairs that lead down from the city of David” (iii. 15). These lay on the eastern slope of Zion, above the fountain-gate and the Pool of Siloam. הַמַּעֲלָה לְחֻמָּה might be literally translated “the ascent to the wall,” as by Bertheau, who takes the sense as follows: (The procession) went up upon the wall by the ascent formed by these steps at the northern part of the eastern side of Zion. According to this, the procession would have left the wall by the stairs at the eastern declivity of Zion, to go up upon the wall again by this ascent. There is, however, no reason for

this leaving of the wall, and that which Bertheau adduces is connected with his erroneous transposition of the fountain-gate to the place of the present dung-gate. *לְחוֹמָהּ* seems to be the part of the wall which, according to iii. 19, lay opposite the *עֵלֶת הַנֶּשֶׁק הַמִּקְצוּעַ*, a place on the eastern edge of Zion, where the wall was carried over an elevation of the ground, and where consequently was an ascent in the wall. Certainly this cannot be insisted upon, because the further statement *מֵעַל לְבֵית דָּוִד* is obscure, the preposition *לְ* admitting of various interpretations, and the situation of the house of David being uncertain. Bertheau, indeed, says: “*לְ* in the following words corresponds with *מֵעַל* before *לְבֵית דָּוִד*: a wall over the house of David is not intended; and the meaning is rather, that after they were come as far as the wall, they then passed over the house of David, *i.e.* the place called the house of David, even to the water-gate.” But the separation of *מֵעַל* from *לְבֵית דָּוִד* is decidedly incorrect, *לְ* being in the preceding and following passages always used in combination, and forming one idea; comp. ver. 31 (twice) and vers. 38 and 39. Hence it could scarcely be taken here in ver. 37 in a different sense from that which it has in 31 and 38. Not less objectionable is the notion that the house of David is here put for a place called the house of David, on which a palace of David formerly stood, and where perhaps the remains of an ancient royal building might still have been in existence. By the house of David is meant, either the royal palace built (according to Thenius) by Solomon at the north-eastern corner of Zion, opposite the temple, or some other building of David, situate south of this palace, on the east side of Zion. The former view is more probable than the latter. We translate *מֵעַל לְבֵית דָּ*, past the house of David. For, though *מֵעַל לְחוֹמָהּ* must undoubtedly be so understood as to express that the procession went upon the wall (which must be conceived of as tolerably broad), yet *מֵעַל לְמִגְדָּל*, ver. 38, can scarcely mean that the procession also went up over the tower which stood near the wall. In the case of the gates, too, *לְ* cannot mean over upon; for it is inconceivable that this solemn procession should have gone

over the roof of the gates; and we conclude, on the contrary, that it passed beside the gates and towers. Whether the route taken by the procession from the house of David to the water-gate in the east were straight over the ridge of Ophel, which ran from about the horse-gate to the water-gate, or upon the wall round Ophel, cannot be determined, the description being incomplete. After the house of David, no further information as to its course is given; its halting-place, the water-gate, being alone mentioned.

The route taken by the second company is more particularly described.—Vers. 38 and 39. “And the second company of them that gave thanks, which went over against, and which I and the (other) half of the people followed, (went) upon the wall past the tower of the furnaces, as far as the broad wall; and past the gate of Ephraim, and past the gate of the old (wall), and past the fish-gate, and past the tower Hananeel and the tower Hammeah, even to the sheep-gate: and then took up its station at the prison-gate.” לְמוֹאֵל (in this form with מ only here; elsewhere מוֹל, Dent. i. 1, or מוֹל), over against, opposite, *sc.* the first procession, therefore towards the opposite side, *i.e.* to the left; the first having gone to the right, *viz.* from the valley-gate northwards upon the northern wall. וַיָּאֵנִי אַחֲרֵיהֶם וְגו' (and I behind them) is a circumstantial clause, which we may take relatively. The order of the towers, the lengths of wall, and the gates, exactly answer to the description in chap. iii. 1–12, with these differences:—*a.* The description proceeds from the sheep-gate in the east to the valley-gate in the west; while the procession moved in the opposite direction, *viz.* from the valley-gate to the sheep-gate. *b.* In the description of the building of the wall, chap. iii., the gate of Ephraim is omitted (see rem. on iii. 8, p. 170). *c.* In the description, the prison-gate at which the procession halted is also unmentioned, undoubtedly for the same reason as that the gate of Ephraim is omitted, *viz.* that not having been destroyed, there was no need to rebuild it. שַׁעַר הַמִּצְרָה is translated, gate of the prison or watch: its position is disputed; but it can scarcely be doubted that הַמִּצְרָה is the court of the prison mentioned

iii. 25 (הַצֵּר הַמִּצְרָה), by or near the king's house. Starting from the assumption that the two companies halted or took up positions opposite each other, Hupfeld (in his before-cited work, p. 321) transposes both the court of the prison and the king's house to the north of the temple area, where the citadel, בִּירָה, *βῆρις*, was subsequently situated. But "this being forbidden," as Arnold objects (in his before-cited work, p. 628), "by the order in the description of the building of the wall, iii. 25, which brings us absolutely to the southern side," Bertheau supposes that the two processions which would arrive at the same moment at the temple,—the one from the north-east, the other from the south-east,—here passed each other, and afterwards halted opposite each other in such wise, that the procession advancing from the south-west stood on the northern side, and that from the north-west at the southern side of the temple area. This notion, however, having not the slightest support from the text, nor any reason appearing why the one procession should pass the other, it must be regarded as a mere expedient. In ver. 40 it is merely said, the two companies stood in the house of God; and not even that they stood opposite each other, the one on the north, the other on the south side of the temple. Thus they may have stood side by side, and together have praised the Lord. Hence we place the prison-gate also on the south-eastern corner of the temple area, and explain the name from the circumstance that a street ran from this gate over Ophel to the court of the prison near the king's house upon Zion, which, together with the gate to which it led, received its name from the court of the prison. Not far from the prison-gate lay the water-gate in the east, near which was an open space in the direction of the temple area (viii. 1). On this open space the two companies met, and took the direction towards the temple, entering the temple area from this open space, that they might offer their thank-offerings before the altar of burnt-offering (ver. 43). Besides, the remark upon the position of the two companies (ver. 40) anticipates the course of events, the procession following the second company being first described in vers. 40b-42. At the

end of ver. 40 the statement of ver. 38—I and the half of the people behind—is again taken up in the words: I and the half of the rulers with me. The סִנְיִים are, as in ver. 32, the princes of the congregation, who, with Nehemiah, headed the procession that followed the company of those who gave thanks. Then followed (ver. 41) seven priests with trumpets, whose names are given, answering to the sons of the priests with trumpets (ver. 36a) in the first procession. These names are all met with elsewhere of other persons. These were succeeded, as in ver. 36, by eight Levites—eight individuals, and not eight divisions (Bertheau). And the singers gave forth sound, *i.e.* of voices and instruments,—whether during the circuit or after the two companies had taken their places at the temple, is doubtful. The president of the Levitical singers was Jezrahiah.—Ver. 43. The solemnity terminated with the offering of great sacrifices and a general festival of rejoicing. In the matter of sacrificing, the person of Nehemiah would necessarily recede; hence he relates the close of the proceedings objectively, and speaks in the third person, as he had done when speaking of the preparations for them, ver. 27, etc., only using the first (vers. 31, 38, 40) person when speaking of what was appointed by himself, or of his own position. The זְבָחִים were chiefly thankofferings which, terminating in feasting upon the sacrifices,—and these feasts in which the women and children participated,—contributed to the enhancement of the general joy, the joy which God had given them by the success He had accorded to their work of building their wall. For a description of their rejoicing, comp. 2 Chron. xx. 27, Ezra vi. 22, and iii. 13.

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### III.—NEHEMIAH'S OPERATIONS DURING HIS SECOND SOJOURN IN JERUSALEM.—CHAP. XII. 44—XIII. 31.

The joint efforts of Nehemiah and Ezra succeeded both in restoring the enactments of the law for the performance and



maintenance of the public worship, and in carrying out the separation of the community from strangers, especially by the dissolution of unlawful marriages (xii. 44-xiii. 3). When Nehemiah, however, returned to the king at Babylon, in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, and remained there some time, the abuses which had been abolished were again allowed by the people. During Nehemiah's absence, Eliashib the priest prepared a chamber in the fore-court of the temple, as a dwelling for his son-in-law Tobiah the Ammonite. The delivery of their dues to the Levites (the first-fruits and tenths) was omitted, and the Sabbath desecrated by field-work and by buying and selling in Jerusalem; Jews married Ashdodite, Ammonitish, and Moabitish wives; even a son of the high priest Joiada allying himself by marriage with Sanballat the Hironite. All these illegal acts were energetically opposed by Nehemiah at his return to Jerusalem, when he strove both to purify the congregation from foreigners, and to restore the appointments of the law with respect to divine worship (xiii. 4-31).

The narration of these events and of the proceedings of Nehemiah in the last section of this book, is introduced by a brief summary (in chap. xii. 44-xiii. 3) of what was done for the ordering of divine worship, and for the separation of Israel from strangers; and this introduction is so annexed to what precedes, not only by the formula בָּיָמָא הַהוּא (xii. 44 and xiii. 1), but also by its contents, that it might be regarded as a summary of what Nehemiah had effected during his first stay at Jerusalem. It is not till the connective וְלִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ, "and before this" (xiii. 4), with which the recital of what occurred during Nehemiah's absence from Jerusalem, in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, begins, that we perceive that this description of the restored legal appointments relates not only to the time before the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, but applies also to that of Nehemiah's second stay at Jerusalem, and bears only the appearance of an introduction, being in fact a brief summary of all that Nehemiah effected both before and after the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes. This is a form of statement

which, as already remarked, p. 152, is to be explained by the circumstance that Nehemiah did not compile this narrative of his operations till the evening of his days.

Chap. xii. 44–xiii. 3. *The reformatations in worship and in social life effected by Nehemiah.*—Vers. 44–47. *Appointments concerning divine worship.* Ver. 44. And at that time were certain appointed over the chambers of store-places for the heave-offerings, the first-fruits, and the tenths, to gather into them, according to the fields of the cities, the portions appointed by the law for the priests and Levites. Though the definition of time *בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא* corresponds with the *בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא* of ver. 43, it is nevertheless used in a more general sense, and does not refer, as in ver. 43, to the day of the dedication of the wall, but only declares that what follows belongs chiefly to the time hitherto spoken of. *יוֹם* means, not merely a day of twelve or twenty-four hours, but very frequently stands for the time generally speaking at which anything occurs, or *certum quoddam temporis spatium*; and it is only from the context that we can perceive whether *יוֹם* is used in its narrower or more extended meaning. Hence *בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא* is often used in the historical and prophetic books, *de die*, or *de tempore modo memorato*, in contradistinction to *הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה*, the time present to the narrator; comp. 1 Sam. xxvii. 6, xxx. 25, and the discussion in Gesen. *Thes.* p. 369. That the expression refers in the present verse not to any particular day, but to the time in question generally, is obvious from the whole statement, vers. 44–47. *נִשְׁכּוֹת לְאֹצְרוֹת* are not chambers for the treasures, *i.e.* treasure-chambers; but both here and xiii. 12, *אֹצְרוֹת* signify places where stores are kept, magazines; hence: these are chambers for store-places for the heave-offerings, etc.; comp. x. 38–40. With respect to *נִשְׁכּוֹת*, see rem. on iii. 30. *לְשַׂרְי הָעָרִים*, according to the fields of the cities, according to the delivery of the tenth of the crop from the fields of the different cities. These contributions necessitated the appointment of individuals to have the care of the store-chambers; “for Judah rejoiced in the priests and the Levites who were ministering,” and therefore contributed willingly and abundantly “the portions of the law,”

*i.e.* the portions prescribed in the law. The form מְנָאוֹת is exchanged for מְנִיּוֹת, ver. 47 and xiii. 10. הָעֹמְדִים is a shorter expression for לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, Deut. x. 8: standing before the Lord, *i.e.* ministering.—Ver. 45. And they cared for the care of their God, etc.; *i.e.* they observed all that was to be observed, both with respect to God and with respect to purification, *i.e.* they faithfully and punctually performed their office. On שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת, see rem. on Gen. xxvi. 5 and Lev. viii. 35. “And (so also) the singers and doorkeepers,” *i.e.* they, too, observed the duties incumbent on them. This must be mentally supplied from the beginning of the verse. “According to the commandment of David and of Solomon his son;” comp. 2 Chron. viii. 14 and 1 Chron. xxiv. 26. ו must be inserted before שְׁלֹמֹה, as in the LXX. and Vulgate, after the analogy of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7 and xxxv. 4; for an asyndeton would be here too harsh. As ו is here omitted, so does it also appear superfluously before אֲסָף, ver. 46, probably by a clerical error. The verse can be only understood as saying: “for in the days of David, Asaph was of old chief of the singers, and of the songs of praise, and of the thanksgiving unto God.” ו before Asaph is here out of place; for to take it as introducing a conclusion: in the days of David, therefore, was Asaph . . . seems unnatural. The ו probably came into the text through a reminiscence of 2 Chron. xxix. 30 and xxxv. 15. The matter, however, of these passages is consistent with the naming of David *and* Asaph, while such a co-ordination is unsuitable in the present passage. The Masoretes have indeed attempted to make sense of the words by altering the singular רֹאשׁ into the plural רָאשִׁי; but the Keri רָאשִׁי is nothing more than a worthless conjecture, arising partly from the unsuitableness of ו before אֲסָף, and partly from the consideration that Henan and Ethan were, as well as Asaph, chiefs of bands of singers. Nehemiah, however, was not concerned in this passage about exactness of statement,—the mention of Asaph as chief of the singers being quite sufficient for the purpose of his remark, that from the times of David onward orders of singers had existed.—In ver. 47 this subject is concluded by the general

statement that all Israel, *i.e.* the whole community, in the days of Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, gave the portions prescribed in the law for the ministers of the sanctuary, singers, doorkeepers, Levites, and priests. מְקַדְּשִׁים, they were sanctifying, *i.e.* consecrating. הַקְדִּישׁ, to sanctify, said of the bringing of gifts and dues to the ministers of the sanctuary; comp. 1 Chron. xxvi. 27, Lev. xxvii. 14. On the matter itself, comp. x. 38 sq. and Num. xviii. 26–29.

Chap. xiii. 1–3. *Public reading of the law, and separation from strangers.*—Ver. 1. At a public reading of the law, it was found written therein, that no Ammonite or Moabite should come into the congregation of God, because they met not the children of Israel with bread and with water, but hired Balaam to curse them, though God turned the curse into a blessing. This command, found in Deut. xxiii. 4–6, is given in full as to matter, though slightly abbreviated as to form. The sing. יִשְׁכַּר relates to Balak king of Moab, Num. xxii. 2 sq., and the suffix of עָלָיו to Israel as a nation; see the explanation of Deut. xxiii. 4 sq.—Ver. 3. This law being understood, all strangers were separated from Israel. עָרֵב is taken from Ex. xii. 38, where it denotes the mixed multitude of non-Israelitish people who followed the Israelites at their departure from Egypt. The word is here transferred to strangers of different heathen nationalities living among the Israelites. The date of the occurrence here related cannot be more precisely defined from the בְּיוֹם הַהוּא. Public readings of the law frequently took place in those days, as is obvious from chap. viii. and ix., where we learn that in the seventh month the book of the law was publicly read, not only on the first and second days, but also daily during the feast of tabernacles, and again on the day of prayer and fasting on the twenty-fourth of the month. It appears, however, from לִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ, ver. 4, compared with ver. 6, that the reading vers. 1–3 took place in the interval between Nehemiah's first and second stay at Jerusalem. This view is not opposed by the facts mentioned vers. 4 sq. and 23 sq. The separation of the עָרֵב could not be carried out at once; and hence, notwithstanding repeated resolutions to sever them-

selves from strangers (ix. 2, x. 31), cases to the contrary might be discovered, and make fresh separations needful.

Vers. 4-31. *Nehemiah, on his return to Jerusalem, reforms the irregularities that had broken out during his absence.*—

Vers. 4-9. While Nehemiah was at Babylon with King Artaxerxes, Eliashib the high priest had given up to his relative, Tobiah the Ammonite (ii. 10, iii. 35, and elsewhere), a large chamber in the temple, i.e. in the fore-court of the temple (ver. 7), probably for his use as a dwelling when he visited Jerusalem (see rem. on ver. 8). On his return, Nehemiah immediately cast all the furniture of Tobiah out of this chamber, purified the chambers, and restored them to their proper use as a magazine for the temple stores. לְפָנַי כִּמְנָה, before this (comp. Ewald, § 315, c), refers to the before-mentioned separation of the עֲרֹב from Israel (ver. 3). Eliashib the priest is probably the high priest of that name (iii. 1, xii. 10, 22). This may be inferred from the particular: set over (he being set over) the chambers of the house of our God; for such oversight of the chambers of the temple would certainly be entrusted to no simple priest, though this addition shows that this oversight did not absolutely form part of the high priest's office. For נָתַן, in the sense of to set, to place over, comp. 1 Kings ii. 35; the construction with בָּ instead of עַל is, however, unusual, but may be derived from the local signification of בָּ, upon, over. Ewald and Bertheau are for reading לְשֹׁכֵת instead of the sing. לְשֹׁכֶת, because in ver. 5 it is not הַלְשֹׁכָה that is spoken of, but a large chamber. לְשֹׁכֵת may, however, be also understood collectively. Eliashib, being a relation of Tobiah (קָרוֹב like Ruth ii. 20), prepared him a chamber. The predicate of the sentence, ver. 4, follows in ver. 5 with וַיַּעַשׂ, in the form of a conclusion following the accessory sentence of the subject. How Tobiah was related to Eliashib is nowhere stated. Bertheau conjectures that it was perhaps only through the circumstance that Johanan, the son of Tobiah, had married a daughter of Meshullam ben Berechiah (vi. 18), who, according to iii. 30, was a priest or Levite, and might have been nearly related to the high priest. "A great chamber," perhaps made so by

throwing several chambers into one, as older expōsitors have inferred from ver. 9, according to which Nehemiah, after casting out the goods of Tobiah, had the chambers (plural) cleansed. The statement also in ver. 5*b*, that there (in this great chamber) were aforetime laid up not only the meat-offerings (*i.e.* oil and flour, the materials for them), the incense, and the sacred vessels, but also the tithe of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, and the heave-offerings of the priests, seems to confirm this view. This tenth is designated as מַצִּיּוֹת הַלֵּוִיִּם, the command of the Levites, *i.e.* what was apportioned to the Levites according to the law, the legal dues for which מִשְׁפָּט is elsewhere usual; comp. Deut. xviii. 3, 1 Sam. ii. 13. The heave-offering of the priest is the tenth of their tenth which the Levites had to contribute, x. 39.—Ver. 6. In all this, *i.e.* while this was taking place, I was not in Jerusalem; for in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes I went to the king, and after the lapse of some days I entreated the king (שָׁאַל) like 1 Sam. xx. 6, 28). What he entreated is not expressly stated; but it is obvious from what follows, “and I came to Jerusalem,” that it was permission to return to Judea. Even at his first journey to Jerusalem, Nehemiah only requested leave to make a temporary sojourn there, without giving up his post of royal cup-bearer; comp. ii. 5 sq. Hence, after his twelve years’ stay in Jerusalem, he was obliged to go to the king and remain some time at court, and then to beg for fresh leave of absence. How long he remained there cannot be determined,—לִקְצֵי יָמִים, after the lapse of days, denoting no definite interval; comp. Gen. iv. 3. The view of several expositors, that יָמִים means a year, is devoid of proof. The stay of Nehemiah at court must, as already remarked, p. 149, have lasted longer than a year, since so many illegal acts on the part of the community as Nehemiah on his return discovered to have taken place, could not have occurred in so short a time. Artaxerxes is here called king of Babylon, because the Persian kings had conquered the kingdom of Babylon, and by this conquest obtained dominion over the Jews. Nehemiah uses this title to express also the fact that he had travelled to

Babylon.—Ver. 7. At his return he directed his attention to the evil committed by Eliashib in preparing a chamber in the court of the temple (בְּיָדוֹ like Ezra viii. 15) for Tobiah. —Vers. 8, 9. This so greatly displeased him, that he cast out all the household stuff of Tobiah, and commanded the chamber to be purified, and the vessels of the house of God, the meat-offering and the frankincense, and probably the tenths and heave-offerings also, the enumeration being here only abbreviated, to be again brought into it. From the words *household* stuff, it appears that Tobiah used the chamber as a dwelling when he came from time to time to Jerusalem.

Vers. 10-14. The payment of dues to the Levites, and the delivery of the tenths and first-fruits, had also been omitted. —Ver. 10. "And I perceived that the portions of the Levites had not been given; and the Levites and singers who had to do the work, were fled every one to his field." The Levites, *i.e.* the assistants of the priests, the singers, and also the porters, who are not expressly mentioned in this passage, were accustomed to receive during the time of their ministry their daily portions of the tenths and first-fruits (xii. 47). When then these offerings were discontinued, they were obliged to seek their maintenance from the fields of the towns and villages in which they dwelt (xii. 28 sq.), and to forsake the service of the house of God. This is the meaning of the בָּרַח, to flee to the fields.—Ver. 11. "Then I contended with the rulers, and said, Why is the house of God forsaken?" It was the duty of the סִנְיִים, the heads of the community (comp. ii. 16), to see that the tithes, etc., were regularly brought to the house of God. Hence Nehemiah rebukes them by asking: Why is the house of God forsaken? *i.e.* through the non-delivery of the dues. On נִעְיַב, comp. x. 40. This rebuke made the impression desired. Nehemiah assembled the Levites and set them in their place (comp. ix. 3, 2 Chron. xxx. 16, xxxv. 10), *i.e.* he brought them back to the performance of their official duties, and (ver. 12) all Judah (the whole community) brought the tithe of the corn, etc., into the store-chambers of the temple; comp. x. 38 sq., 2 Chron. xi. 11.—Ver. 13. "And I ap-

pointed as managers of the stores (or storehouses, *i.e.* magazines) Shemaiah the priest," etc. **וְאֹצֵרָה**, Hiphil, for **אֹצֵרָה**, is a denominative from **אָצַר**, to set some one over the treasure. Whether Shemaiah and Zadok are the individuals of these names mentioned in iii. 30, 29, cannot be determined. Zadok is called a **סֹפֵר**, a writer or secretary, not a scribe in the Jewish sense of that word. A Pedaiah occurs viii. 4. **וְעַל יָדָם**, and at their hand Hanan, probably as an understeward. These four were placed in this position because they were esteemed faithful. **וְעָלִיתָם**, and it was (incumbent) on them (comp. 1 Chron. ix. 27, Ezra x. 12) to distribute to their brethren, *i.e.* to the priests and Levites, the portions due to them (ver. 10). Nehemiah concludes his account of this matter with the wish, that God may remember him concerning it (comp. v. 19), and not wipe out the kindnesses which he has shown to the house of God and its watches. **תִּמְחָה**, abbreviated from the Hiphil **תִּמְחָהוּ**, to cause to wipe out. **חֲסָדִים** like 2 Chron. xxxv. 26. **מִשְׁמָרִים** (this form occurring only here), properly watches, watch-posts, here the office of attending on the service of the temple.

Vers. 15–22. *Field-work and trading on the Sabbath done away with.*—Ver. 15. In those days, *i.e.* when he was occupied with the arrangements for worship, Nehemiah saw in Judah (in the province) some treading wine-presses on the Sabbath, and bringing in sheaves, and lading asses, and also wine, grapes, and figs, and all kinds of burdens, and bringing it to Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day. The **מִבְיָאִים** is again taken up by the second **וּמִבְיָאִים**, and more closely defined by the addition: to Jerusalem. Robinson describes an ancient wine-press in his *Biblical Researches*, p. 178. On **כָּל-מִשְׁאֵה**, comp. Jer. xvii. 21 sq. **וְאֶעֱיִר**, and I testified (against them), *i.e.* warned them on the day wherein they sold victuals. **צִיר**, food, victuals; Ps. cxxxii. 15, Josh. ix. 5, 14. He warned them no longer to sell victuals on the Sabbath-day. Bertheau, on the contrary, thinks that Nehemiah saw how the market people in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem started while it was still the Sabbath, not for the purpose of selling during that day, but for that of being early in the market



on the next day, or the next but one. The text, however, offers no support to such a notion. In ver. 16 it is expressly said that selling took place in Jerusalem on the Sabbath; and the very bringing thither of wine, grapes, etc., on the Sabbath, presupposes that the sale of these articles was transacted on that day.—Ver. 16. Tyrians also were staying therein, bringing fish and all kind of ware (מִכְרֵי), and sold it on the Sabbath to the sons of Judah and in Jerusalem. יָשַׁב is by most expositors translated, to dwell; but it is improbable that Tyrians would at that time dwell or settle at Jerusalem: hence יָשַׁב here means to sit, *i.e.* to stay awhile undisturbed, to tarry.—Vers. 17, 18. Nehemiah reproveth the nobles of Judah for this profanation of the Sabbath, reminding them how their fathers (forefathers) by such acts (as rebuked *e.g.* by Jeremiah, chap. xvii. 21 sq.) had brought upon the people and the city great evil, *i.e.* the misery of their former exile and present oppression; remarking in addition, “and ye are bringing more wrath upon Israel, profaning the Sabbath,” *i.e.* you are only increasing the wrath of God already lying upon Israel, by your desecration of the Sabbath. Comp. on the last thought, Ezra x. 10, 14. He also instituted measures for the abolition of this trespass.—Ver. 19. He commanded that the gates of Jerusalem should be closed when it began to be dark before the Sabbath, and not re-opened till the Sabbath was over. In the description of this measure the command and its execution are intermixed, or rather the execution is brought forward as the chief matter, and the command inserted therein. “And it came to pass, as soon as the gates of Jerusalem were dark (*i.e.* when it was dark in the gates) before the Sabbath, I commanded, and the gates were shut; and I commanded that they should not be opened till after the Sabbath,” *i.e.* after sunset on the Sabbath-day. צָלָל, in the sense of to grow dark, occurs in Hebrew only here, and is an Aramæan expression. Nehemiah also placed some of his servants at the gates, that no burdens, *i.e.* no wares, victuals, etc., might be brought in on the Sabbath. אִשְׁרָ is wanting before לֹא יָבֹא; the command is directly alluded to, and, with

the command, must be supplied before **לֹא יָבוֹא**. The placing of the watch was necessary, because the gates could not be kept strictly closed during the whole of the day, and ingress and egress thus entirely forbidden to the inhabitants.—Ver. 20. Then the merchants and sellers of all kinds of ware remained throughout the night outside Jerusalem, once and twice. Thus, because egress from the city could not be refused to the inhabitants, the rest of the Sabbath was broken outside the gates. Nehemiah therefore put an end to this misdemeanour also.—Ver. 21. He warned the merchants to do this no more, threatening them: “If you do (this) again (*i.e.* pass the night before the walls), I will lay hands on you,” *i.e.* drive you away by force. The form **לָיִים** for **לָיִים** occurs only here as a “semi-passive” formation; comp. Ewald, § 151, *b*. From that time forth they came no more on the Sabbath.—Ver. 22. A further measure taken by Nehemiah for the sanctification of the Sabbath according to the law, is so briefly narrated, that it does not plainly appear in what it consisted. “I commanded the Levites that they should cleanse themselves, and they should come keep the gates to sanctify the Sabbath-day.” The meaning of the words **בָּאִים שְׁמֵרִים הַשְּׁעָרִים** is doubtful. The Masoretes have separated **בָּאִים** from **שְׁמֵרִים** by Sakeph; while de Wette, Bertheau, and others combine these words: and that they should come to the keepers of the doors. This translation cannot be justified by the usage of the language; for **בֹּא** with an accusative of the person occurs only, as may be proved, in prophetic and poetical diction (Job xx. 22; Prov. x. 24; Isa. xli. 25; Ezek. xxxii. 11), and then in the sense of to come upon some one, to surprise him, and never in the meaning of to come or go to some one. Nor does this unjustifiable translation give even an appropriate sense. Why should the Levites go to the doorkeepers to sanctify the Sabbath? Bertheau thinks it was for the purpose of solemnly announcing to the doorkeepers that the holy day had begun, or to advertise them by some form of consecration of its commencement. This, however, would have been either a useless or unmeaning ceremony. Hence we must relinquish this connection of

the words, and either combine שְׁמָרִים הַשְּׁעָרִים as an asyndeton with בָּאִים : coming and watching the gates, or : coming as watchers of the gates; and then the measure taken would consist in the appointment of certain Levites to keep the gates on the Sabbath, as well as the ordinary keepers, thus consecrating the Sabbath as a holy day above ordinary days. Nehemiah concludes the account of the abolition of this irregularity, as well as the preceding, by invoking a blessing upon himself; comp. rem. on ver. 14. הוֹסֵפָה עָלַי like Joel ii. 17.

Vers. 23-29. *Marriages with foreign wives dissolved.*—Vers. 23 and 24. "In those days I also saw, *i.e.* visited, the Jews who had brought home Ashdodite, Ammonite, and Moabite wives; and half of their children spoke the speech of Ashdod, because they understood not how to speak the Jews' language, and according to the speech of one and of another people." It is not said, I saw Jews; but, the Jews who . . . Hence Bertheau rightly infers, that Nehemiah at this time found an opportunity of seeing them, perhaps upon a journey through the province. From the circumstance, too, that a portion of the children of these marriages were not able to speak the language of the Jews, but spoke the language of Ashdod, or of this or that nation from which their mothers were descended, we may conclude with tolerable certainty, that these people dwelt neither in Jerusalem nor in the midst of the Jewish community, but on the borders of the nations to which their wives belonged. הוֹשִׁיב like Ezra x. 2. וּבְנֵיהֶם precedes in an absolute sense: and as for their children, one half (of them) spake. יְהוּדִית (comp. 2 Kings xviii. 26, Isa. xxxvi. 11, 2 Chron. xxxii. 18) is the language of the Jewish community, the vernacular Hebrew. The sentence וְכָל־שׂוֹן עִם וְעַם is an explanatory parenthesis, still depending upon מְדַבֵּר : spake according to the language, *i.e.* spake the language, of this and that people (of their mothers). The speech of Ashdod is that of the Philistines, which, according to Hitzig (*Urgeschichte u. Mythol. der Philistäer*), belonged to the Indo-Germanic group. The languages, however, of the Moabites and Ammonites were

undoubtedly Shemitic, but so dialectically different from the Hebrew, that they might be regarded as foreign tongues. —Ver. 25. With these people also Nehemiah contended (בָּאֲרִיב like vers. 11 and 17), cursed them, smote certain of their men, and plucked off their hair (כָּרַט, see rem. on Ezra ix. 3), and made them swear by God: Ye shall not give your daughters, etc.; comp. x. 31. On the recurrence of such marriages after the separations effected by Ezra of those existing at his arrival at Jerusalem, comp. the remark, p. 135 sq. Nehemiah did not insist on the immediate dissolution of these marriages, but caused the men to swear that they would desist from such connections, setting before them, in ver. 26, how grievous a sin they were committing. “Did not Solomon, king of Israel, sin on account of these?” (עַל אֲלֵהָם, on account of strange wives). And among many nations there was no king like him (comp. 1 Kings iii. 12 sq., 2 Chron. i. 12); and he was beloved of his God (alluding to 2 Sam. xii. 24), and God made him king over all Israel (1 Kings iv. 1); and even him did foreign women cause to sin (comp. 1 Kings xi. 1–3). “And for you is it heard to do (that ye do) all this great evil, to transgress against our God, and to marry strange wives?” Bertheau thus rightly understands the sentence: “If the powerful King Solomon was powerless to resist the influence of foreign wives, and if he, the beloved God, found in his relation to God no defence against the sin to which they seduced him, is it not unheard of for you to commit so great an evil?” He also rightly explains הִיָּשָׁמַע according to Deut. ix. 32; while Gesenius in his *Thes.* still takes it, like Rambach, as the first person imperf.: *nobisne morem geramus faciendo*; or: Should we obey you to do so great an evil? (de Wette); which meaning—apart from the consideration that not obedience, but only toleration of the illegal act, is here in question—greatly weakens, if it does not quite destroy, the contrast between Solomon and לָכֵן.—Ver. 28. Nehemiah acted with greater severity towards one of the sons of Joiada the high priest, and son-in-law of Sanballat. He drove him from him (מֵעָלָיו, that he might not be a burden to me). The reason for

this is not expressly stated, but is involved in the fact that he was son-in-law to Sanballat, *i.e.* had married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite (ii. 10), who was so hostile to Nehemiah and to the Jewish community in general, and would not comply with the demand of Nehemiah that he should dismiss this wife. In this case, Nehemiah was obliged to interfere with authority. For this marriage was a pollution of the priesthood, and a breach of the covenant of the priesthood and the Levites. Hence he closes the narrative of this occurrence with the wish, ver. 29, that God would be mindful of them (מִן־הָעֲוֹנוֹת, of those who had done such evil) on account of this pollution, etc., *i.e.* would punish or chastise them for it. מִן־הָעֲוֹנוֹת, *stat. constr. pl.* from מִן־הָעֲוֹנוֹת, pollution (*plurale tant.*). It was a pollution of the priesthood to marry a heathen woman, such marriage being opposed to the sacredness of the priestly office, which a priest was to consider even in the choice of a wife, and because of which he might marry neither a whore, nor a feeble nor a divorced woman, while the high priest might marry only a virgin of his own people (Lev. xxi. 7, 14). The son of Joiada who had married a daughter of Sanballat was not indeed his presumptive successor (Johanan, xii. 11), for then he would have been spoken of by name, but a younger son, and therefore a simple priest; he was, however, so nearly related to the high priest, that by his marriage with a heathen woman the holiness of the high-priestly house was polluted, and therewith also "the covenant of the priesthood," *i.e.* not the covenant of the everlasting priesthood which God granted to Phinehas for his zeal (Num. xxv. 13), but the covenant which God concluded with the tribe of Levi, the priesthood, and the Levites, by choosing the tribe of Levi, and of that tribe Aaron and his descendants, to be His priest (לְכֹהֲנֵי לֵוִי, Ex. xxviii. 1). This covenant required, on the part of the priests, that they should be "holy to the Lord" (Lev. xxi. 6, 8), who had chosen them to be ministers of His sanctuary and stewards of His grace.

Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 7. 2) relates the similar fact, that Manasseh, a brother of the high priest Jaddua, married

Nikaso, a daughter of the satrap Sanballat, a Cuthite; that when the Jewish authorities on that account excluded him from the priesthood, he established, by the assistance of his father-in-law, the temple and worship on Mount Gerizim (xi. 8. 2-4), and that many priests made common cause with him. Now, though Josephus calls this Manasseh a brother of Jaddua, thus making him a grandson of Joiada, and transposing the establishment of the Samaritan worship on Gerizim to the last years of Darius Codomannus and the first of Alexander of Macedon, it can scarcely be misunderstood that, notwithstanding these discrepancies, the same occurrence which Nehemiah relates in the present verses is intended by Josephus. The view of older theologians, to which also Petermann (art. Samaria in Herzog's *Realenc.* xiii. p. 366 sq.) assents, that there were two Sanballats, one in the days of Nehemiah, the other in the time of Alexander the Great, and that both had sons-in-law belonging to the high-priestly family, is very improbable; and the transposition of the fact by Josephus to the times of Darius Codomannus and Alexander accords with the usual and universally acknowledged incorrectness of his chronological combinations. He makes, *e.g.*, Nehemiah arrive at Jerusalem in the twenty-fifth year of Xerxes, instead of the twentieth of Artaxerxes, while Xerxes reigned only twenty years.

Vers. 30 and 31. Nehemiah concludes his work with a short summary of what he had effected for the community. "I cleansed them from all strangers" (comp. ver. 23 sq., ix. 2, xiii. 1 sq.), "and appointed the services for the priests and Levites, each in his business, and for the wood-offering at times appointed (x. 35), and for the first-fruits" (x. 36 sq.). The suffix to *וּמִתְהַרְתִּים* refers to the Jews. *גִּבֹּר*, strange, means foreign heathen customs, and chiefly marriages with heathen women, ver. 23 sq., ix. 2, xiii. 1. *הָעֵמִיד מִשְׁמָרוֹת*, properly to set a watch, here used in the more general sense of to appoint posts of service for the priests and Levites, *i.e.* to arrange for the attendance upon those offices which they had to perform at their posts in the temple, according to the law; comp. x. 37, 40, xii. 44-46, xiii. 13. *וּלְקִרְבָּן* and

וְלַבְבָּרִים, ver. 31, still depend on מִשְׁמֶרֶת מִשְׁמֶרֶת : I appointed the attendance for the delivery of the wood for the altar at appointed times (comp. x. 35), and for the first-fruits, *i.e.* for bringing into the sanctuary the heave-offering for the priests. The בְּבָרִים are named as *pars pro toto*, instead of all the תְּרוּמֹת prescribed by the law. On the arrangements connected with these two subjects, viz. the purification from heathen practices, and the restoration of the regular performance of divine worship, was Nehemiah's whole energy concentrated, after the fortification of Jerusalem by a wall of circumvallation had been completed. He thus earned a lasting claim to the gratitude of the congregation of his fellow-countrymen that returned from Babylon, and could conclude his narrative with the prayer that God would remember him for good. On this frequently-repeated supplication (comp. vers. 14, 22, and v. 19) Rambach justly remarks : *magnam Nehemiæ pietatem spirat*. This piety is, however—as we cannot fail also to perceive—strongly pervaded by the legal spirit of post-Babylonian Judaism.





THE BOOK OF ESTHER.



# THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

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## § I. NAME, CONTENTS, OBJECT, AND UNITY OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER.



HIS book bears the name of **מִגֶּלֶת אֶסְתֵּר** or **אֶסְתֵּר**, book of Esther, also briefly that of **מִגֶּלֶת** with the Rabbis, from Esther the Jewess, afterwards raised to the rank of queen, to whom the Jews were indebted for their deliverance from the destruction with which they were threatened, as related in this book.

Its contents are as follows :—Ahashverosh, king of Persia, gave, in the third year of his reign, a banquet to the grandees of his kingdom at Susa; and on the seventh day of this feast, when his heart was merry with wine, required the Queen Vashti to appear before his guests and show her beauty. When she refused to come at the king's commandment, she was divorced, at the proposal of his seven counsellors; and this divorce was published by an edict throughout the whole kingdom, lest the example of the queen should have a bad effect upon the obedience of other wives to their husbands (chap. i.). When the king, after his wrath was appeased, began again to feel a tenderness towards his divorced wife, the most beautiful virgins in the whole kingdom were, at the advice of his servants, brought to the house of the women at Susa, that the king might choose a wife at his pleasure. Among these virgins was Esther the Jewess, the foster-daughter and near relative of Mordochai, a Benjamite living in exile, who, when brought before the king, after the customary preparation, so pleased him, that he chose her for his queen. Her intercourse with Mordochai continued after her reception into the royal palace; and

during his daily visits in the gate of the palace, he discovered a conspiracy against the life of the king, and thus rendered him an important service (chap. ii.). Ahashverosh afterwards made Haman, an Agagite, his prime minister or grand vizier, and commanded all the king's servants to pay him royal honours, *i.e.* to bow down before him. When this was refused by Mordochai, Haman's indignation was so great, that he resolved to destroy all the Jews in the whole empire. For this purpose he appointed, by means of the lot, both the month and day; and obtained from the king permission to prepare an edict to all the provinces of the kingdom, appointing the thirteenth day of the twelfth month for the extermination of the Jews throughout the whole realm (chap. iii.). Mordochai apprised Queen Esther of this cruel command, and so strongly urged her to apply to the king on behalf of her people, that she resolved, at the peril of her life, to appear before him unbidden. When she was so favourably received by him, that he promised beforehand to grant whatever she had to request, even to the half of his kingdom, she first entreated that the king and Haman should eat with her that day. During the repast, the king inquired concerning her request, and she answered that she would declare it on the following day, if the king and Haman would again eat with her (iv. 1-8). Haman, greatly elated at this distinction, had the mortification, on his departure from the queen, of beholding Mordochai, who did not rise up before him, in the gate of the palace; and returning to his house, formed, by the advice of his wife and friends, the resolution of hanging Mordochai next day upon a gallows; for which purpose he immediately caused a tree fifty cubits high to be prepared (v. 9-14). Next night, however, the king, being unable to sleep, caused the records of the kingdom to be read to him, and was thereby reminded of the obligation he was under to Mordochai. When, on this occasion, he learnt that Mordochai had as yet received no reward for this service, he sent for Haman, who had resorted thus early to the court of the palace for the purpose of obtaining the royal permission for the execution of Mordochai, and

asked him what should be done to the man whom the king desired to honour. Haman, thinking this honour concerned himself, proposed the very highest, and was by the king's command obliged, to his extreme mortification, himself to pay this honour to Mordochai, his wife and friends interpreting this occurrence as an omen of his approaching ruin (vi.). When the king and Haman afterwards dined with Esther, the queen begged for her life and that of her people, and pointed to Haman as the enemy who desired to exterminate the Jews. Full of wrath at this information, the king went into the garden of the palace; while Haman, remaining in the room, fell at the feet of the queen to beg for his life. When the king, returning to the banquet chamber, saw Haman lying on the queen's couch, he thought he was offering violence to the queen, passed sentence of death upon him, caused him to be hanged upon the gallows he had erected for Mordochai (vii.), and on the same day gave his house to the queen, and made Mordochai his prime minister in the place of Haman (viii. 1, 2). Hereupon Esther earnestly entreated the reversal of Haman's edict against the Jews; and since, according to the laws of the Medes and Persians, an edict issued by the king and sealed with the seal-royal could not be repealed, the king commanded Mordochai to prepare and publish throughout the whole kingdom another edict, whereby the Jews were permitted, to their great joy and that of many other inhabitants of the realm (viii. 3-17), not only to defend themselves against the attacks of their enemies on the appointed day, but also to kill and plunder them. In consequence of this, the Jews assembled on the appointed day to defend their lives against their adversaries; and being supported by the royal officials, through fear of Mordochai, they slew in Susa 500, and in the whole kingdom 75,000 men, besides 300 more in Susa on the day following, but did not touch the goods of the slain. They then celebrated in Susa the fifteenth, and in the rest of the kingdom the fourteenth, day of the month Adar, as a day of feasting and gladness (ix. 1-19). Hereupon Mordochai and Queen Esther sent letters to all the Jews in the kingdom, in which

they ordered the yearly celebration of this day, by the name of the feast of Purim, *i.e.* lots, because Haman had cast lots concerning the destruction of the Jews (ix. 20–32). In conclusion, the documents in which are described the acts of Ahashverosh and the greatness of Mordochai, who had exerted himself for the good of his people, are pointed out (chap. x.).

From this glance at its contents, it is obvious that the *object* of this book is to narrate the events in remembrance of which the feast of Purim was celebrated, and to transmit to posterity an account of its origin. The aim of the entire contents of this book being the institution of this festival, with which it concludes, there can be no reasonable doubt of its *integrity*, which is also generally admitted. Bertheau, however, after the example of J. D. Michaelis, has declared the sections ix. 20–28 and 29–32 to be later additions, incapable of inclusion in the closely connected narrative of chap. i.–ix. 19, and regards chap. x. as differing from it both in matter and language. The sections in question are said to be obviously distinct from the rest of the book. But all that is adduced in support of this assertion is, that the words קִיַּם, to institute (ix. 21, 27, 29, 31), בָּרָא, to come to an end, to cease (ix. 28), the plural צִוְמוֹת, fasts (ix. 31), and an allusion to the decree in a direct manner, occur only in these sections. In such a statement, however, no kind of consideration is given to the circumstance that there was no opportunity for the use of קִיַּם בָּרָא and the plur. צִוְמוֹת in the other chapters. Hence nothing remains but the direct introduction of the decree, which is obviously insufficient to establish a peculiarity of language. Still weaker is the proof offered of diversity of matter between ix. 20–32 and chap. i.–ix. 19; Bertheau being unable to make this appear in any way, but by wrongly attributing to the word קִיַּם the meaning: to confirm a long-existing custom.

## § II. HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

The feast of Purim is mentioned, 2 Macc. xv. 36, under the name of *Μαρδοχαϊκή ἡμέρα*, as a festival existing in the

time of Nicanor (about 160 B.C.); and Josephus tells us, *Ant.* xi. 6. 13, that it was kept by the Jews during a whole week. Now the institution of this festival must have been based upon an historical event similar to that related in this book. Hence even this is sufficient to show that the assertion of Semler, Oeder, and others, that this book contains a fictitious parable (*confictam esse universam parabolam*), is a notion opposed to common sense. For if this festival has been from of old celebrated by the Jews all over the world, it must owe its origin to an occurrence which affected the whole Jewish people, and the names Purim and Mordochai's day are a pledge, that the essential contents of this book are based upon an historical foundation. The name Purim (*i.e.* lots), derived from the Persian, can be suitably explained in no other manner than is done in this book, viz. by the circumstance that lots were cast on the fate of the Jews by a Persian official, who contemplated their extermination, for the purpose of fixing on a favourable day for this act; while the name, Mordochai's day, preserves the memory of the individual to whom the Jews were indebted for their deliverance. Hence all modern critics admit, that at least an historical foundation is thus guaranteed, while a few doubt the strictly historical character of the whole narrative, and assert that while the feast of Purim was indeed celebrated in remembrance of a deliverance of the Jews in the Persian empire, it was the existence of this festival, and the accounts given by those who celebrated it, which gave rise to the written narrative of the history of Esther (thus Bertheau). On the other hand, the historical character of the whole narrative has been defended not only by Hävernicks (*Einl.*), M. Baumgarten (*de fide libri Estheræ*, 1839), and others, but also, and upon valid grounds, by Staehelin (*spez. Einl. in die kanon. BB. des A. T.* § 51 sq.). The objections that have been raised to its credibility have arisen, first from the habit of making subjective probability the standard of historical truth, and next from an insufficient or imperfect attention to the customs, manners, and state of affairs at the Persian court on the one hand, or an incorrect view of the meaning

of the text on the other. When, *e.g.*, Bertheau as well as Bleek (*Einleit.* p. 286) says, "The whole is of such a nature that the unprejudiced observer cannot easily regard it as a purely historical narrative," Cleric. (*dissert. de scriptoribus librr. hist.* § 10) far more impartially and correctly decides: *Mirabilis sane est et παράδοξος (quis enim neget?) historia, sed multa mirabilia et a moribus nostris aliena olim apud orientales ut apud omnes alios populos contigerunt.* The fact that King Ahashverosh should grant his grand vizier Haman permission to publish an edict commanding the extermination of the Jews throughout his empire, is not challenged by either Bleek or Bertheau; and, indeed, we need not go so far as the despotic states of the East to meet with similar occurrences; the Parisian massacre of St. Bartholomew being a sufficient proof that the apparently incredible may be actual reality.<sup>1</sup> And all the other statements of this book, however seemingly unaccountable to us, become conceivable when we consider the character of King Ahashverosh, *i.e.*, as is now generally admitted, of Xerxes, who is described by Greek and Roman historians as a very luxurious, voluptuous, and at the same time an extremely cruel tyrant. A despot who, after his army had been hospitably entertained on its march to Greece, and an enormous sum offered towards defraying the expenses of the war, by Pythius the rich Lydian, could be betrayed into such fury by the request of the latter, that of his

<sup>1</sup> Rosenmüller (*bibl. Altertumsk.* i. 1, p. 379) calls to mind Mithridates king of Pontus, who, when at war with the Romans, secretly issued an order to all the satraps and local authorities of his realm, to assassinate all Romans, without distinction of age or sex, on an appointed day, in consequence of which 80,000 perished on one day; also the pasha of Zaid Mehmed in the sixteenth century, who surprised the nation of the Druses, and put to death all whom he met with (comp. Arvieux, *merkw. Nachr.* i. p. 391); and then continues: "It is almost more incredible that a ruler should, from the blindness of religious zeal, either execute or drive out of his realm 100,000 of his most diligent and prosperous subjects; yet the history of modern Europe offers us, in Ferdinand the Catholic, who chased 300,000 Jews from Spain, and Louis XIV., who, after putting some thousands of Protestants to death, banished hundreds of thousands from France, examples of such incredible events."



five sons who were in the army the eldest might be released, to be the comfort of his declining years, as to command this son to be hewn into two pieces, and to make his army pass between them (Herod. vii. c. 37-39; Seneca, *de ira*, vii. 17); a tyrant who could behead the builders of the bridge over the Hellespont, because a storm had destroyed the bridge, and command the sea to be scourged, and to be chained by sinking a few fetters (Herod. vii. 35); a debauchee who, after his return from Greece, sought to drive away his vexation at the shameful defeat he had undergone, by revelling in sensual pleasures (Herod. ix. 108 sq.); so frantic a tyrant was capable of all that is told us in the book of Esther of Ahashverosh.

Bleek's objections to the credibility of the narrative consist of the following points: *a.* That it is inconceivable that if the Persian despot had formed a resolution to exterminate all the Jews in his kingdom, he would, even though urged by a favourite, have proclaimed this by a royal edict published throughout all the provinces of his kingdom twelve months previously. In advancing this objection, however, Bleek has not considered that Haman cast lots for the appointment of the day on which his project was to be carried into execution; the Persians being, according to Herod. iii. 128, Cyrop. i. 6. 46, frequently accustomed to resort to the lot; while not only in Strabo's time, but to the present day also, everything is with them decided according to the dicta of soothsayers and astrologers. If, then, the lot had declared the day in question to be a propitious one for the matter contemplated, the haughty Haman would not reflect that the premature publication of the edict would afford a portion of the Jews the opportunity of escaping destruction by flight. Such reflections are inconsistent with absolute confidence in the power of magical decisions; and even if what was possible had ensued, he would still have attained his main object of driving the Jews out of the realm, and appropriating their possessions.—*b.* That at *this* time Judea, which was then almost wholly reinhabited by Jews, was among the provinces of Persia; and that hence the king's edict commanded the

extermination of almost all the population of that country. This, he says, it is difficult to believe; and not less so, that when the first edict was not repealed, the second, which granted the Jews permission to defend themselves against their enemies, should have resulted everywhere in such success to the Jews, even though, from fear of Mordochai the new favourite, they were favoured by the royal officials, that all should in all countries submit to them, and that they should kill 75,000 men, equally with themselves subjects of the king. To this it may be replied: that Judea was, in relation to the whole Persian realm, a very unimportant province, and in the time of Xerxes, as is obvious from the book of Ezra, by no means "almost wholly," but only very partially, inhabited by Jews, who were, moreover, regarded with such hostility by the other races dwelling among them, that the execution of the decree cannot appear impossible even here. With regard to the result of the second edict, the slaughter of 75,000 men, this too is perfectly comprehensible. For since, according to Medo-Persian law, the formal repeal of a royal edict issued according to legal form was impracticable, the royal officials would understand the sense and object of the second, and not trouble themselves much about the execution of the first, but, on the contrary, make the second published by Mordochai, who was at that time the highest dignitary in the realm, their rule of action for the purpose of ensuring his favour. Round numbers, moreover, of the slain are evidently given; *i.e.* they are given upon only approximate statements, and are not incredibly high, when the size and population of the kingdom are considered. The Persian empire, in its whole extent from India to Ethiopia, must have contained a population of at least 100,000,000, and the number of Jews in the realm must have amounted to from two to three millions. A people of from two to three millions would include, moreover, at least from 500,000 to 700,000 capable of bearing arms, and these might in battle against their enemies slay 75,000 men. Susa, the capital, would not have been less than the Stamboul of the present day, and would probably contain at least

half a million of inhabitants; and it by no means surpasses the bounds of probability, that in such a town 500 men should be slain in one day, and 300 more on the following, in a desperate street fight. Nor can the numbers stated be looked upon as too high a computation. The figures are only rendered improbable by the notion, that the Jews themselves suffered no loss at all. Such an assumption, however, is by no means justified by the circumstance, that such losses are unmentioned. It is the general custom of the scriptural historians to give in their narratives of wars and battles only the numbers of the slain among the vanquished foes, and not to mention the losses of the victors. We are justified, however, in supposing that the war was of an aggravated character, from the fact that it bore not only a national, but also a religious character. Haman's wrath against Mordochai was so exasperated by the information that he was a Jew, that he resolved upon the extermination of the people of Mordochai, *i.e.* of all the Jews in the realm (iii. 4-6). To obtain the consent of the king, he accused the Jews as a scattered and separated people, whose laws were different from the laws of all other nations, of not observing the laws of the king. This accusation was, "from the standpoint of Parseeism, the gravest which could have been made against the Jews" (Haev. *Einl.* ii. 1, p. 348). The separation of the Jews from all other people, a consequence of the election of Israel to be the people of God, has at all times inflamed and nourished the hatred of the Gentiles and of the children of this world against them. This hatred, which was revived by the edict of Haman, could not be quenched by the counter-edict of Mordochai. Though this edict so inspired the royal officials with fear of the powerful minister, that they took part with, instead of against the Jews, yet the masses of the people, and especially the populations of towns, would not have paid such respect to it as to restrain their hatred against the Jews. The edict of Mordochai did not forbid the execution of that of Haman, but only allowed the Jews to stand up for their lives, and to slay such enemies as should attack them (viii. 11). The heathen were not thereby restrained from under-

taking that fight against the Jews, in which they were eventually the losers.—When, however, *c.* Bleek finds it “utterly unnatural” that, after the Jews had slain 500 of their foes in one day in Susa, the king should, at the request of Esther, whose vengeance and thirst of blood were not yet appeased, have granted an edict that the slaughter should be renewed on the following day, when no attack upon the Jews was permitted, his objection rests upon a sheer misunderstanding of the whole affair. The queen only requested that “it should be granted to the Jews in Susa to do to-morrow also, according to the decree of to-day” (ix. 13), *i.e.* “to stand for their lives, and slay all who should assault them” (viii. 11). This petition presupposes that the heathen population of Susa would renew the attack upon the Jews on the next day. Hence it is evident that Bleek’s assertion, that the heathen were not allowed on that day to renew their attack upon the Jews, is an erroneous notion, and one at variance with the text. Together with this erroneous assumption, the reproach of vengeance and bloodthirstiness raised against Esther is also obviated. Her foresight in securing the lives of her people against renewed attacks, betrays neither revenge nor cruelty. Unless the heathen population had attacked the Jews on the second day, the latter would have had no opportunity of slaying their foes. How little, too, the Jews in general were influenced by a desire of vengeance, is shown by the fact so repeatedly brought forward, that they laid not their hand on the spoil of the slain (ix. 9, 15), though this was granted them by the royal edict (viii. 11).—*d.* Bleek’s remaining objections are based partly upon misrepresentations of the state of affairs, and partly upon erroneous notions of Eastern customs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* the remark that, though *all* Susa was thrown into consternation by the edict of Haman, it rejoiced greatly at the second; where Bleek has inserted *all* to make the matter appear incredible by exaggeration. In the text we only read “the city of Susa was perplexed” (iii. 15), “the city of Susa rejoiced and was glad” (viii. 15); *i.e.*, in the city of Susa there was in the one instance perplexity, in the other rejoicing. Also that the king published a special decree in all the provinces of his kingdom, that every man should be master in his own house,—a misin-

If, then, all the objections raised against the credibility of the narrative may be thus disposed of, we are perfectly justified in adhering to a belief in the historical character of the whole book, since even Bleek cannot deny, that some at least of "the customs and arrangements of the Persian court are both vividly and faithfully depicted." To this must be added the statement of the names of the individuals who take part in the narrative, *e.g.* the courtiers, i. 10; the seven princes of Persia, i. 14; the keeper of the women's houses, ii. 8 and 14; the ten sons of Haman, ix. 7-9, and others; and the reference to the book of the chronicles of the Medes and Persians, as the documents in which not only the acts of Ahashverosh, but also the greatness of Mordochai, were written (x. 2). As the numerous and otherwise wholly unknown names could not possibly be invented, so neither can the reference to the book of the chronicles be a mere literary fiction. When, therefore, Bertheau thinks, that the writer of this book, by thus bringing forward so many small details, by stating the names of otherwise unknown individuals, and especially by giving so much accurate information concerning Persian affairs and institutions,—the correctness of which is in all respects confirmed both by the statements of classical authors and our present increased knowledge of Oriental matters,—certainly proves himself acquainted with the scene in which the narrative takes place, with Persian names and affairs, but not possessed also of an historical knowledge of the actual course of events; we can perceive

interpretation of the passage i. 22; see the explanation of this verse. Finally, the difficulty that Esther, as queen-consort, should have concealed her nationality so long as is stated in the narrative, can exist only for those unacquainted with the state of affairs in the harem of an Oriental prince. The Persian monarchs, who had a fresh concubine for each day, would certainly be ignorant of the descent of each; and though, according to Herod. iii. 84, the queens were generally of the race of the Achæmenides, yet the same historian also relates (iii. 31) of Cambyses, that the royal *δικασταί* declared to him, with respect to his marriage with a sister, that: τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποίειν τὸ ἄν βούληται. The case, too, of a concubine being raised to the rank of queen by a Persian monarch is not inconceivable.

in this last inference only the unsupported decision of a subjectivistic antipathy to the contents of the book.

### § III. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

No certain information concerning the *author* of this book is obtainable. The talmudic statement in *Baba bathr.* 15. 1, that it was written by the men of the Great Synagogue, is devoid of historical value; and the opinion of Clem. Al., Aben Ezra, and others, that Mordochai was its author, as is also inferred from ix. 20 and 23 by de Wette, is decidedly a mistaken one,—the writer plainly distinguishing in this passage between himself and Mordochai, who sent letters concerning the feast of Purim to the Jews in the realm of Persia. Other conjectures are still more unfounded. The date, too, of its composition can be only approximately determined. The opinion that in ix. 19 the long existence of the feast of Purim is presupposed, cannot be raised to the rank of a certainty. Nor does the book contain allusions pointing to the era of the Greek universal monarchy. This is admitted by Stähelin, who remarks, p. 178: "The most seemingly valid argument in support of this view, viz. that Persian customs are explained in this book, i. 1, 13 (for vii. 8, usually cited with these passages, is out of the question, and is the king's speech in answer to viii. 5), is refuted by the consideration, that the book was written for the information of Palestinian Jews; while Hävernicks, ii. 1, p. 361, refers to a case in Bohaeddin, in which this biographer of Saladin, p. 70, though writing for Arabs, explains an Arabian custom with respect to prisoners of war." On the other hand, both the reference to the chronicles of the Medes and Persians (x. 2), and the intimate acquaintance of the writer with Susa and the affairs of the Persian monarchy, decidedly point to the fact, that the date of its composition preceded the destruction of the Persian empire, and may perhaps have been that of Artaxerxes I. or Darius Nothus, about 400 B.C. The omission, moreover, of all reference to Judah and Jerusalem, together with the absence not only of theo-

cratic notions, but of a specially religious view of circumstances, favour the view that the author lived not in Palestine, but in the more northern provinces of the Persian realm, probably in Susa itself. For though his mode of representing events, which does not even once lead him to mention the name of God, is not caused by the irreligiousness of the author, but rather by the circumstance, that he neither wished to depict the persons whose acts he was narrating as more godly than they really were, nor to place the whole occurrence — which manifests, indeed, the dealings of Divine Providence with the Jewish people, but not the dealings of Jahve with the nation of Israel—under a point of view alien to the actors and the event itself, yet a historian acquainted with the theocratic ordinances and relations of Judah would scarcely have been capable of so entirely ignoring them.

#### § IV. THE CANONICITY OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

The book of Esther has always formed a portion of the Hebrew canon. It is included also among the twenty-two books which, according to Josephus, *c. Ap.* i. 8, were acknowledged by the Jews as *δικαίως πεπιστευμένα*. For Josephus, who repeatedly asserts, that the history of the Hebrews from Moses to Artaxerxes was written by the prophets and worthy to be believed, relates also in his *Jewish Antiquities* (l. xi. c. 6) the history of Esther, Mordochai, and Haman. Certain critics have indeed desired to infer, from the statement in the Talmud, *Jerush. Megill.* 70. 4, that “among the eighty elders who contended against the institution of the feast of Purim by Esther and Mordochai as an innovation in the law, there were more than thirty prophets,” that the Jews did not formerly attribute the same authority to the book of Esther as to the other Scriptures (Movers, *loci quidam historicæ canonis V. T.* p. 28; Bleek, *Einl.* p. 404); but even Bertheau doubts whether this passage refers to the whole book of Esther. For it treats unambiguously only of the fact chap. ix. 29–32, which is very specially stated

to have been an institution of Esther and Mordochai, and concerning which differences of opinion might prevail among the Rabbis. The further remark of Movers, *l.c.*, that the oldest patristic testimonies to the inclusion of this book in the canon are of such a nature, *ut ex iis satis verisimiliter effici possit, eum tunc recens canonici adjectum esse*, because it occupies the last place in the series of O. T. writings given by Origen, Epiphanius, and Jerome, according to Jewish authority, and because the canons of the Greek Church, which more accurately enumerate the books received by the synagogue, do not contain the book of Esther, is also incorrect. For (1.) the lists of the canonical books of the O. T. given by Origen (in Euseb. *hist. eccl.* vi. 25) and Epiphanius give these books not according to their order in the Hebrew canon, but to that of the Alexandrian version, while only Jerome places the book of Esther last. (2.) In the lists of the Greek Church this book is omitted only in that given in Euseb. *hist. eccl.* iv. 26, from the *eclogæ* of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, and in that of Gregory of Nazianzen, while it is included in those of Origen and Cyril of Jerusalem; a circumstance which leads to the supposition that it might have been omitted by an oversight in transcription in those of Origen and Epiphanius. Only Athanasius (in his *epist. fest.*), Amphilochius (in the *Jambi ad Seleuc.*), and the author of the *Synopsis Athanasius*, who is supposed not to have lived till the tenth century, reckon it among the apocryphal books; while Junilius (of the sixth century) remarks that there were many in his days who doubted the canonicity of the book of Esther. From this it is sufficiently obvious, that these doubts were not founded upon historical tradition, but proceeded only from subjective reasons, and were entertained because offence was taken, first at the non-mention of the name of God in this book, and then at the confessedly apocryphal additions mingled with this book in the Alexandrian translation. The author of the *Synopsis Ath.*, moreover, expressly says that the Hebrews regarded this book as canonical. The well-known harsh judgments of Luther in his work *de servo ar-*



*bitrio : liber Esther, quamvis hunc habent in canone, dignior omnibus, me iudice, qui extra canonem haberetur*, and in his *Table Talk*, are purely subjective.<sup>1</sup> Luther could never reconcile himself to this book, because he felt that the saving truths of Scripture were absent from it. The later Jews, on the contrary, exalted it even far above the Torah and the prophets.<sup>2</sup>

Later Protestant theologians, too, have, in their efforts to justify the canonicity of this book, over-estimated its canonical value, and attributed to the history therein related, Messianic references which are foreign to its meaning (comp. the verdict given upon it in Carpzov's *Introd. in V. T.* p. 369 sq.). The moderate opinion of Brentius is: *hic liber utilis est ad docendam fidem et timorem Dei, ut pii non frangantur adversis, sed invocantes nomen Domini ex fide, accipiant spem salutis; impii vero alieno supplicio terreantur et ad pietatem convertantur*. This opinion is one far better founded than the depreciatory decision of modern critics, that this book breathes a spirit of revenge and pride (de Wette-Schrader); or of Bertheau, that "Esther and Mordochai are full of a spirit of revenge and hostility not to Gentile ways, but to the Gentiles themselves, of cruelty, and of ungodly confidence in a victory over the world, by worldly power and the employment of worldly means," and that this book "belongs to the historical records of the revelation made to Israel, only in so far as it helps to fill up the chasm between the times of the prophets and the days of our Lord." "The book itself and its position in the canon plainly testify, that the people to whom the victory over the world was promised, separated themselves farther and farther from communion with the holy God, trusted to their own arm and to worldly power, and could not, therefore, but be worsted in their contest

<sup>1</sup> "And while the Doctor was correcting the second book of Maccabees he said: I am so hostile to this book and that of Esther, that I wish they did not exist; they are too Judaizing, and contain many heathenish improprieties."

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the collection of rabbinical eulogies of this book in Aug. Pfeiffer, *thes. herm.* p. 597 sq., and in Carpzov's *introd.* i. p. 366.

with the empire of the times." Such a verdict is justified neither by the circumstance, that the Jews, who reject Christ's redemption, understand and over-estimate this book in a carnal manner, nor by the fact, that the name of God does not once occur therein. With respect to the first point, the book itself is not to blame for being misused by Jews who have not accepted the redemption which is by Christ, to nourish a fanatical hatred of all Gentiles. Even if Esther and Mordochai were filled with a spirit of revenge toward the Gentiles, no reproach could in consequence be cast on the book of Esther, which neither praises nor recommends their actions or behaviour, but simply relates what took place without blame or approval. But neither are the accusations raised against Esther and Mordochai founded in truth. The means they took for the deliverance and preservation of their people were in accordance with the circumstances stated. For if the edict promulgated by Haman, and commanding the extermination of the Jews, could not, according to the prevailing law of the Medo-Persians, be repealed, there was no other means left to Mordochai for the preservation of his countrymen from the destruction that threatened them, than the issue of a counter-edict permitting the Jews to fight for their lives against all enemies who should attack them, and conceding to them the same rights against their foes as had been granted to the latter against the Jews by the edict of Haman. The bloodshed which might and must ensue would be the fault neither of Mordochai nor Esther, but of Haman alone. And though Mordochai had irritated the haughty Haman by refusing him adoration, yet no Jew who was faithful to the commands of his God could render to a man that honour and adoration which are due to the Lord only. Besides, even if the offence of which he was thereby guilty against Haman might have incited the latter to punish him individually, it could offer no excuse for the massacre of the entire Jewish nation. As for the second point, viz. the non-mention of the name of God in this book, we have already remarked, § 3, that this omission is not caused by a lack of devoutness or reverence, the narrative itself

presenting features which lead to an opposite conclusion. In the answer which Mordochai sends to Esther's objection to appear before the king unbidden, "If thou holdest thy peace, there shall arise help and deliverance for the Jews from another place," is expressed the assured belief that God would not leave the Jews to perish. To this must be added, both that the Jews express their deep sorrow at the edict of Haman by fasting and lamentation (iv. 1-3), and that Queen Esther not only prepares for her difficult task of appearing before the king by fasting herself, but also begs to be assisted by the fasting of all the Jews in Susa (iv. 16). Now fasting was a penitential exercise, and the only form of common worship practised by Jews dwelling among Gentiles; and this penitential exercise was always combined with prayer even among the heathen (comp. Jon. iii. 5 sq.), though prayer and calling upon God might not be expressly mentioned. Finally, the occasion of this conflict between Jews and Gentiles was a religious one, viz. the refusal of adoration to a man, from fear of transgressing the first commandment. All these things considered, we may with Stähelin appropriate what Lutz in his *bibl. Hermeneutik*, p. 386, says concerning this book: "A careful survey will suffice to show, that the religious principle predominates in the book of Esther, and that there is a religious foundation to the view taken of the occurrence. For it is represented as providential, as an occurrence in which, although the name of God is unmentioned, a higher Power, a Power on the side of Israel, prevails. Even in single features a closer inspection will plainly recognise a religious tone of feeling, while the whole book is pervaded by religious moral earnestness." It is this religious foundation which has obtained and secured its position in the canon of the inspired books of the O. T. The book is a memorial of the preservation of the Jewish people, during their subjection to a universal empire, by means of a special and providential disposition of secular events, and forms in this respect a supplement to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which relate the restoration of the Jewish community to the land of their fathers.

On the additions to the book of Esther in the Alexandrian version, which Luther, after the example of Jerome, excluded from the book and relegated to the Apocrypha under the title of *Stücke in Esther*, comp. my *Lehrb. der Einleitung*, § 237, and O. F. Fritzsche's *kurzgef. exeget. Hdb. zu den Apokryphen des N. T.* p. 68 sq.

For the exegetic literature, see *Lehrb. der Einl.* v. § 150. Comp. also E. Ph. L. Calmberg, *liber Esteræ interpretatione latina brevique commentario illustr.*, Hamb. 1837, 4, and Bertheau's Commentary, quoted p. 18.

## EXPOSITION.

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### CHAP. I.—THE BANQUET OF KING AHASHVEROSH AND THE DIVORCE OF QUEEN VASHTI.



**A**HASHVEROSH, king of Persia, gave, in the third year of his reign, a banquet to the grandees of his kingdom then assembled in Susa, for the purpose of showing them the greatness and glory of his kingdom; while the queen at the same time made a feast for the women in the royal palace (vers. 1-9). On the seventh day of the feast, the king, "when his heart was merry with wine," sent a message by his chief courtiers to the queen, commanding her to appear before him, to show the people and the princes her beauty, and on her refusal to come, was greatly incensed against her (vers. 10-12). Upon inquiring of his astrologers and princes what ought in justice to be done to the queen on account of this disobedience, they advised him to divorce Vashti by an irrevocable decree, and to give her dignity to another and better; also to publish this decree throughout the whole kingdom (vers. 13-20). This advice pleasing the king, it was acted upon accordingly (vers. 21 and 22).

Vers. 1-8. The banquet. Vers. 1-3 mark a period. עֲשֶׂה מִשְׁתֶּה, which belongs to וַיְהִי, does not follow till ver. 3, and even then the statement concerning the feast is again interrupted by a long parenthesis, and not taken up again and completed till ver. 5. On the use of וַיְהִי in historical narratives at the beginning of relations having, as in the present instance and Ruth i. 1, no reference to a preceding narrative,

see the remark on Josh. i. 1. Even when no express reference to any preceding occurrence takes place, the historian still puts what he has to relate in connection with other historical occurrences by an "and it came to pass." Ahashverosh is, as has already been remarked on Ezra iv. (p. 73), Xerxes, the son of Darius Hystaspis. Not only does the name אֲחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ point to the Old-Persian name Ks'ayars'a (with א prosthetic), but the statements also concerning the extent of the kingdom (chap. i. 1, x. 1), the manners and customs of the country and court, the capricious and tyrannical character of Ahashverosh, and the historical allusions are suitable only and completely to Xerxes, so that, after the discussions of Justi in Eichhorn's *Repert.* xv. pp. 3-38, and Baumgarten, *de fide*, etc., pp. 122-151, no further doubt on the subject can exist. As an historical background to the occurrences to be delineated, the wide extent of the kingdom ruled by the monarch just named is next described: "He is that Ahashverosh who reigned from India to Ethiopia over 127 provinces." מְדִינוֹת . . . שְׁבַע is not an accusative dependent on מֶלֶךְ, he ruled 127 provinces, for מֶלֶךְ, to reign, is construed with עַל or בְּ, but is annexed in the form of a free apposition to the statement: "from India to Cush;" as also in chap. viii. 9. הָיָה is in the Old-Persian cuneiform inscriptions, Hidhu; in Zend, Hendu; in Sanscrit, Sindhu, *i.e.* dwellers on the Indus, for Sindhu means in Sanscrit the river Indus; comp. Røediger in Gesenius, *Thez.* Append. p. 83, and Lassen, *Indische Alterthumsk.* i. p. 2. בָּרַשׁ is Ethiopia. This was the extent of the Persian empire under Xerxes. Mardonius in Herod. vii. 9 names not only the Sakers and Assyrians, but also the Indians and Ethiopians as nations subject to Xerxes. Comp. also Herod. vii. 97, 98, and viii. 65, 69, where the Ethiopians and Indians are reckoned among the races who paid tribute to the Persian king and fought in the army of Xerxes. The 127 מְדִינוֹת, provinces, are governmental districts, presided over, according to chap. viii. 9, by satraps, pechahs, and rulers. This statement recalls that made in Dan. vi. 2, that Darius the Mede set over his kingdom 120 satraps. We have already shown

in our remarks on Dan. vi. 2 that this form of administration is not in opposition to the statement of Herod. iii. 89 sq., that Darius Hystaspis divided the kingdom for the purpose of taxation into twenty *ἀρχαί* which were called *σατραπῆται*. The satrapies into which Darius divided the kingdom generally comprised several provinces. The first satrapy, *e.g.*, included Mysia and Lydia, together with the southern part of Phrygia; the fourth, Syria and Phœnicia, with the island of Cyprus. The Jewish historians, on the other hand, designate a small portion of this fourth satrapy, viz. the region occupied by the Jewish community (Judah and Benjamin, with their chief city Jerusalem), as *קִרְיָתָא*, Ezra ii. 1, Neh. i. 3, vii. 6, xi. 3. Consequently the satrapies of Darius mentioned in Herodotus differ from the *medinoth* of Dan. vi. 2, and Esth. i. 1, viii. 9. The 127 *medinoth* are a division of the kingdom into geographical regions, according to the races inhabiting the different provinces; the list of satrapies in Herodotus, on the contrary, is a classification of the nations and provinces subject to the empire, determined by the tribute imposed on them.—Ver. 2. The words: in those days, take up the chronological statement of ver. 1, and add thereto the new particular: when King Ahashverosh sat on the throne of his kingdom in the citadel of Susa. *שָׁבַת* does not involve the notion of quiet and peaceable possession after the termination of wars (Clericus, Rambach), but that of being seated on the throne with royal authority. Thus the Persian kings are always represented upon a raised seat or throne, even on journeys and in battle. According to Herod. vii. 102, Xerxes watched the battle of Thermopylæ sitting upon his throne. And Plutarch (*Themistocl.* c. 13) says the same of the battle of Salamis. Further examples are given by Baumg. *l.c.* p. 85 sq. On the citadel of Susa, see Neh. i. 1, and remarks on Dan. viii. 2.—Ver. 3. "In the third year of his reign he made a feast to all his princes and his servants, when the forces of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces, were before him." *עָשָׂה מִשְׁתֶּה*, to make, to prepare, *i.e.* to give, a feast; comp. Gen. xxi. 8. The princes and the servants are, all who were assembled about him in

Susa. These are specified in the words which follow as חַיִּיל 'פ. We might supply ל before חַיִּיל from the preceding words, (viz.) the forces, etc.; but this would not suit the לַפְּנֵי at the end of the verse. For this word shows that an independent circumstantial clause begins with חַיִּיל, which is added to call attention to the great number of princes and servants assembled at Susa (Bertheau): the forces of Persia . . . were before him: when they were before him. By חַיִּיל, the host, the forces, Bertheau thinks the body-guard of the king, which, according to Herod. vii. 40, consisted of 2000 selected horsemen, 2000 lancers, and 10,000 infantry, is intended. There is, however, no adequate reason for limiting חַיִּיל to the body-guard. It cannot, indeed, be supposed that the whole military power of Persia and Media was with the king at Susa; but חַיִּיל without בָּל can only signify an *élite* of the army, perhaps the captains and leaders as representing it, just as "the people" is frequently used for "the representatives of the people." The Persians and Medes are always named together as the two kindred races of the ruling nation. See Dan. vi. 9, who, however, as writing in the reign of Darius the Mede, places the Medes first and the Persians second, while the contrary order is observed here when the supremacy had been transferred to the Persians by Cyrus. On the form פָּרִים, see rem. on Ezra 1. i. After the mention of the forces, the *Partemim*, i.e. nobles, magnates (see on Dan. i. 3), and the princes of the provinces are named as the chief personages of the civil government.—Ver. 4. "When he showed the glorious riches of his kingdom and the excellent honour of his greatness many days, one hundred and eighty days." This verse has been understood by most expositors as stating that the king magnificently and splendidly entertained all the grandees mentioned in ver. 3 for a full half-year, and gave them a banquet which lasted 180 days. Clericus supposes proceedings to have been so arranged, that the *procures omnium provinciarum* were not entertained at one and the same time, but *alii post alios*, because all could not be absent together *per sex menses a suis provinciis*. Bertheau, however, thinks that the historian did not purpose



to give an exact and graphic description of the proceeding, but only to excite astonishment, and that they who are astonished will not inquire as to the manner in which all took place. The text, however, does not say, that the feast lasted 180 days, and hence offers no occasion for such a view, which is founded on a mistaken comprehension of ver. 4, which combines 'וְהָרְאוּ אוֹתוֹ with מַשְׁתֶּה of ver. 3, while the whole of ver. 4 is but a further amplification of the circumstantial clause: when the forces, etc., were before him; the description of the banquet not following till ver. 5, where, however, it is joined to the concluding words of ver. 4: "when these (180) days were full, the king made a feast to all the people that were found in the citadel of Susa, from great to small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's house." This verse is thus explained by Bertheau: after the soldiers, nobles, and princes of the district had been entertained for six months, all the male inhabitants of Susa were also entertained in a precinct of the palace garden, the women being feasted by Vashti the queen in the palace (ver. 9). It is, however, obvious, even from ver. 11, which says that on the seventh day of this banquet the king commanded the queen to appear "to show the people and the princes her beauty," that such a view of the occurrence is inadmissible. For this command presupposes, that the people and princes were assembled at the king's banquet; while, according to the view of Bertheau and older expositors, who insist on two banquets, one lasting 180 days, the other seven, the latter was given to the male inhabitants of Susa only. The princes and people of the whole kingdom did not, however, dwell in Susa. These princes and people, to whom the queen was to show her beauty, are undoubtedly the princes and servants of the king, the forces of Persia and Media, and the nobles and princes of the provinces enumerated in ver. 3. With this agrees also the description of the guests invited to the seven days feast. כָּל-הָעָם הַנִּמְצְאִים בְּשֻׁשָׁן does not signify "all the inhabitants of Susa," but all then present, *i.e.* then assembled in the citadel of Susa. הַנִּמְצְאִים used of persons means, those who for some purpose are found or present in any

place, in distinction from its usual inhabitants; comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 17, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 32, Ezra viii. 25; and *הָעָם* does not here signify people in the sense of population, but people who are met in a certain place, and is used both here and Neh. xii. 38 of an assembly of nobles and princes. *לְמַגְדֹּל וְעַד קֶטָן*, moreover, does not mean old and young, but high and low, the greater and lesser servants (*עֲבָדִים*) of the king, and informs us that of those assembled at Susa, both princes and servants participated without exception in the banquet.—This view of 3–5 is confirmed by the consideration, that if the seven days banquet were a different one from that mentioned in ver. 3, there could be no reason for naming the latter, which would then be not only entirely unconnected with the narrative, but for which no object at all would be stated; for *בְּהִרְאֹתוֹ* cannot be translated, as in the Vulgate, by *ut ostenderet*, because, as Bertheau justly remarks, *ב* cannot indicate a purpose. From all these reasons it is obvious, that the feast of which further particulars are given in 5–8 is the same *מִשְׁתֶּה* which the king, according to ver. 3, gave to his *שָׂרִים* and *עֲבָדִים*, and that the text, rightly understood, says nothing of two consecutive banquets. The sense of vers. 3–5 is accordingly as follows: King Ahasuerus gave to his nobles and princes, when he had assembled them before him, and showed them the glorious riches of his kingdom and the magnificence of his greatness for 180 days, after these 180 days, to all assembled before him in the fortress of Susa, a banquet which lasted seven days. The connection of the more particular description of this banquet, by means of the words: when these (the previously named 180) days were over, following upon the accessory clause, ver. 4, is anacoluthic, and the anacoluthon has given rise to the misconception, by which ver. 5 is understood to speak of a second banquet differing from the *מִשְׁתֶּה* of ver. 3. The purpose for which the king assembled the grandees of his kingdom around him in Susa for a whole half-year is not stated, because this has no connection with the special design of the present book. If, however, we compare the statement of Herod. vii. 8, that Xerxes, after the re-subjection of Egypt, summoned the chief

men of his kingdom to Susa to take counsel with them concerning the campaign against Greece, it is obvious, that the assembly for 180 days in Suša, of the princes and nobles mentioned in the book of Esther, took place for the purpose of such consultation. When, too, we compare the statement of Herod. vii. 20, that Xerxes was four years preparing for this war, we receive also a corroboration of the particular mentioned in ver. 3, that he assembled his princes and nobles in the third year of his reign. In this view "the riches of his kingdom," etc., mentioned in ver. 4, must not be understood of the splendour and magnificence displayed in the entertainment of his guests, but referred to the greatness and resources of the realm, which Xerxes descanted on to his assembled magnates for the purpose of showing them the possibility of carrying into execution his contemplated campaign against Greece. The banquet given them after the 180 days of consultation, was held in the court of the garden of the royal palace. בֵּיתֵן is a later form of בֵּית, which occurs only here and vii. 7, 8. הָצֵר, court, is the space in the park of the royal castle which was prepared for the banquet. The fittings and furniture of this place are described in ver. 6. "White stuff, variegated and purple hangings, fastened with cords of byssus and purple to silver rings and marble pillars; couches of gold and silver upon a pavement of malachite and marble, mother-of-pearl and tortoise-shell." The description consists of mere allusions to, or exclamations at, the splendour of the preparations. In the first half of the verse the hangings of the room, in the second, the couches for the guests, are noticed. חֹר from חָוֵר means a white tissue of either linen or cotton. Bertheau supposes that the somewhat larger form of ח is intended to denote, even by the size of letter employed, the commencement of the description. בִּרְפָּס, occurring in Sanscrit, Persian, Armenian, and Arabic, in Greek *κάπρασος*, means originally cotton, in Greek, according to later authorities, a kind of fine flax, here undoubtedly a cotton texture of various colours. תְּכֵלֶת, deep blue, purple. The hangings of the space set apart were of these materials. Blue and white were, according to Curtius vi. 6. 4, the royal colours of the

Persians; comp. M. Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, ii. pp. 891 and 951 of the third edition, in which is described also the royal table, p. 952. The hangings were fastened (אָרֶז) with cords of white byssus and purple to rings and pillars of white marble. מִטּוֹת, couches (divans) of gold and silver, *i.e.* covered with cloth woven of gold and silver thread, were prepared for the guests at the feast. These couches were placed upon a tessellated, mosaic-like floor; the tessellation being composed of stones of various colours. בִּהָט, in Arabic a mock stone, in LXX. *σμαραγδίνης*, a spurious emerald, *i.e.* a green-coloured stone resembling the emerald, probably malachite or serpentine. שֵׁשׁ is white marble; יָדָר, Arabic <sup>سدر</sup> <sup>سدر</sup>, pearl, LXX.

πίνυκος λίθος, a pearl-like stone, perhaps mother-of-pearl. כְּהָרָה, a kind of dark-coloured stone (from כָּהָר = שָׁהָר, to be dark), black, black marble with shield-like spots (all three words occur only here).—Ver. 7. The entertainment: “And drinks poured into vessels of gold! and vessels differing from vessels, and royal wine in abundance, according to the hand of a king. (Ver. 8) And the drinking was according to law; none did compel: for so the king had appointed to all the officers of his house to do according to every one’s pleasure.” הִשְׁקוּת, inf. Hiph., to give to drink, to hand drinks, is used substantively. The golden drinking vessels were of various kinds, and each differing in form from another. Great variety in drinking vessels pertained to the luxury of Persians; comp. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, 18. יַיִן מְלָכֻת is wine from the royal cellar, therefore costly wine. Many interpreters understand it of the Chalybonian wine, which the Persian kings used to drink. See rem. on Ezek. xxvii. 18. בְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ, according to the hand of the king, *i.e.* according to royal bounty; comp. 1 Kings x. 13. The words: “the drinking was according to law, none did compel,” are generally understood to say, that the king abolished for this banquet, the prevailing custom of pledging his guests. According to Grecian information (see Baumgarten, p. 12 sq.), an exceedingly large quantity of wine was drunk at Persian banquets. This sense of the words is not, however, quite

certain. The argument of Baumgarten, *Si hic mos vulgaris fuisset in epulis regis, sine dubio hæc omnia non commemorata essent*, no more holds good than his further remark: *formulam illam בָּרַח אֵין אֲנִים non puto adhibitam fuisse, nisi jam altera contraria בָּרַח אֲנִים solemniter esset facta*. The historian can have noticed this only because it was different from the Jewish custom. Bertheau also justly remarks: "We are not told in the present passage, that the king, on this occasion, exceptionally permitted moderation, especially to such of his guests as were, according to their ancestral customs, addicted to moderation, and who would else have been compelled to drink immoderately. For the words with which this verse concludes, while they imply also a permission to each to drink as little as he chose, are specially intended to allow every one to take much. יָסַד עַל, to appoint concerning, i.e. to enjoin, comp. 1 Chron. ix. 22. רַב בֵּית, those over the house, i.e. the court officials.

Vers. 9-12. Vashti the queen also gave a banquet to the women in the royal house (palace) which belonged to King Ahashverosh, probably in the royal apartments of the palace, which were placed at her disposal for this great feast to be given to the women. The name Vashti may be compared with the Old-Persian *vahista*, i.e. *optimus*. In Persian وشتی means a beautiful woman. This statement serves as an introduction to the scene which follows. Vers. 10 and 11. On the seventh, i.e. the last day of the banquet, when the king's heart was merry with wine, he commanded his seven chamberlains to bring Vashti the queen before him, with the royal crown, to show her beauty to the people and princes. בָּטוּב לֵב וּנָה, when the heart of the king was merry through wine, i.e. when the wine had made him merry, comp. 2 Sam. xiii. 28, Jud. xvi. 25. It was the office of the seven eunuchs who served before the king (מְשִׁירֵת אֶת־פָּנָיו like 1 Sam. ii. 18) to be the means of communication between him and the women, and to deliver to them messages on the part of the monarch. Their number, seven, was connected with that of the Amshaspands; see rem. on ver. 14. The attempts made

to explain their several names are without adequate foundation; nor would much be gained thereby, the names being of no significance with respect to the matter in question. In the LXX. the names vary to some extent. The queen was to appear with the crown on her head (כִּתְרוֹ, *κίραρις* or *κίταρις*, a high turban terminating in a point), and, as is self-evident, otherwise royally apparelled. The queen was accustomed on ordinary occasions to take her meals at the king's table; comp. Herod. ix. 110. There is, however, an absence of historical proof, that she was present at great banquets. The notice quoted from Lucian in Brissonius, *de regio Pers. princ.* i. c. 103, is not sufficient for the purpose.—Ver. 12. The queen refused to appear at the king's command as delivered by the eunuchs, because she did not choose to stake her dignity as a queen and a wife before his inebriated guests. The audacity of Persians in such a condition is evident from the history related Herod. v. 18.

Vers. 13–15. The king, greatly incensed at this disobedience to his behest, inquired of his wise men what was to be done to Queen Vashti according to law. These wise men are ver. 13 designated as those “who knew the times,” *i.e.* astrologers and magi, who give counsel according to celestial phenomena; comp. the wise men of Babylon, Dan. ii. 27, v. 15; Isa. xlv. 25, xlvii. 13; Jer. l. 35. Of these he inquires, “for thus was the business of the king conducted before all that knew law and judgment.” דָּבָר here does not signify word or speech, but matter, business; and the meaning of this parenthetical sentence is, that in every matter, the king, before deciding, applied to those who were skilled in law and judgment to hear their opinions concerning it. With this is joined a second explanatory parenthetical sentence, ver. 14: “And those next him were Carshena, etc., the seven princes of the Persians and Medes, who behold the king's countenance, who hold the first seat in his kingdom.” הַקָּרִיב אֵלָיו is indefinite, and may be understood as expressing the plural. It is perhaps questionable how this clause should be combined with what precedes, whether with דָּבָר אֵלָיו, before all that knew law and judgment and those next him,

or with **לַחֲכָמִים**, ver. 13 : he spoke to the wise men . . . and those next him. In any case the sense is, that the seven princes of the Persians and Medes were also numbered either among the wise men who knew the times, or those who were skilled in the law. These seven princes are the seven king's counsellors of Ezra vii. 14, and by their number of seven form a counterpart to the seven Amshaspands. They who see the face of the king, *i.e.* are allowed direct intercourse with him. Herod. iii. 84 relates of the seven princes who conspired the overthrow of the pretended Smerdis, that they resolved, that it should be permitted them to present themselves unannounced before the future king. Hence many expositors identify these seven princes with the authorities called the seven counsellors, but without sufficient grounds. The number seven frequently recurs,—comp. the seven eunuchs, ver. 5, the seven maidens who waited on Esther, ii. 9,—and refers in the present case to the seven Amshaspands, in others to the days of the week, or the seven planets. **רִישֵׁיבִים רִאשֹׁנָה**, who sit first, *i.e.* in the highest place, *i.e.* constitute the highest authority in the realm. What the king said (ver. 13) does not follow till ver. 15 : "According to law, what is to be done to Queen Vashti, because she has not done the word of the king," *i.e.* not obeyed his command by the eunuchs? **בְּדָת**, according to law, legally, is placed first because it is intended emphatically to assert that the proceeding is to be in conformity with the law. **עָשָׂה** with **בְּ**, to inflict something on any one.

Vers. 16-20. The counsel of the wise men. Ver. 16. Memucan, who was the last mentioned in ver. 14, comes forward as spokesman for the rest, and declares before the king and the princes, *i.e.* in a solemn assembly, and evidently as the result of a previous joint consultation : Vashti the queen has not done wrong to the king alone, but also to all the princes and all the people, because the example of the queen will lead all the Median and Persian wives to despise their husbands. Therefore an irrevocable edict is to be published decreeing the divorce of Queen Vashti, and this law published throughout the whole realm, that all wives may

show honour to their husbands. Vashti has not transgressed against the king alone (ver. 16), but against all the princes and people in all the provinces of King Ahashverosh (ver. 16.) In what respect, then, is the latter assertion true? We are told vers. 17 and 18. "For the deed of the queen will come abroad to (עַל for אֵל) all women, to bring their husbands into contempt in their eyes (the *infin.* לְהַבְזוֹת stating the result), while they will say," etc. (the suffix of בְּאַמְרָם relates to the women, who will appeal to the disobedience of the queen). Ver. 18. "And this day (*i.e.* already) the princesses of the Persians and Medians, who hear of the act of the queen (דְּבַר, not the word, but the thing, *i.e.* her rejection of her husband's command), will tell it to all the princes of the king, and (there will be) enough contempt and provocation. קִצָּף is an outburst of anger; here, therefore, a provocation to wrath. Bertheau makes the words 'וּבְדִי בֹ' וּק' the object of הַאֲמִרְנָה, which, after the long parenthesis, is united to the copula by ו, and for, "to speak contempt and wrath," reads: to speak contemptuously in wrath. But this change cannot be substantiated. The expression, to speak wrath, is indeed unexampled, but that is no reason for making קִצָּף stand for בְּקִצָּף, the very adoption of such an ellipsis showing, that this explanation is inadmissible. The words must be taken alone, as an independent clause, which may be readily completed by יְהִיָּה: and contempt and wrath will be according to abundance. בְּדִי is a litotes for: more than enough. The object of הַאֲמִרְנָה must be supplied from the context: it—that is, what the queen said to her husband. In the former verse Memucan was speaking of all women; here (ver. 18) he speaks only of the princesses of the Persians and Medes, because these are staying in the neighbourhood of the court, and will immediately hear of the matter, and "after the manner of the court ladies and associates of a queen will quickly follow, and appeal to her example" (Berth.).—Ver. 19. After this argument on the queen's conduct, follows the proposal: "If it please the king (עַל טוֹב like Neh. ii. 5), let there go from him a word of the kingdom (*i.e.* a royal edict), and let it be written (entered) in the laws of the Persians and the Medes,



and not pass away, that Vashti come no more before King Ahashverosh; and let the king give her queenship (her royal rank) to another who is better than she." An edict issued by the king, entered among the laws of the Persians and Medes, and sealed with the royal signet (viii. 8), does not pass away, *i.e.* remains in force, is irrevocable (comp. Dan. vi. 9). The counsellors press for the issue of such an edict, for the purpose of making it impossible to the king to take Vashti again into favour, lest they should experience her vengeance on the restoration of her influence. רַעֲיוֹתָהּ, her companion, is any other woman, Vashti being here regarded merely as a woman. הַטּוֹבָה includes both beauty and good behaviour (Berth.). By this means, add the counsellors in ver. 20, all the ill effects of Vashti's contumacy will be obviated. "And when the king's decree, which he shall make, is heard in his whole kingdom, for it is great, all wives shall give honour to their husbands, from great to small." פְּתִינִים is according to the *Keri* to be pointed as the constructive state, פְּתִינִים. The expression פְּתִינִים עֲשֶׂה is explained by the circumstance, that פְּתִינִים signifies not only edict, decree, but also thing (see on Dan. iii. 16): to do a thing. In the present verse also it might be so understood: when the thing is heard which the king will do in his whole kingdom. The parenthetical clause, for it is great, is intended to flatter the king's vanity, and induce an inclination to agree to the proposal. "From great to small" signifies high and low, old and young.

Vers. 21 and 22. The saying pleased the king and the princes, and the king carried it into execution. He sent letters into all his provinces to make known his commands, and to let all husbands know, that they were to bear rule in their own houses. "In every province according to its writing, and to every people according to their speech" (comp. viii. 9), that his will might be clearly understood by all the subjects of his wide domain, who spoke different languages and used different alphabetical characters. The contents of these letters follow in לְהִיָּת גּוֹ, that every man should be master in his own house. These words state only the chief matter and object of the edict; but they presuppose that

the fact which gave rise to the decree, viz. the refusal of Vashti, and her consequent deposition, were also mentioned. The last words: "and that he shall speak according to the language of his people," are obscure. Older expositors understand them to mean, that every man was to speak only his native language in his house, so that in case he had a foreign wife, or several who spoke other languages, they might be obliged to learn his language, and to use that alone. Bertheau, on the other hand, objects that such a sense is but imported into the words, and in no wise harmonizes with the context. Both these assertions are, however, unfounded. In the words, the man shall speak according to the language of his people, i.e. he shall speak his native tongue in his house, it is implied that no other language was to be used in the house, and the application of this law to foreign wives is obvious from the context. The rule of the husband in the house was to be shown by the fact, that only the native tongue of the head of the house was to be used in the family. Thus in a Jewish family the Ashdodite or any other language of the wife's native land could not have been used, as we find to have been the case in Judæa (Neh. xiii. 23). All other explanations are untenable, as has been already shown by Baumgarten, p. 20; and the conjecture set up after Hitzig by Bertheau, that instead of *בְּלִשָּׁן עַמּוֹ* we should read *בְּלִשָּׁן עַמּוֹ*, every one shall speak what becomes him, gives not only a trivial, and not at all an appropriate thought, but is refuted even by the fact that not *שָׂוָה עִם*, but only *שָׂוָה לְ* (comp. iii. 8) could bear the meaning: to be becoming to any one. Such a command may, indeed, appear strange to us; but the additional particular, that every man was to speak his native tongue, and to have it alone spoken, in his own house, is not so strange as the fact itself that an edict should be issued commanding that the husband should be master in the house, especially in the East, where the wife is so accustomed to regard the husband as lord and master. Xerxes was, however, the author of many strange facts besides this.

## CHAP. II.—ELEVATION OF ESTHER TO THE THRONE.

## SERVICE RENDERED BY MORDOCHAI TO THE KING.

When the wrath of King Ahashverosh was appeased, and he remembered his harsh treatment of Vashti, his courtiers proposed that he should send to fetch fair young virgins from all parts of his realm to the house of the women in Susa, that he might choose a new queen from among them. This proposal pleasing the king, was acted upon (vers. 1-4). In the fortress of Susa, however, there dwelt one of the Jews who had been carried into captivity from Jerusalem, and whose name was Mordochai. This man had brought up Esther, his uncle's daughter, as his own child (vers. 5-7). When, then, in pursuance with the king's commands, many maidens were gathered together in Susa, Esther also was brought into the king's house, and found favour with the keeper of the women while, according to order, she was going through a course of purification and anointing (vers. 8-14). When her turn came to be brought before the king, she found favour in his sight above all the other maidens, and was chosen by him to be queen in the place of Vashti. By Mordochai's command, however, she disclosed her race and lineage to no one (vers. 15-20). At the same time two courtiers conspired against the life of the sovereign. Their conspiracy being discovered by Mordochai, was by him revealed to Esther, who gave information of it to the king, whereupon the matter was investigated, and found to have been correctly stated. The offenders were punished, and the event duly registered in the chronicles of the kingdom.

Vers. 1-4. When, after these things, the wrath of King Ahashverosh was laid (שָׁן, from שָׁבַן, to be sunk, spoken of wrath to be laid), he remembered Vashti and what she had done, and what was decreed against her (נָתַן, to determine, to decree irrevocably; comp. נִצְרָה, Dan. iv. 14); a desire for reunion with her evidently making itself felt, accompanied perhaps by the thought that she might have been too harshly treated. To prevent, then, a return of affection for his rejected wife ensuing,—a circumstance which might greatly

endanger all who had concurred in effecting her repudiation,—the servants of the king, *i.e.* the court officials who were about him, said: “Let there be young maidens, virgins fair to look on, sought for the king.” בָּתוּלוֹת, virgins, is added to נַעֲרוֹת, the latter word signifying merely young women of marriageable age. Ver. 3. “And let the king appoint (וַיִּפְקֹד) is the continuation of (וַיִּבְקֹשׁ) officers in all the provinces of his kingdom, that they may gather together every virgin who is fair to look on to the citadel of Susa, to the house of the women, unto the hand of Hegai the king’s eunuch, the keeper of the women, and let them appoint their things for purification; and let the maiden which pleaseth the king be queen instead of Vashti.” To the hand of Hegai, *i.e.* to his care and superintendence, under which, as appears from ver. 12, every maiden received into the house of the women had to pass a year before she was brought before the king. Hegai (called Hegai, vers. 8 and 15) was an eunuch, the keeper of the women, *i.e.* superintendent of the royal harem. וַיְהַלֵּךְ is the *infin. abs.*, used instead of the *verb. fin.* to give prominence to the matter: let them appoint. תְּמַרְקִים, from מָרַק, to rub, to polish, signifies purification and adornment with all kind of precious ointments; comp. ver. 12. This speech pleased the king, and he acted accordingly.

Vers. 5–7. Before relating how this matter was carried into execution, the historian introduces us to the two persons who play the chief parts in the following narrative. Ver. 5. There was (dwelt) in the citadel of Susa a Jew of the name of Mordochai (מֹרְדֳּכַי, in more correct editions מְרֹדֳּכַי), the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite (בֶּנְיָמִי like 1 Sam. ix. 1). Jair, Shimei, and Kish can hardly mean the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of Mordochai. On the contrary, if Jair were perhaps his father, Shimei and Kish may have been the names of renowned ancestors. Shimei was probably the son of Gera, well known to us from the history of David, 2 Sam. xvi. 5 sq. and 1 Kings ii. 8, 36 sq., and Kish the father of Saul, 1 Chron. viii. 33, 1 Sam. ix. 1; for in

genealogical series only a few noted names are generally given; comp., *e.g.*, 1 Chron. ix. 19, vi. 24 sq. Upon the ground of this explanation, Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 6) makes Esther of royal descent, viz. of the line of Saul, king of Israel; and the Targum regards Shimei as the Benjamite who cursed David. The name Mordochai occurs in Ezra ii. 2 and Neh. vii. 7 as that of some other individual among those who returned from captivity with Zerubbabel, but can

hardly be connected with the Persian مردکی, little man.

Aben Ezra, Lightfoot, and others, indeed, are of opinion that the Mordochai of the present book really came up with Zerubbabel, but subsequently returned to Babylon. Identity of name is not, however, a sufficient proof of identity of person. The chronological statement, ver. 6: who had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captives who had been carried away with Jeconiah, king of Judah, etc., offers some difficulty. For from the captivity of Jeconiah in the year 599 to the beginning of the reign of Xerxes (in the year 486) is a period of 113 years; hence, if the מֹרְדֳּכַי is referred to Mordochai, he would, even if carried into captivity as a child by then, have reached the age of from 120 to 130 years, and as Esther was not made queen till the seventh year of Xerxes (ii. 16), would have become prime minister of that monarch at *about* the age of 125. Rambach, indeed, does not find this age incredible, though we cannot regard it as probable that Mordochai should have become minister at so advanced an age.<sup>1</sup> On this account Clericus, Baumgarten, and others refer the relative מֹרְדֳּכַי to the last name, Kish, and understand that he was carried away with Jeconiah, while his great-grandson Mordochai was born in captivity. In this case Kish and Shimei must be regarded as the great-grandfather and grandfather of Mordochai. We grant the possibility of this view; nevertheless it is more

<sup>1</sup> Baumg. aptly remarks, *l.c.*, p. 125: *Etsi concedendum est, non esse contra naturam, si Mordechæus ad illam ætatem pervenerit, et summa hac constitutus senectute gravissimis negotiis perficiendis par fuerit, tamen est hoc rarissimum et nisi accedit certum testimonium, difficile ad credendum.*

in accordance with the Hebrew narrative style to refer אֲשֶׁר to the chief person of the sentence preceding it, viz. Mor-dochai, who also continues to be spoken of in ver. 7. Hence we prefer this reference, without, however, attributing to Mordochai more than 120 years of age. For the relative clause: who had been carried away, need not be so strictly understood as to assert that Mordochai himself was carried away; but the object being to give merely his origin and lineage, and not his history, it involves only the notion that he belonged to those Jews who were carried to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar with Jeconiah, so that he, though born in captivity, was carried to Babylon in the persons of his forefathers. This view of the passage corresponds with that formerly presented by the list of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Jacob who went down with him to Egypt; see the explanation of the passage in question.<sup>1</sup> Ver. 7. Mordochai was אֲמִן, keeper, bringer up, i.e. foster-father, to Hadassah (אֲמִן constructed as a participle with אָת). הָרְפָה means a myrtle (הָרִים in the Shemitish), like the Greek name *Myrtia*, *Μυρτιά*. "That is Esther," the queen known by the name of Esther. The name אֶסְתֵּר is the Old-Persian *stara* with א prosthetic, and corresponds with the Greek *ἀστὴρ*, *star*, in modern Persian *sitareh*. She was בְּתִרְדֵּי, daughter of his father's brother, and adopted by Mordochai after the death of her parents; we are told, moreover, that she had a fine figure and beautiful countenance. Her father, whose name, according to ver. 15, was 'Abihail, was uncle to Mordochai, and hence Esther was his cousin.

Vers. 8-11. When, then, the king's commandment and decree was heard, i.e. proclaimed throughout the kingdom, and many maidens gathered together in Susa, Esther also

<sup>1</sup> Baumgarten also considers this view admissible, rightly remarking, p. 127: *Scriptoribus sacris admodum familiare est singulos homines non per se et sepositos spectare, sed familias et gentes ut corpora quasi individua complecti, ita ut posterius majorum personis quasi contenti et inclusi, majores vero in posteris ipsi subsistere et vivere existimentur. Ex hac ratione Mordechæus captus esse dici potest, quanvis ipse satis diu post Jechoniæ tempora ex iis, qui a Nebucadnezaro abducti sunt, natus fuerit.*

was received into the royal harem, under the keeping of Hegai. The maiden pleased him and won his favour (נִשְׂאָה, *to bear away love*, *i.e.* to obtain favour, synonymous with נִשְׂאָה חֵן, ver. 15 and chap. v. 2). וַיְבִיחַל וְגו', and he hastened to give her her ointments for purification, and the seven maidens appointed to her from the king's house. The infinitives לָתֵת לָהּ are, according to the Aramæan idiom, placed after their objects and dependent on יְבִיחַל. On תַּמְרוּקִים, see on ver. 3. מְנוֹת, portions, are here portions of food, as in chap. ix. 19, 22, and 1 Sam. i. 4. The seven maidens (הַנְּעֻרוֹת with the article) are the maids appointed to wait upon a young virgin selected for the king. The participle רְאִיּוֹת: chosen for a particular purpose,—in the Talmud and rabbinical Hebrew רְאִי, *dignus, decens, conveniens*,—occurs only here. וַיִּשְׁנֶה, he changed her and her maids into the best of the house of the women, *i.e.* he took them out of the ordinary rooms and placed them in the best apartments, probably in the state-rooms, where those who were accustomed to be brought to the king used to dwell.—Ver. 10 contains a supplementary remark. This kind and respectful treatment was shown to Esther, because, in obedience to Mordochai's command, she had not shown her people nor her kindred, *i.e.* her Jewish extraction; for a Jewish maiden would hardly have experienced such friendly usage. Ver. 11 also contains an additional notice, prefixed here to enable what follows to be rightly understood, and repeated in another connection ver. 19, and on several other occasions: Mordochai walked every day before the court or enclosure of the women's house, to know the welfare (שְׁלוֹם) of Esther and what became of her (וַיַּעֲשֶׂה בָּהּ), properly, what was done to her). Hence Mordochai was in constant communication with Esther. How this communication was effected is not more particularly stated; probably by means of the maids appointed to wait on her. Jewish expositors are of opinion, that Mordochai held high office, and that having consequently free access to the royal palace, he could easily find the means of communicating with his relative.

Vers. 12-18. Before relating the appearance of Esther

before the king, the narrator more particularly describes in vers. 12-14 the preparations for this event, and how Esther behaved with respect to them.—Vers. 12 and 13. “When every maid’s turn came (*i.e.* at every time that any maid’s turn came) to go in to King Ahashverosh, after the time when it had been done to her twelve months according to the law of the women—for thus were the days of their purification accomplished: six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with balsam and ointments of purification for women—and the maiden came to the king, all that she desired was given her to go with her out of the women’s house unto the king’s house.” תור, turn in succession, used only here and ver. 15. The turn to go in unto the king did not come to any maid until כִּסְלֵי הַיִּיט וְגו', at the end of the time when it had been done to her according to the law. . . . This time lasted twelve months after her reception into the house of the women; and the law of the women, according to which it was done to her, was, that she should be purified for six months with oil of myrrh, and as long with בִּשְׂמִיִּם, sweet odours and other ointments. וּבִיּוֹתָ הַנְּעָרָה בָּאָה (ver. 13) forms the continuation of the antecedent clause commencing with בְּהִגֵּי, or, to speak more correctly, of a second antecedent with which the conclusion אֵת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר is connected. Some expositors understand בִּיּוֹתָ, with the LXX., of the time: *illo sc. tempore*; others of the condition: *hoc modo ornata* or *ea lege* (Cler.), and therefore as parallel in meaning with the כֵּן of chap. iv. 16. Either view is admissible and suits the sense, but the latter is more in harmony with the parallel passage chap. iv. 16, and therefore preferable. All that was to be given her, can only relate to ornaments and jewels, which were to be given that each might appear before the king adorned and dressed after her own taste.—Ver. 14. In the evening she went (to the king), and on the morrow she returned to the women’s house, a second (time) to the hand (under the keeping of) Shaashgaz, the king’s chamberlain, who kept the concubines; she came no more to the king, except the king delighted in her and she were called by name, *i.e.* specially. שְׁנִית instead of שְׁנִית, like Neh. iii. 30.—



Ver. 15. When Esther's turn came to go in unto the king, she required nothing (to take with her, see ver. 13) but what Hegai the king's chamberlain appointed (hence was not concerned to please the king by special adornment), and she obtained favour in the sight of all them that looked upon her, namely, by her modesty and humility. On נִשָּׂא הֵן, see remarks on ver. 9.—Ver. 16. She was taken into the king's house (בֵּית מְלָכֹת instead of בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ, the palace of the kingdom, the royal residence) in the tenth month, *i.e.* the month Tebeth, in the seventh year of his reign.—Ver. 17. And the king loved Esther above all the women, and she obtained grace and favour in his sight more than all the virgins; and he set the royal crown upon her head, and made her queen instead of Vashti. The meaning evidently is, that the king, immediately after their first meeting, bestowed his affections upon Esther in preference to all the women and maidens, and chose her queen.—Ver. 18. To celebrate Esther's elevation to the crown, the king made a great feast, called Esther's feast, to all his princes and servants, and granted release to the provinces. The *verbale Hiph.* הִנָּחָה is translated in the LXX. ἄφεσις, Vulg. *requies*, and understood either of a remission of taxes or a remission of labour, a holiday. Although the Chald. understands it of a remission of taxes, yet the use of the verb עָשָׂה rather favours the latter meaning, *viz.* the appointment of a holiday, on which there would be a resting from labour. Finally, he gave gifts with royal munificence מִשְׁאֵת like Amos v. 11, Jer. xl. 5; בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ like chap. i. 7.—It seems strange that a period of four years should intervene between the repudiation of Vashti in the third year of Ahashverosh and the elevation of Esther in the seventh, an interval whose length cannot be adequately accounted for by the statements of the present book. Only a few days could have elapsed between the disgrace of Vashti and the time when the king remembered her; for this took place, we are told, when the king's wrath was appeased. The proposal to collect virgins from all parts of his kingdom to Susa was then immediately made. Now, if the carrying out of this proposal took half a year, and the preparation of the virgins

by anointing, etc., lasted a year, Esther, even if her turn to go in unto the king had not come for six months, might have been made queen two years after the repudiation of Vashti. As she obtained the favour of Hegai immediately upon her reception into the women's house, so that he hastened her purifications (ver. 9), she would not be brought before the king among the last, but would rather be one of the first to go in. The long interval which elapsed between the repudiation of Vashti and the elevation of Esther, can only be satisfactorily explained by the history of the reign of Xerxes; in fact, by the circumstance that his campaign against Greece took place during this time.

Vers. 19-23 relate the intervention of an incident of great importance in the subsequent development of the narrative. When virgins were for the second time gathered together, two courtiers were incensed with the king, and sought to lay hands upon him. This thing was known to Mordochai, who sat in the gate of the palace and kept up a constant communication with Esther even after she became queen, and by him communicated to her, that she might bring it to the knowledge of the king. The matter being investigated and found to have been truly reported, the offenders were punished, and an entry of the particulars made in the chronicles of the kingdom. The words "when virgins were assembled for the second time," which serve to define the time when the conspiracy of the two courtiers took place, as is obvious from the circumstance that **בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם**, ver. 21, refers to **בְּהַקְבֵּץ בַּת'**, ver. 19, are obscure. The obscurity lies in the fact that no reason for assembling virgins can be perceived, after the choice of Ahashverosh had fallen upon Esther. The sentence **וּבְהַקְבֵּץ בְּחַלּוֹת שְׁנִית** unmistakably corresponds with **וּבְהַקְבֵּץ נְעוּרוֹת** of ver. 8. This was already rightly perceived by Grotius, who, however, wrongly infers: *est ἐπ'αυόδος (retrogressio), referendum enim hoc ad illa quæ supra, ii. 2.* This is, however, not only incompatible with **שְׁנִית**, but also with the circumstance that, according to the correct understanding of the sentences in vers. 21 and 22, Esther was then already queen, and Mordochai was sitting in the gate of the king's

palace, and thence keeping up communication with her; while as long as Esther was in the women's house preparing for her interview with the king, under the guardianship of Hegai, he walked day by day before the court of the women's house (ver. 11). Still less admissible is the view of Drusius, received by Bertheau, that the gathering of the virgins for the second time is to be understood from the circumstance, that after going in to the king, they had to go into the second house of the women, under the stricter guardianship of Shaashgaz (ver. 14). For, being no longer בְּתוּלוֹת, but פִּילִשִׁים (ver. 14), their reception into the house of the concubines could not be called a second gathering together; since as virgins they were formerly in a different house. The only explanation of the שְׁנִיָּית left us is the view, that even after the choice of Esther to be queen, a second gathering together of virgins actually took place; for this, as C. a Lapide remarks, is what the words undoubtedly declare. The matter itself was in accordance with the prevailing custom of polygamy, which kings carried to such an extent, that, as C. a Lapide points out, Solomon, *e.g.*, had 700 wives and 300 concubines, *i.e. secundarias uxores*. From וַיִּמְרָדְכִי, ver. 19, onwards, explanatory circumstantial clauses follow: "Then Mordochai sat in the king's gate" introduces the parenthetical sentence, "Esther had not yet showed her kindred and her people (comp. ver. 10), as Mordochai had charged her; for Esther did the commandment of Mordochai as when she was under his care;" *i.e.* Esther obeyed, after her elevation to be queen, the command of Mordochai not to make her Jewish descent known, as she had formerly done while she was yet his foster-daughter. אֶמְנָה, care, education, is a substantive derived from אָמַן.—Ver. 21. The definition of time in ver. 19 is again taken up by the words: in those days; then the explanatory clause, ver. 20, is repeated; and after this we are informed what it was that had then occurred. In those days Bigthan and Teresh, two of the king's courtiers, who were the threshold-keepers (palace-watchers, LXX. ἀρχισωματοφύλακες), were wroth, and sought to lay hands on King Ahashverosh, *i.e.* to slay him. Ver. 22. This thing was

known to Mordochai, and by him communicated to Esther, who told it, in Mordochai's name, to the king. Ver. 23. The matter was investigated (*sc.* by the king), and found out, *sc.* as Mordochai had testified. The two criminals were hanged on a tree, *i.e.* impaled on a stake, a sort of crucifixion,—see rem. on chap. vi. 11,—and the circumstance entered in the book of the chronicles, *i.e.* the chronicles of the kingdom. לְפָנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ, before the king, *i.e.* in his presence, immediately after sentence had been passed by a court over which the monarch presided.

CHAP. III.—HAMAN'S ELEVATION AND HIS DESIGN AGAINST  
THE JEWS.

King Ahashverosh promoted Haman the Agagite above all the princes about him, and commanded all his servants to fall down before him. This mark of reverence was refused by Mordochai the Jew from religious scruples. When intelligence of this was brought to Haman, he sought to obtain the extermination of the Jews throughout the kingdom (1-6). The twelfth month was appointed by the casting of lots for this purpose; and Haman, by exciting the suspicion of the king against the Jews as an exclusive and law-opposing people, obtained from him an edict to this effect (7-11), and sent it, by letters sealed with the king's seal, by the hand of messengers into all the provinces of the kingdom in the first month, that they might be ready to carry it into execution in the twelfth month; whereat the city of Susa was much perplexed (12-15).

Vers. 1-6. The elevation of Haman above all the princes of the kingdom is said in a general manner to have taken place "after these things," *i.e.* after the matters related in chap. ii. גָּדַל, to make great, to make any one a great man; מְרֻמָּה, elevated, is more precisely defined by the sentence following: he set his seat above all the princes that were with him, *i.e.* above the seat of all the princes about the king; in fact, advanced him to the highest post, made him his grand vizier. Haman is called the son of Hammedatha מְמַדְתָּא, the Agagite, or of the Agagites. מְמַדְתָּא recalls מֶלֶךְ king of the Amalekites,

conquered and taken prisoner by Saul, and hewn in pieces by Samuel, 1 Sam. xv. 8, 33. Hence Jewish and Christian expositors regard Haman as a descendant of the Amalekite king. This is certainly possible, though it can by no means be proved. The name Agag is not sufficient for the purpose, as many individuals might at different times have borne the name אגג, *i.e.* the fiery. In 1 Sam. xv., too, Agag is not the *nomen propr.* of the conquered king, but a general *nomen dignitatis* of the kings of Amalek, as Pharaoh and Abimelech were of the kings of Egypt and Gerar. See on Num. xxiv. 7. We know nothing of Haman and his father beyond what is said in this book, and all attempts to explain the names are uncertain and beside the mark.—Ver. 2. All the king's servants that were in the gate of the king, *i.e.* all the court officials, were to kneel before Haman and bow themselves to the earth. So had the king commanded concerning him. This mark of reverence was refused by Mordochai.—Vers. 3 and 4. When the other officials of the court asked him from day to day, why he transgressed the king's commandment, and he hearkened not unto them, *i.e.* gave no heed to their words, they told it to Haman, "to see whether Mordochai's words would stand; for he had told them that he was a Jew." It is obvious from this, that Mordochai had declared to those who asked him the reason why he did not fall down before Haman, that he could not do so because he was a Jew,—that as a Jew he could not show that honour to man which was due to God alone. Now the custom of falling down to the earth before an exalted personage, and especially before a king, was customary among Israelites; comp. 2 Sam. xiv. 4, xviii. 28, 1 Kings i. 16. If, then, Mordochai refused to pay this honour to Haman, the reason of such refusal must be sought in the notions which the Persians were wont to combine with the action, *i.e.* in the circumstance that they regarded it as an act of homage performed to a king as a divine being, an incarnation of Oromasdes. This is testified by classical writers; comp. Plutarch, *Themist.* 27; Curtius, viii. 5. 5 sq., where the latter informs us that Alexander the Great imitated this custom on his march to India, and remarks, § 11 :

*Persas quidem non pie solum, sed etiam prudenter reges suos inter Deos colere ; majestatem enim imperii salutis esse tutelam.* Hence also the Spartans refused, as Herod. vii. 136 relates, to fall down before King Xerxes, because it was not the custom of Greeks to honour mortals after this fashion. This homage, then, which was regarded as an act of reverence and worship to a god, was by the command of the king to be paid to Haman, as his representative, by the office-bearers of his court ; and this Mordochai could not do without a denial of his religious faith.—Ver. 5. When, then, Haman, whose attention had been called to the fact, saw, when next he went in unto the king, that Mordochai did not fall down before him, he was full of wrath, and (ver. 6) thought scorn, *i.e.* in his pride esteemed it too contemptible, to lay hands on Mordochai alone, *i.e.* to execute him alone, for this opposition to the royal commands ; for they had showed him the people of Mordochai, *i.e.* had told him that as a Jew Mordochai had refused this act of worship, and that the whole Jewish nation thought and acted accordingly. Therefore he sought to destroy all the Jews that were throughout the whole kingdom of Ahashverosh, the people of Mordochai. The subject Haman is repeated before יִבְקֹשׁ for the sake of clearness, because it was not expressly named with מִרְדֳּכָי. עַם מִרְדֳּכָי is in apposition to כָּל-הַיְּהוּדִים : all the Jews as the people of Mordochai, because they were the people of Mordochai and shared his sentiments.

Vers. 7–11. To ensure the success of this great undertaking, viz. the extermination of all the Jews in the kingdom, Haman had recourse to the lot, that he might thus fix on a propitious day for the execution of his project. Astrology plays an important part among all ancient nations, nothing of any magnitude being undertaken without first consulting its professors concerning a favourable time and opportunity ; comp. rem. on Ezek. xxi. 26.—Ver. 7. “In the first month, *i.e.* Nisan, in the twelfth year of King Ahashverosh, they cast Pur, *i.e.* the lot, before Haman from day to day, and from month to the twelfth month, *i.e.* the month Adar.” The subject of הַפִּיל is left indefinite, because it is self-evident that

this was done by some astrologer or magician who was versed in such matters. Bertheau tries unnaturally to make Haman the subject, and to combine the subsequent לִפְנֵי הָמָן with הַגּוֹרֵל: "Haman cast Pur, i.e. the lot, before Haman," which makes Pur signify: the lot before Haman. לִפְנֵי הָמָן means in the presence of Haman, so that he also might see how the lot fell. פּוּר is an Old-Persian word meaning lot (*sors*); in modern Persian بَار, *bāra*, signifies time, case (*fois, cas*), پاره, *pāra* or *pāre*, piece (*morceau, pièce*), and بخر, *behr*, *behre*, and بخر, *behre*, lot, share, fate; comp. Zenker, *Turco-Arabic and Persian Lexicon*, pp. 162 and 229. The words "from day to day, from month to the twelfth month," must not be understood to say, that lots were cast day by day and month by month till the twelfth; but that in the first month lots were at once cast, one after the other, for all the days and months of the year, that a favourable day might be obtained. We do not know the manner in which this was done, "the way of casting lots being unknown to us." The words: from month to the twelfth month, are remarkable; we should expect from month to month till the twelfth month. Bertheau supposes that the words לְחֹדֶשׁ וַיַּפֵּל הַגּוֹרֵל עַל יוֹם שְׁלֹשָׁה were omitted after וַיַּחֲזֵק through the eye of the transcriber passing on from the first לְחֹדֶשׁ to the second. The text of the LXX. actually contains such words, and the possibility of such an oversight on the part of a transcriber must certainly be admitted. In the book of Esther, however, the LXX. translation is no critical authority, and it is just as possible that the author of the Hebrew book here expresses himself briefly and indefinitely, because he was now only concerned to state the month determined by lot for the undertaking, and intended to mention the day subsequently. —Ver. 8. Haman having by means of the lot fixed upon a favourable day for the execution of the massacre, betook himself to the king to obtain a royal decree for the purpose. He represented to the monarch: "There is a people scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of thy kingdom, and their laws are different from all other

people (*i.e.* from the laws of all other people), and they keep not the laws of the king, and it is not fitting for the king to leave them alone. Ver. 9. If it seem good to the king, let it be written (*i.e.* let a written decree be published) to destroy them; and I will weigh ten thousand talents of silver to those who do the business, that they may bring them into the treasuries of the king." This proposal was very subtilly calculated. First Haman casts suspicion on the Jews as a nation scattered abroad and dwelling apart, and therefore unsociable,—as refractory, and therefore dangerous to the state; then he promises the king that their extermination will bring into the royal treasury a very considerable sum of money, viz. the property of the slaughtered. Ten thousand talents of silver, reckoned according to the Mosaic shekel, are £3,750,000, according to the civil shekel £1,875,000; see rem. on 1 Chron. xxii. 14. עֲשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה, those who execute a work, builders in 2 Kings xii. 12, are here and ch. ix. 3 the king's men of business, who carry on the king's business with respect to receipts and disbursements, the royal financiers.—Ver. 10. The king agreed to this proposal. He drew his signet ring from his hand, and delivered it to Haman, that he might prepare the edict in the king's name, and give it by the impression of the royal seal the authority of an irrevocable decree; see rem. on viii. 8. "To the enemy of the Jews" is added emphatically.—Ver. 11. Lest it should appear as though the king had been induced by the prospect held out of obtaining a sum of money, he awards this to Haman. "The silver be given to thee, and the people to do to them (let it be done to them) as seemeth good to thee." וְהָעָם precedes absolutely: as for the people of the Jews, etc.

Vers. 12–15. Haman, without delay, causes the necessary writings to be prepared, and sent into all the provinces of the kingdom. Ver. 12. "Then were called the king's scribes in the first month, on the thirteenth day of it (בּו, in it, in the said month); and there was written according to all that Haman commanded, to the satraps of the king, and to the governors who (were placed) over every province, and to the rulers of every people, to each several province accord-



ing to its writing, and to each different people according to their language (comp. rem. on i. 22); in the name of King Ahashverosh was it written, and sealed with the king's seal." **אַחַשְׁוֵרְשׁ** and **פָּחוֹת** placed in juxtaposition, as in Ezra viii. 36, are the imperial officials. Beside these are also named the **שָׂרִים** of every people, the native princes of the different races. The writing was finished on the thirteenth day of the month, because this day of the month had been fixed upon as propitious by the lot.—Ver. 13. And the letters were sent (**נִשְׁלָחוּ**, *infin. abs. Niph.* instead of the *verb. fin.*) by posts. **הָרָצִים** are the post-riders, the *aggaroi*, who were stationed on the high roads of the realm, generally four parasangs apart, to transmit with the more speed the royal letters and messages. Herod. v. 14, viii. 98 (Berth.), comp. Brisson. *de reg. Pers. princ.* i. c. 238 sq. **לְהַשְׁמִיד וְנָוֶה**, to destroy, to kill, and cause to perish all Jews from the youth to the old man, children and women, in one day, on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, and to deprive them of their spoil. The three verbs are combined to give strength to the expression. **שָׁלָלָם** is their property, which is called spoil because it was delivered up to plunder. Haman having held out the prospect of a large sum as the result of exterminating the Jews, and the king having bestowed this upon Haman, the plundering of the Jews, thus permitted to all the inhabitants of the kingdom who should assist in exterminating them, must be understood as implying, that they would have to deliver a portion of the booty thus obtained to Haman.—Ver. 14. The copy of the writing, that the law might be given in every province, was opened to all people, that they might be ready by this day. This verse does not announce a copy of the royal decree that had been prepared and sent by the posts, which would in that case be replaced by a mere allusion to its contents (Bertheau). The words contain no trace of an announcement such as we find in Ezra iv. 11, vii. 11, but the historical notice, that the copy of the writing which was sent as a law into the provinces was **נִלְוִי**, opened, *i.e.* sent unclosed or unsealed to all people. **נִלְוִי** is the predicate to the subject **כְּתוּבַת הַחֹק** (comp. on this word the note to Ezra

iv. 14), and between the subject and predicate is inserted the infinitive clause 'לְהַנְתִּן דָּת וּגו' for the purpose of once more briefly mentioning the contents and destination of the **פֶּתָב**: that a law might be given in every province. To attain this object the more certainly, the copy of the decree, which was brought into every province by the posts, was open or unsealed, that all people might read its contents, and keep themselves in readiness for the execution of what was therein commanded on the appointed day. **לַיּוֹם הַזֶּה** is the thirteenth day of the twelfth month named in the letter.—Ver. 15. The posts went forth hastening (**רַחֲמָה** like 2 Chron. xxvi. 20) at the king's commandment, and the decree was given (promulgated) in the citadel of Susa,—an explanatory clause; and the king and Haman sat down to drink while the messengers went forth with the decree, but the city of Susa, in which it was first published, was in perplexity (on **נְבוּזָה** comp. Ex. xiv. 3, Joel i. 18). The cruel measure could not but fill all peace-loving citizens with horror and anxiety.—Here the question is forced upon us, why the decree should have been so prematurely published. The scribes were summoned to prepare it on the thirteenth day of the first month. For this purpose, even though many copies had to be made in different languages, no very long time would be required in a well-appointed government office. As soon as the scribes had finished their work, the decree was sent out by the posts into all quarters of the realm, and would arrive in even the most distant provinces in three weeks at furthest. This would place almost eleven, and in the remotest parts about ten months between the publication and execution of the decree. What then was the motive for such an interval? Certainly so long a time could not be required for preparing to carry it out, nor is this hinted at in the text, as Bertheau supposes. Nor could it be intended that the Jews should suffer a long period of anxiety. On the contrary, the motive seems to have been, as Clericus and others have already conjectured, to cause many Jews to leave their property and escape to other lands, for the sake of preserving their lives. Thus

Haman would attain his object. He would be relieved of the presence of the Jews, and be able to enrich himself by the appropriation of their possessions (comp. p. 307). On the other hand, the providence of God overruling the event in the interest of the Jews, is unmistakeably evident both in Haman's haste to satisfy his desire for vengeance, and in the falling of the lot upon so distant a day. It was only because there was so long an interval between the publication of the decree and the day appointed by lot for its execution, that it was possible for the Jews to take means for averting the destruction with which they were threatened, as the further development of the history will show.

CHAP. IV.—MORDOCHAI'S MOURNING ON ACCOUNT OF THE  
DECREE FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF THE JEWS, AND  
HIS ADMONITION TO ESTHER TO INTERCEDE FOR HER  
PEOPLE.

When Mordochai heard what had happened, he went mourning and lamenting about the city, and even to the king's gate; and the decree of Haman occasioned great lamentations among the Jews in all the provinces of the kingdom (1-3). When Queen Esther heard through her maids and courtiers of Mordochai's mourning, she sent him raiment that he might put off his mourning garb, but he refused to do so. She then sent an eunuch to him to inquire more particularly as to its cause. Mordochai informed him of all that had happened, giving him a copy of the decree to show to Esther, and charging her to entreat the king's favour for her people (4-8). The queen, however, expressed her hesitation to go in unto the king unsummoned, but upon Mordochai's repeated admonition, resolved to make the desired attempt, at the peril of her life (9-17).

Vers. 1-3. Mordochai learnt all that was done,—not only what had been openly proclaimed, but, as is shown by ver. 7, also the transaction between the king and Haman. Then he rent his garments, put on sackcloth and ashes, and went out into the midst of the city, making loud and bitter lamenta-

tion. Comp. on the last words, Gen. xxvii. 34. The combination of אָפֶר with שֵׁשׁ יָלֵבֵשׁ is an abbreviation for: put on a hairy garment and spread ashes upon his head, in sign of deep grief; comp. Dan. ix. 3, Job ii. 12, and elsewhere.—Ver. 2. And came even before the king's gate, *i.e.*, according to ver. 6, the open space before the entrance to the royal palace; for none might enter wearing mourning. אֵין לְבוֹא, there is no entering, *i.e.* none may enter; comp. Ewald, § 321, c.—Ver. 3. Also in every province whither the king's decree arrived, there arose a great mourning among the Jews. מְקוֹם אִשָּׁר is an adverbial *accusat. loci* in apposition to בְּכָל-מְדִינָה: in every place to which the word of the king and his decree reached, *i.e.* arrived. "Sackcloth and ashes were spread for many," *i.e.* many sat in hairy garments upon the earth, where ashes had been spread; comp. Isa. lviii. 5. The meaning is: All the Jews broke out into mourning, weeping, and lamentation, while many manifested their grief in the manner above described.

Vers. 4-8. The matter was made known to Esther by her maids and eunuchs, *i.e.* by her attendants. The *Chethiv* תְּבוּאָתָהּ does not elsewhere occur after ו consecutive, hence the substitution of the *Keri* תְּבוּאָתָהּ. The object of יִיְרִדוּ: what they told her, is evidently, from what follows, the circumstance of Mordochai's appearance in deep mourning before the gate of the palace. On receiving this information the queen fell into convulsive grief (תַּחֲלֹחַל, an intensive form of חָלַל, to be seized with painful grief), and sent to Mordochai raiment to put on instead of his sackcloth, evidently for the purpose of enabling him to enter the palace and give her the particulars of what had happened. But Mordochai did not accept the raiment.—Vers. 5-7. Then Esther sent Hatach, one of the eunuchs whom the king had set before her, *i.e.* appointed to attend her, to Mordochai to learn "what this, and why this," *i.e.* what was the meaning and the cause of his thus going about in mourning. When Hatach came forth to him in the open place of the city before the king's gate, Mordochai told him all that had happened, and the amount of the money which Haman had promised to weigh to the king's treasures

(*i.e.* to pay into the royal treasury) for the Jews, to destroy them, *i.e.* that it might be permitted him to destroy the Jews. פָּרִשָּׁה, properly a determined, accurate statement, from פָּרַשׁ in the sense of to determine clearly (see rem. on Lev. xxiv. 12); here, according to the context: amount, sum. This promise of Haman is here emphatically mentioned as the chief point, not so much for the purpose of raising the indignation of Esther to the highest pitch (Bertheau), as to show the resentment and eagerness with which Haman had urged the extermination of the Jews. The *Chethiv* יהודיים is the rarer form for יהודים, and is repeated viii. 1, 7, 13, ix. 15, 18.—Ver. 8. Mordochai also gave Hatach a copy of the decree published in Susa (נָתַן בְּשִׁשָּׁן, like iii. 15) to show it to the queen. The following is more correctly drawn towards the subsequent גִּלְצוֹת, as by Bertheau, than connected according to the accentuation with what precedes. Before this infinitive must be supplied from the context, especially from ver. 7: and Mordochai commissioned him or told him (Hatach): to declare unto her and to command her (Esther) to go in unto the king, to entreat him and to make request before him for her people. בִּקֵּשׁ עַל, to beg, to make request for something, like Ezra viii. 23, and chap. vii. 7. עַל עַמָּה, concerning her people, *i.e.* in this connection: for them.

Vers. 9-17. When Hatach brought this information to Esther, she sent word by him to Mordochai, that she might not go in unto the king unsummoned. הִצְוָהוּ אֵל מ', she ordered or commissioned him to Mordochai, viz. to tell him what follows, ver. 11: "All the king's servants and the people of the king's provinces (*i.e.* all the officers and subjects of the king) know, that with respect to every man or woman that shall come in unto the king, into the inner court, that is not called—one (the same) law (is) for him: to put (him) to death, except him to whom the king shall hold out the golden sceptre, that he may live." קָל-אִישׁ וְאִשָּׁה precede as *nominativi absol.*; these are followed by two relative clauses, which are succeeded by the anacoluthic predicate אֶחָת דָּתוֹ: one and the same law is for him (דָּתוֹ, the law concerning him, the unsummoned appearer, the matter of which is briefly stated by

לְהַקְיִיתָ). In the inner court dwelt the king, seated on his throne (comp. v. 1). The law, that every one entering unbidden should be put to death, was subject to but one exception: לְבַד מֵאִשְׁרֵי וְגו', except him to whom the king stretches out, etc. הוֹשִׁיט from הָשַׁט, appearing only in the present book (v. 2, viii. 4), but frequently in Chaldee and Syriac, signifies to hold out, to extend, with לוֹ, to or towards him. שִׁרְבִיט, the Aramaic form for שֶׁבֶט, sceptre. Access to the royal presence had been already rendered difficult by an edict issued by Dejokes the Mede, Herod. i. 9; and among the Persians, none, with the exception of a few individuals (Herod. iii. 118), were permitted to approach the king without being previously announced (Herod. iii. 140; Corn. Nepos, *Conon*, 3). Any one entering unannounced was punished with death, unless the king, according to this passage, gave it to be understood by stretching forth his sceptre that he was to remain unpunished. It is, however, self-evident, and the fact is confirmed by Herod. iii. 140, that any who desired audience were allowed to announce themselves. Esther might, it seems, have done this. Why, then, did she not make the attempt? The answer lies in her further message to Mordochai: "and I have not been called to come in unto the king these thirty days." From these words it appears, that formerly she had been more frequently summoned before the king. Now, however, a whole month had passed without any invitation. Hence she concluded that the king did not much wish to see her, and for this reason dared not go unto him unbidden. Evidently, too, she was unwilling to be announced, because in that case she would have been obliged immediately to make known to the king the cause of her desiring this interview. And this she would not venture to do, fearing that, considering the great favour in which Haman stood with the king, she might, if she did not provoke his displeasure against herself through her intercession for her people, at least meet with a rejection of her petition. To set aside an irrevocable decree sealed with the king's seal, must have appeared to Esther an impossible undertaking. To have asked such a thing of the king would

have been indeed a bold venture.—Vers. 12-14. When what Esther said was reported to Mordochai, he sent word back to her (הַשִּׁיב): “Think not in thy soul (with thyself) to be saved in the house of the king above all the Jews; for if thou holdest thy peace at this time, recovery and deliverance will arise from another place, but thou and thy father’s house shall be destroyed. And who knows if thou hast attained to royalty for a time such as this!” By the words: “Think not that thou wilt be saved in the king’s house above all the Jew,” *i.e.* alone of all the Jews, Mordochai does not reproach Esther with being indifferent to the fate of her fellow-countrymen, but rather calls her attention to the fact that her own life is in danger. This is evident from the clause: if thou hold thy peace, will not intercede with the king for thy people, help will come from some other quarter. רָחַם = רָחַמָה, Ex. viii. 11, ἀναψύξας, deliverance from oppressive restraint. יַעֲמֹד, rise up, arise, used according to later custom for עָמַד, as in 1 Chron. xx. 4. The thought is: the Jewish nation cannot perish, its continuance is guaranteed by the divine promise. If thou wilt venture nothing for its safety, God will bring deliverance, but destruction will come upon thee and thy family. Though Mordochai neither speaks of God, nor alludes directly to His assistance, he still grounds his hopes of the preservation of his people upon the word and promise of God, and Brentius pertinently remarks: *habes hic excellentem ac plane heroicam Mardochæi fidem, qua in præsentissimo ac periculosissimo discrimine videt futuram liberationem.* The last clause of ver. 14 is by most expositors understood as saying: and who knows whether thou hast not for a time like this attained to royalty? This agrees with the sense, but cannot be verbally justified, for אִם does not mean whether not. The sentence contains an aposiopesis. The clause depending on the conditional אִם is unspoken, but understood. Besides, הַיָּדוּעַ is not in the imperfect. Hence it can only be translated: Who knows, if thou hadst not attained to royalty at or for such a time? Then the clause omitted would be: what thou then wouldst have done. מִי יוֹדֵעַ more frequently has the meaning of *perhaps*; and Mordochai says:

perhaps thou hast attained to royalty (to the dignity of queen) for a time like this, *sc.* to use thy position for the deliverance of thy people. In the turn thus given to the sentence it contains the most urgent injunction to Esther to use her high position for the preservation of her fellow-countrymen.—Ver. 15. This pressing monition produced its result. Esther returned answer to Mordochai: “Go, gather together all the Jews that are found in Susa, and fast ye for me: I also and my maidens will fast; and so will I go to the king against the law; and if I perish, I perish.” Esther resolves to go to the king unsummoned, but begs Mordochai and all the Jews to unite in a three days’ fast, during which she and her maidens will also fast, to seek by earnest humiliation God’s gracious assistance in the step she proposes to take, for the purpose of averting the threatened destruction of her people. “Though ‘God’ and ‘prayer’ are not here mentioned, it is yet obviously assumed that it was before God that the Jews were to humble themselves, to seek His help, and to induce Him to grant it. 1 Kings xxi. 27–29; Joel i. 14; Jonah iii. 5 sq.” (Berth.). To designate the strictness of this fasting, the words: “neither eat nor drink,” are added. The “three days, night and day,” are not to be reckoned as three times twenty-four hours, but to be understood of a fast which lasts till the third day after that on which it begins; for according to v. 1, Esther goes to the king on the third day. Comp. the similar definition of time, Jonah ii. 1. The addition “day and night” declares that the fast was not to be intermitted. וַיִּכְבֹּד, and in thus, *i.e.* in this state of fasting. וַיִּשָּׂא לֹא כִדָּת: which is not according to law. וַיִּשָּׂא לֹא is used, like the Aramæan form לֹא לִי, in the sense of *without* (comp. Ewald, § 222, c): without according to law = contrary to law. The last words: “if I perish, I perish,” etc., are the expression not of despair, but of resignation, or perfect submission to the providence of God; comp. Gen. xliii. 14.—Ver. 17. And Mordochai went his way, *i.e.* from the place before the court of the king, to do what the queen had commanded him to do.



CHAP. V.—ESTHER'S GRACIOUS RECEPTION BY THE KING.  
HAMAN'S RAGE AGAINST MORDOCHAI.

On the third day Esther betook herself in her royal apparel to the inner court of the 'palace, and was so kindly received by the king, that he promised to grant her any petition she might make; whereupon she requested the king to come with Haman that day to a banquet which she had prepared (vers. 1-8). On returning from this banquet, Haman saw Mordechai in the king's gate, and when the latter did not bow before him, was so enraged, that, upon the advice of his wife and friends, he resolved to induce the king to permit the execution of Mordechai on the following day (vers. 9-14).

Vers. 1-8. On the third day Esther put on her royal apparel and entered the inner court of the king's house, opposite the dwelling of the king, where he was sitting on his throne before the gate (ver. 1). The third day must be counted from the day of the transaction between the queen and Mordechai (iv. 14); the first day being that on which it took place. The fasting, then, would not begin till midday; and on the third day Esther went to the king to invite him on that day to a banquet, which would surely take place in the forenoon. Thus the three days' fast would last from the afternoon of the first to the forenoon of the third day, *i.e.* from 40 to 45 hours. תִּלְבַּשׁ מַלְכוּת, she put on royalty, royal dignity, *i.e.* arrayed herself in royal apparel. Bertheau thinks that the word לְבִישׁ has been inadvertently omitted before מַלְכוּת; but such a conjecture is without sufficient support, the passages vi. 8 and viii. 15 being of another kind. The expression is elliptical, and מַלְכוּת is easily completed by the notion לְבִישׁ furnished by the verb.—Ver. 2. When the king saw Queen Esther standing in the court, she obtained favour in his eyes (see rem. on ii. 9), and he held out to her the golden sceptre that was in his hand; and Esther drew near and touched the top of the sceptre, probably kissed it, as the *Vulgate* renders the word.—Ver. 3. The king, concluding from the circumstance of her appearing

there unsummoned, that she had some urgent matter to bring before him, said to her: "What wilt thou, Queen Esther? and what is thy request? To the half of the kingdom it shall be granted thee." A short expression for: if thy request relates even to the half of the kingdom, it shall be granted. Ver. 4. Esther, however, for the present requested nothing further, than that on that day (to-day) the king and Haman should come to the banquet she had prepared. **לֵאמֹר טוֹב עָלַי** like i. 19. —Ver. 5. The king commanded Haman to hasten thither, to do as the queen had said. **מִהֲרֵי**, hastened Haman, *i.e.* sent to fetch him quickly. **מִהֲרֵי** like 2 Chron. xviii. 8, 1 Kings xxii. 9. **לְעֵשׂוֹת**, that the word of the queen might be done, carried out. —Ver. 6. At the repast, and indeed at "the banquet of wine," when the greatest cheerfulness would prevail, the king repeated his question as to the desire of the queen, making the same promise as in ver. 3. **וַיַּעַשׂ**, an abbreviated form of the imperfect **וַיַּעֲשֶׂה**, is optative or jussive: and it shall be done.—Vers. 7 and 8. Esther answered: "My petition and my request—if I have found favour in the sight of the king, and if it please the king to grant my petition and to do my request, let the king and Haman come to the banquet that I shall prepare for them, and to-morrow I will do as the king hath said," *i.e.* make known my request. Though the king had, in the midst of the gaiety, asked what was Esther's request, she did not esteem the time an appropriate one for expressing it. She begins: my petition and my request,—but then stops, and says only, if the king will do her the favour to come with Haman to a banquet again on the morrow, she will then bring forward her petition. Esther invited Haman with the king on both occasions, that, as Calovius remarks, *eum apud regem præsentem accusaret decreti surrepti contra suos populares nomine, et in os omnes cavillandi vias ei præcluderet.*

Vers. 9–14. Haman went forth from the palace satisfied and with a joyful heart. When, however, he saw Mordochai in the king's gate, who neither stood up nor trembled before him, he was full of indignation against him. **וְלֹא קָם וְגו'** are circumstantial clauses following the principal clause without a copula. **קָם** and **וַע** are perfects, and **וְלֹא—וְלֹא** are used in

the sense of *neque—neque*. נִרְדָּמָה constructed with נִרְדָּמָה means to tremble before any one, to be disquieted.—Ver. 10. Haman, however, refrained himself; and without immediately giving vent to his rage at Mordochai, went home and sent for his friends and his wife Zeresh, that he might unburden himself before them, and take counsel with them for Mordochai's destruction.—Ver. 11. He first spoke to them of his wealth and domestic happiness, of the "glory of his riches and the multitude of his children." From ix. 7-10 we learn that Haman had ten sons; and many sons were not looked upon as a great blessing from God by the Israelites only, but were also esteemed a signal prosperity among the Persians, the king annually sending presents to him who had the greatest number of sons.<sup>1</sup> Haman next recounted to them the great honours he had attained; אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר, all how the king had made him great, and how he had advanced him above the princes; comp. iii. 1. אֲשֶׁר is a second accusative of the means by which something is brought to pass. Finally, ver. 12, what high distinction had just been accorded him, by the queen having invited him alone to come to her banquet with the king. "Yea, Esther the queen did let no man come in with the king unto the banquet which she had prepared but myself; and to-morrow am I also invited unto her with the king." הֵנָּה enhances the meaning: even this honour is shown me. אֲנִי קָרוֹא־לָהּ, I am her invited guest = I am invited to her and by her; comp. Ew. § 295, c.—Ver. 13. And yet all his good fortune is embittered to him as often as he sees the hated Jew Mordochai. "And all this availeth me not at every time when I see the Jew Mordochai sitting in the king's gate." לֹא שׂוֹהֵה is, not being equalled to me, *i.e.* not answering my desires, not affording me satisfaction. בְּכָל־עֵת אֲשֶׁר, at all time when = as often as. The fortune and honour he enjoys fail to satisfy him, when he sees the Jew Mordochai refuse to show him the reverence which he claims.—

<sup>1</sup> Herod. says, i. 136: Ἀνδραγαθίῃ δ' αὕτη ἀποδέδεται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὅς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παίδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστον ἀποδείκνυντι, δῶρα ἐκπέμπει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. Comp. Strabo, xv. 3. 17.

Ver. 14. His wife and all his friends advise: "Let a tree be made (set up) fifty cubits high, and to-morrow speak to the king, that Mordochai may be hanged thereon (*i.e.* impaled; see on הָלַךְ ii. 23); and then go in merrily with the king to the banquet." The counsellors take it for granted that the king will without hesitation agree to Haman's proposal to execute Mordochai, and therefore advise him at once to make the necessary preparations, so that the hated Jew may be hanged on the morrow before the banquet, and Haman may then go with the king to the feast prepared by the queen, free from all annoyance. עָשָׂה עֵץ גָּב, to make, *i.e.* to erect a high tree. The higher the stake, the farther would it be seen. The 3d pers. plu. יַעֲשׂוּ stands instead of the passive: let them make = let . . be made. So too יִהְיֶה for let . . be hanged. This speech pleased Haman, and he caused the stake to be erected.

#### CHAP. VI.—ELEVATION OF MORDOCHAI AND DISGRACE OF HAMAN.

The next night the king, being unable to sleep, caused the chronicles of the kingdom to be read to him. The account of the conspiracy discovered by Mordochai, which was written therein, was thus brought before him, and he inquired of his servants whether this man had been rewarded (vers. 1-3a). On receiving a negative answer, the king sent to inquire who was in the court; and Haman being found there thus early, he had him summoned, and asked him: what should be done to the man in whose honour the king delighteth. Haman, supposing that the king could intend to honour no one but himself, voted for the very highest public mark of respect (vers. 3b-9), and was then obliged at the king's command to pay the proposed honour to Mordochai (vers. 10, 11). From this humiliation his wife and friends prognosticated his speedy downfall (vers. 12-14).

Vers. 1-11. An unexpected turn of affairs. Ver. 1. On that night between Esther's first and second banquet, the king's sleep fled, and he commanded to bring the book of records of

the chronicles and to read therefrom. On **הַסֵּפֶר הַזִּכְרֹנוֹת**, comp. Ezra iv. 15. The title is here more particularly stated than in ii. 23, where the book is briefly called: The book of the chronicles. **וַיִּהְיֶה נִקְרָאִים**, and they (the chronicles) were read before the king. The participle denotes the long continuance of this reading.—Ver. 2. And it was found written therein among other matters, that Mordochai had given information concerning the two courtiers who were plotting against the king's life. This is the conspiracy related ii. 21-23. The name Bigthana is in ii. 21 written Bigthan.—Ver. 3. On this occasion the king asked: What honour and greatness hath been done to Mordochai for this? **עָלָיָהּ**, for giving this information. And the king's servants answered: Nothing has been shown him. **עָשָׂה עִם**, to show any one something, *e.g.* favour; comp. 2 Sam. ii. 6, iii. 8, and elsewhere. **גְּדֻלָּהּ**, greatness, *i.e.* promotion to honour.—Ver. 4. To repair this deficiency, and to do honour to the man who had done good service to the king—as the Persian monarchs were accustomed, comp. Brisson. *de reg. Pers. princ.* i. c. 135—he asked, “who is in the court?” *i.e.* whether some minister or state functionary were there with whom he might consult concerning the honour due to Mordochai. Those who desired an audience with the king were accustomed to appear and wait in the outer court, until they were summoned into the inner court to present themselves before the monarch. From this question of the king it appears that it was already morning. And Haman, it is parenthetically remarked, was come into the outer court to speak to the king, to hang Mordochai on the tree which he had prepared.—Ver. 5. The attendants inform the king that Haman is in the court; whereupon the king commands: **יָבוֹא**, let him come in.—Ver. 6. As soon as he enters the king asks: What is to be done to the man in whose honour the king delighteth? *i.e.* whom he delights to honour. And Haman, thinking (**אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ**), to say in one's heart, *i.e.* to think) to whom will the king delight to show honour more than to me (**יֹחֵר מִמֶּנִּי**), projecting before me, surpassing me, hence adverbially, beyond me, *e.g.* Eccles. xii. 12, comp. ii. 15, vii. 11, 16)? votes immediately for the greatest possible mark

of honour, and says, ver. 7 sq. : "As for the man in whose honour the king delighteth, let them bring the royal apparel with which the king has been clothed, and a horse on which the king has ridden, and the king's crown upon his head, and let them deliver this apparel and horse to one of the chief princes of the king, and let them array (*i.e.* with the royal apparel) the man in whose honour the king delighteth, and cause him to ride upon the horse through the streets of the city, and proclaim before him : Thus shall it be done to the man in whose honour the king delighteth." אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יוֹנֵה, ver. 7, precedes absolutely, and the predicate does not follow till וְהִלְבִּישׁוּ, ver. 9, where the preceding subject is now by an anacoluthon taken up in the accusative (אֶת־הָאִישׁ). Several clauses are inserted between, for the purpose of enumerating beforehand all that appertains to such a token of honour : a royal garment, a royal steed, a crown on the head, and one of the chief princes for the carrying out of the honour awarded. The royal garment is not only, as Bertheau justly remarks, such a one as the king is accustomed to wear, but, as is shown by the perf. לָבַשׁ, one which the king has himself already put on or worn. Hence it is not an ordinary state-robe, the so-called Median apparel which the king himself, the chief princes among the Persians, and those on whom the king bestowed such raiment were wont to appear in (Herod. iii. 84, vii. 116 ; Xenoph. *Cyrop.* viii. 3. 1, comp. with the note of Baehr on Her. iii. 84), but a costly garment, the property of the sovereign himself. This was the highest mark of honour that could be shown to a subject. So too was the riding upon a horse on which the king had ridden, and whose head was adorned with a royal crown. נִתֵּן is perf. Niph., not 1st pers. pl. imperf. Kal, as Maurer insists ; and בְּרֹאשׁוֹ אֲשֶׁר refers to the head of the horse, not to the head of the man to be honoured, as Clericus, Rambach, and most ancient expositors explain the words, in opposition to the natural sense of — אֲשֶׁר נִתֵּן בְּרֹאשׁוֹ. We do not indeed find among classical writers any testimony to such an adornment of the royal steed ; but the circumstance is not at all improbable, and seems to be corroborated by ancient remains, certain Assyrian and ancient

Persian sculptures, representing the horses of the king, and apparently those of princes, with ornaments on their heads terminating in three points, which may be regarded as a kind of crown. The *infin. absol.* וְנָתַן is a continuation of the preceding jussive יָבִי־אֵ: and they shall give, let them give the garment—to the hand of a man, *i.e.* hand or deliver to him. The garment and horse are to be delivered to one of the noblest princes, that he may bring them to the individual to be honoured, may array him in the garment, set him on the horse, and proclaim before him as he rides through the city, etc. On הַפְּרָחִים, comp. i. 4, and on the matter itself, Gen. xl. 43. רֶחֶב is either an open square, the place of public assemblage, the forum, or a collective signifying the wide streets of the city. כָּכָה יַעֲשֶׂה as in Deut. xxv. 9 and elsewhere.—Vers. 10, 11. This honour, then, the haughty Haman was now compelled to pay to the hated Jew. The king commanded him: “Make haste, take the apparel and the horse, as thou hast said,” *i.e.* in the manner proposed by thee, “and do even so to Mordochai the Jew, that sitteth at the king’s gate; let nothing fail of all that thou hast spoken,” *i.e.* carry out your proposal exactly. How the king knew that Mordochai was a Jew, and that he sat in the king’s gate, is not indeed expressly stated, but may easily be supplied from the conversation of the king with his servants concerning Mordochai’s discovery of the conspiracy, vers. 1-3. On this occasion the servants of the king would certainly give him particulars concerning Mordochai, who by daily frequenting the king’s gate, ii. 19, v. 9, would certainly have attracted the attention of all the king’s suite. Nor can doubt be cast upon the historical truth of the fact related in this verse by the question: whether the king had forgotten that all Jews were doomed to destruction, and that he had delivered them up to Haman for that purpose (J. D. Mich.). Such forgetfulness in the case of such a monarch as Xerxes cannot surprise us.

Vers. 12-14. After this honour had been paid him, Mordochai returned to the king’s gate; but Haman hastened to his house, “sad and with his head covered,” to relate to

his wife and friends all that had befallen him. A deeper mortification he could not have experienced than that of being obliged, by the king's command, publicly to show the highest honour to the very individual whose execution he was just about to propose to him. The covering of the head is a token of deep confusion and mourning; comp. Jer. xiv. 4, 2 Sam. xv. 30. Then his wise men, and Zeresh his wife, said to him: "If Mordochai, before whom thou hast begun to fall, be of the seed of the Jews, thou wilt not prevail against him, but wholly fall before him." לֹא תִכָּל לוֹ, *non prævalebis ei*, comp. Gen. xxxii. 26. נָפַל תָּפֹל with an emphatic *infin. absol.*: wholly fall. Instead of the אֲהֲבָיו, חֲכָמָיו are here named, or to speak more correctly, the friends of Haman are here called his wise men (*magi*). Even in v. 14 Haman's friends figure as those with whom he takes counsel concerning Mordochai, *i.e.* as his counsellors or advisers; hence it is very probable that there were *magi* among their number, who now "come forward as a *genus sapientum et doctorum* (Cicero, *divin.* i. 23)" (Berth.), and predict his overthrow in his contest with Mordochai. The ground of this prediction is stated: "If Mordochai is of the seed of the Jews," *i.e.* of Jewish descent, then after this preliminary fall a total fall is inevitable. Previously (v. 14) they had not hesitated to advise him to hang the insignificant Jew; but now that the insignificant Jew has become, as by a miracle, a man highly honoured by the king, the fact that the Jews are under the special protection of Providence is pressed upon them. *Ex fato populorum*, remarks Grotius, *de singulorum fati judicabant. Judæi gravissime oppressi a Cyri temporibus contra spem omnem resurgere cœperant.* We cannot, however, regard as well founded the further remark: *de Amalecitis audierant oraculum esse, eos Judæorum manu perituros*, which Grotius, with most older expositors, derives from the Amalekite origin of Haman. The revival of the Jewish people since the times of Cyrus was sufficient to induce, in the minds of heathen who were attentive to the signs of the times, the persuasion that this nation enjoyed divine protection.—Ver. 14. During this conversation certain



courtiers had already arrived, who hastily brought Haman to the banquet of the queen, to which he would certainly go in a less happy state of mind than on the preceding day.

#### CHAP. VII.—HAMAN'S DOWNFALL AND RUIN.

At this second banquet the king again inquired of the queen what was her petition, when she entreated that her life and that of her people might be spared, for that she and her people were sold to destruction (vers. 1-4). The king, evidently shocked at such a petition, asked who was the originator of so evil a deed, and Esther named the wicked Haman as the enemy (vers. 5, 6). Full of indignation at such a crime, the king rose from the banquet and went into the garden; Haman then fell down before the queen to entreat for his life. When the king returned to the house, he saw Haman lying on the couch on which Esther was sitting, and thinking that he was offering violence to the queen, he passed sentence of death upon him, and caused him to be hanged on the tree he had erected for Mordochai (vers. 7-10).

Vers. 1-6. The king and Haman came to drink (לשׂוֹת), i.e. to partake of the מִשְׁתֶּה, in the queen's apartment.—Ver. 2. At this banquet of wine the king asked again on the second day, as he had done on the first (chap. v. 6): What is thy petition, Queen Esther, etc.? Esther then took courage to express her petition. After the usual introductory phrases (ver. 3 like v. 8), she replied: "Let my life be given me at my petition, and my people at my request." For, she adds as a justification and reason for such a petition, "we are sold, I and my people, to be destroyed, to be slain, and to perish. And if we had been sold for bondmen and bondwomen, I had been silent, for the enemy is not worth the king's damage." In this request עַמִּי is a short expression for: the life of my people, and the preposition בְּ, the so-called בְּ pretii. The request is conceived of as the price which she offers or presents for her life and that of her people. The expression נִמְכְּרֵנוּ, we are sold, is used by

Esther with reference to the offer of Haman to pay a large sum into the royal treasury for the extermination of the Jews, iii. 9, iv. 7. אָלֵי, contracted after Aramæan usage from אִם לִי, and occurring also Eccles. vi. 6, supposes a case, the realization of which is desired, but not to be expected, the matter being represented as already decided by the use of the perfect. The last clause, בִּי אֵין הָצָר וְנִי, is by most expositors understood as a reference, on the part of Esther, to the financial loss which the king would incur by the extermination of the Jews. Thus Rambach, *e.g.*, following R. Sal. ben Melech, understands the meaning expressed to be: *hostis nullo modo æquare, compensare, resarcire potest pecunia sua damnum, quod rex ex nostro excidio patitur*. So also Cler. and others. The confirmatory clause would in this case refer not to הָחֵרְשִׁיתִי, but to a negative notion needing completion: but I dare not be silent; and such completion is itself open to objection. To this must be added, that שָׁוֶה in Kal constructed with בִּי does not signify *compensare*, to equalize, to make equal, but to be equal; consequently the Piel should be found here to justify the explanation proposed. שָׁוֶה in Kal constructed with בִּי signifies to be of equal worth with something, to equal another thing in value. Hence Gesenius translates: the enemy does not equal the damage of the king, *i.e.* is not in a condition to compensate the damage. But neither when thus viewed does the sentence give any reason for Esther's statement, that she would have been silent, if the Jews had been sold for slaves. Hence we are constrained, with Bertheau, to take a different view of the words, and to give up the reference to financial loss. נָזַק, in the Targums, means not merely financial, but also bodily, personal damage; *e.g.* Ps. xci. 7, Gen. xxvi. 11, to do harm, 1 Chron. xvi. 22. Hence the phrase may be understood thus: For the enemy is not equal to, is not worth, the damage of the king, *i.e.* not worthy that I should annoy the king with my petition. Thus Esther says, ver. 4: The enemy has determined upon the total destruction of my people. If he only intended to bring upon them grievous oppression, even that most grievous oppression of slavery, I

would have been silent, for the enemy is not worthy that I should vex or annoy the king by my accusation.—Ver. 5. The king, whose indignation was excited by what he had just heard, asks with an agitation, shown by the repetition of the *וַיֹּאמֶר*: “Who is he, and where is he, whose heart hath filled him (whom his heart hath filled) to do so?” Evil thoughts proceed from the heart, and fill the man, and impel him to evil deeds: Isa. xlv. 20; Eccles. viii. 11; Matt. xv. 19.—Ver. 6. Esther replies: “The adversary and enemy is this wicked Haman.” Then was Haman afraid before the king and the queen. *וַיִּנָּעַר* as in 1 Chron. xxi. 30, Dan. viii. 17.

Vers. 7-10. The king in his wrath arose from the banquet of wine, and went into the garden of the house (*בְּהֵמָה* is here a pregnant expression, and is also combined with *אֶל-בֵּית*); but Haman remained standing to beg for his life to Queen Esther (*בִּקֵּשׁ עָלַי* as in iv. 8), “for he saw that there was evil determined against him by the king” (*פְּלָה*, completed, *i.e.* determined; comp. 1 Sam. xx. 7, 9, xxv. 17, and elsewhere); and hence that he had no mercy to expect from him, unless the queen should intercede for him.—Ver. 8. The king returned to the house, and found Haman falling (*נָפַל* as in Josh. viii. 10, Dent. xxi. 1, and elsewhere) at or on the couch on which Esther was (sitting), *i.e.* falling as a suppliant at her feet; and crediting Haman in the heat of his anger with the worst designs, he cried out: “Shall also violence be done to the queen before me in the house?” The *infin.* *לִבְבוֹשׁ* after the interrogatory particle signifies: Is violence to be done, *i.e.* shall violence be done? as in 1 Chron. xv. 2 and elsewhere; comp. Ewald, § 237, *c.* *בִּבְשׁ*, to tread under foot, to subdue, used here in the more general sense, to offer violence. Without waiting for an explanation, the king, still more infuriated, passes sentence of death upon Haman. This is not given in so many words by the historian, but we are told immediately that: “as the word went out of the king’s mouth, they covered Haman’s face.” *הַדְּבָר* is not the speech of the king just reported, but the judicial sentence, the death warrant, *i.e.* the word to punish Haman with death. This is unmistakeably shown by the

further statement : they covered Haman's face. The subject is indefinite : the attendants present. To cover the face was indeed to begin to carry the sentence of death into execution. With respect to this custom, expositors appeal to Curtius, vi. 8. 22 : *Philetam—capite velato in regiam adducunt*; and Cicero, *pro C. Rabirio* iv. 13 : *I lictor, colliga manus, caput obnubito, arbori infelici suspendito*.—Ver. 9. Then said Harbonah (already mentioned i. 10), one of the eunuchs before the king, *i.e.* who held office before the king : “Behold also the tree which Haman made (comp. v. 14) stands in the house of Haman.” בַּי points to the fact that the other eunuchs had already brought forward various particulars concerning Haman's crime. Mordochai, who had spoken good for the king, *viz.* when he gave information of the conspiracy, ii. 22, vi. 2. On this tree the king ordered that Haman should be hanged, and this sentence was executed without delay.—“And the king's wrath was pacified.” With this remark the narrative of this occurrence is closed, and the history pursues its further course as follows.

CHAP. VIII.—MORDOCHAI ADVANCED TO HAMAN'S POSITION.  
COUNTER-EDICT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF JEWS.

The king bestowed the house of Haman on Esther, and advanced Mordochai to Haman's place of prime minister (vers. 1 and 2). Esther then earnestly besought the king for the abolition of the edict published by Haman against the Jews, and the king permitted her and Mordochai to send letters in the king's name to all the Jews in his kingdom, commanding them to stand for their life, and to slay their enemies, on the day appointed for their own extermination (vers. 3–14). These measures diffused great joy throughout the kingdom (vers. 15–17).

Vers. 1 and 2. By the execution of Haman, his property was confiscated, and the king decreed that the house of the Jews' enemy should be given to Esther. The “house of Haman” undoubtedly means the house with all that pertained to it. “And Mordochai came before the king, for Esther had

told him what he was to her," viz. her kinsman and foster-father, ii. 7. This information effected Mordochai's appearance before the king, *i.e.* his reception into the number of the high dignitaries who beheld the face of the king, *i.e.* were allowed personal access to him; comp. i. 10, 14, vii. 9. —Ver. 2. And the king took off his seal-ring which he had taken from Haman (comp. iii. 10), and gave it to Mordochai. **וְהָעֵבִיר מִן**, to cause to go from some one, *i.e.* to take away. By this act Mordochai was advanced to the post of first minister of the king; comp. Gen. xli. 42, 1 Macc. vi. 15. The king's seal gave the force of law to royal edicts, the seal taking the place of the signature. See rem. on ver. 8 and iii. 10.

Vers. 3-14. The chief enemy of the Jews was now destroyed; but the edict, written in the king's name, sealed with the royal seal, and published in all the provinces of the kingdom, for the destruction of all the Jews on the 13th day of the twelfth month, was still in force, and having been issued in due legal form, could not, according to the laws of the Persians and Medes, be revoked. Queen Esther therefore entreated the king to annul the designs of Haman against the Jews. Vers. 3 and 4. "Esther spake again before the king, and fell down at his feet, and wept, and besought him to do away with (**וְהָעֵבִיר**, to cause to depart) the mischief of Haman the Agagite, and his device that he devised against the Jews. And the king held out his golden sceptre towards Esther, and Esther arose and stood before the king." This verse gives a summary of the contents of Esther's speech, which is reported verbally in vers. 5 and 6, so that we must translate the imperfects **וְהָעֵבִיר וְהָעֵבִיר וְהָעֵבִיר**: She spoke before the king, falling at his feet and beseeching him with weeping, that he would do away with **רָעַת הָמָן**, the evil that Haman had done, and his device against the Jews. The king stretched out his sceptre (comp. chap. iv. 11) as a sign that he would graciously grant her petition; whereupon she arose, stood before the king, and made known her request. —Ver. 5. The introductory formula are in part similar to those used chap. i. 19, v. 4, 8, vii. 3; but the petition referring to a great and important matter, they are strength-

ened by two new phrases: "If the thing is advisable (בְּיָשָׁר, proper, convenient, advantageous, a later word occurring again only Eccles. xi. 6, x. 10,—in ii. 21, iv. 4, 5, 10. of the same book, בְּיָשָׁרָא) before the king, and if I be pleasing in his eyes, let it be written (let a writing be issued, like chap. iii. 9), to frustrate (לְהַשִּׁיב, *i.e.* to put out of force) the letters, the device of Haman . . . which he wrote to destroy the Jews, who are in all the provinces of the king." מַהֲשָׁבֶת הָמָן, the device, the proposal of Haman, is added to הַפְּפָרִים, briefly to characterize the contents of the letters. On the matter itself, comp. iii. 8 sq. and 12 sq. "For how shall I endure to see the destruction of my people?" The verbs אֶנְכֹּל וְרָאִיתִי are so combined that the second is governed by the first, וְרָאִיתִי standing instead of the infinitive; comp. Ew. § 285, c. רָאָה cons. 7 denotes an interested beholding, whether painful or joyous, of something; comp. Gen. xlv. 34. מוֹלָרֶת in parallelism with עַם denotes those who are of like descent, the family, members of a tribe.—Vers. 7 and 8. The king could not simply revoke the edict issued by Haman in due legal form, but, ready to perform the request of the queen, he first assures her of his good intentions, reminding her and Mordochai that he has given the house of Haman to Esther and hanged Haman, because he laid hand on the Jews (אֹתוֹ תָּלִי, him they have executed); and then grants them permission, as he had formerly done to Haman, to send letters to the Jews in the king's name, and sealed with the king's seal, and to write בְּעֵינֵיכֶם בְּטוֹב, "as seems good to you," *i.e.* to give in writing such orders as might in Esther's and Mordochai's judgment render the edict of Haman harmless. "For," he adds, "what is written in the king's name and sealed with his seal cannot be reversed." This confirmatory clause is added by the king with reference to the law in general, not as speaking of himself objectively as "the king." יָצִיב לְהַשִּׁיב refers to Esther's request: יָצִיב לְהַשִּׁיב (ver. 5). וְנִחָתוּם, *infin. abs.* used instead of the *perfect*.—Vers. 9–14. These letters were prepared in the same manner as those of Haman (chap. iii. 12–15), on the 23d day of the third month, the month Sivan, and sent into all the pro-

vinces. "And it was written according to all that Mordochai commanded." They were sent to the Jews and to the satraps, etc., of the whole wide realm from India to Ethiopia (see i. 1), while those of Haman had been issued only to the satraps, etc. The rest coincides with chap. iii. 12. וַיִּכְתֹּב, and he (Mordochai) wrote. To show the speed with which the letters were despatched, (messengers) "on horseback, on coursers, government coursers, the sons of the stud," is added to בְּיַד הָרָצִים. רָצִים is a collective, meaning swift horses, coursers; comp. 1 Kings v. 8. אֲדָשִׁתָּרְנִים (vers. 11 and 14) answers to the Old-Persian *kschatrana*, from *kschatra*, government, king, and means government, royal, or court studs. So Haug in Ewald's *bibl. Jahrb.* v. p. 154. The older explanation, mules, on the other hand, is founded on the modern Persian *estar*, which, to judge from the Sanscrit *açvataṛa*, must in ancient Persian have been *açpatara*. רָצִים, ἀπ. λεγ. from רָצָה, answering to the Syriac ܪܥܝܬܐ, herd, especially a herd of horses, and to the Arabic رَعِيَّة, stud, is explained by Bertheau as a superlative form for the animal who excels the rest of the herd or stud in activity, perhaps the breeding stallion, while others understand it of the stud in general. The contents of the edict follow in vers. 11 and 12: "that the king allows the Jews in every city to assemble and to stand for their life (*i.e.* to fight for their lives, comp. Dan. xii. 1), to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish all the power (חַיִּל, military power) of the people and province that should assault them, children and women, and to plunder their property, upon a certain day," etc. The appointed time is thus stated as in chap. iii. 13. The Jews were thus authorized to attack and destroy all enemies who should assault them on the day appointed for their extermination. Ver. 13 coincides with chap. iii. 14b, with this difference, that the Jews are to be ready on this day to avenge themselves on their enemies. Ver. 14 also is similar to chap. iii. 15, except that the expression is strengthened by an addition to הָרָצִים as in ver. 10, and by that of וַיְהַרְגוּם, urged on, to מְבַהֲלֵם, hastened, to point out the utmost despatch possible.

Vers. 15–17. The joy experienced throughout the kingdom at these measures. Ver. 15. After transacting with the king this measure so favourable to the Jews, Mordochai went out from the king in a garment of deep blue and white material (comp. i. 6), and with a great crown of gold, and a mantle of byssus and purple. מְכַרִּיץ, ἀπ. λεγ., in the Aramæan מְכַרִּיכָא, a wide mantle or covering. The meaning is not, as Bertheau remarks, that he left the king in the garment which had been, according to chap. vi. 8 sq., presented to him, nor that he left him with fresh tokens of his favour, clothed in a garment, crown, and mantle just bestowed on him, but that he left him in a magnificent state garment, and otherwise festally apparelled, that he might thus show, even by his external appearance, the happiness of his heart. Of these remarks, the first and last are quite correct; the second, however, can by no means be so, because it affords no answer to the question how Mordochai had obtained crown and mantle during his stay with the king and in the royal palace. The garments in which Mordochai left the king are evidently the state garments of the first minister, which Mordochai received at his installation to his office, and, as such, no fresh token of royal favour, but only his actual induction in his new dignity, and a sign of this induction to all who saw him issue from the palace so adorned. “The city of Susa rejoiced and was glad,” *i.e.* rejoiced for gladness. The city, *i.e.* its inhabitants on the whole.—Ver. 16. The Jews (*i.e.* in Susa, for those out of the city are not spoken of till ver. 17) had light and gladness, and delight and honour.” אֹרֶה (this form occurs only here and Ps. cix. 12), light, is a figurative expression for prosperity. יָקָר, honour—in the joy manifested by the inhabitants of Susa at the prevention of the threatened destruction.—Ver. 17. And in every province and city . . . there was joy and a glad day, a feast day, comp. chap. ix. 19, 22, while Haman’s edict had caused grief and lamentation, chap. iv. 3. “And many of the people of the land (*i.e.* of the heathen inhabitants of the Persian empire) became Jews, for the fear of the Jews fell upon them.” מְתִיְהִידִים, to confess oneself a Jew, to become a Jew, a denominative formed from יְהוּדִי,



occurs only here. On the confirmatory clause, comp. Ex. xv. 16, Deut. xi. 25. This conversion of many of the heathen to Judaism must not be explained only, as by Clericus and Grotius, of a change of religion on the part of the heathen, *ut sibi hoc modo securitatem et reginæ favorem pararent, metuentes potentiam Mardechæi*. This may have been the inducement with some of the inhabitants of Susa. But the majority certainly acted from more honourable motives, viz. a conviction, forced upon them by the unexpected turn of affairs in favour of the Jews, of the truth of the Jewish religion; and the power of that faith and trust in God manifested by the Jews, and so evidently justified by the fall of Haman and the promotion of Mordechai, contrasted with the vanity and misery of polytheism, to which even the heathen themselves were not blind. When we consider that the same motives in subsequent times, when the Jews as a nation were in a state of deepest humiliation, attracted the more earnest-minded of the heathen to the Jewish religion, and induced them to become proselytes, the fact here related will not appear surprising.

CHAP. IX.—THE JEWS AVENGED OF THEIR ENEMIES. THE  
FEAST OF PURIM INSTITUTED.

On the day appointed by both edicts, the Jews assembled in the towns and provinces of the kingdom to slay all who sought their hurt, and being supported by the royal officials, inflicted a great defeat upon their enemies (vers. 1–10). At the queen's desire, the king granted permission to the Jews in Susa to fight against their enemies on the following day also (vers. 11–15), while in the other towns and districts of the kingdom they fought for their lives only on the 13th of Adar; so that in these places they rested on the 14th, but in Susa not till the 15th, and consequently kept in the latter the one day, in the former the other, as a day of feasting and rejoicing (vers. 16–19). The observance of this day of resting as a festival, under the name of Purim, by all the Jews in the Persian monarchy, was then instituted by Esther and Mordechai (vers. 20–32).

Vers. 1-10. *The Jews avenged of their enemies.*—Ver. 1. In the twelfth month, on the thirteenth day of the same—the Jews gathered themselves together in their cities, etc. Several parenthetical clauses succeed this definition of time, so that the statement of what then took place does not follow till נִקְהַלְיוּ, ver. 2. These parenthetical clauses state not only the meaning of the day just named, but also give a general notice of the conflict between the Jews and their enemies. The first runs: “when the word of the king drew nigh and his decree to be done,” *i.e.* when the execution of the royal decree approached. The second is: “on the day that the enemies of the Jews hoped to have the mastery of them, and it was changed (*i.e.* the contrary occurred), that the Jews had the mastery over them that hated them.” שָׁלַט בָּ, to rule, to have the mastery over. נִהְפֹּךְ is *infin. abs.*, used instead of the *imperf.* הָיָה is referred by Bertheau to יוֹם: the day was changed from a day of misfortune to a day of prosperity for the Jews, alluding to ver. 22; but it is not a change of the day which is here spoken of, but a change of the hope of the enemies into its opposite; hence we must regard הָיָה as neuter: it was changed, *i.e.* the contrary occurred. The pronoun הֵמָּה serves to emphasize the subject; comp. Ewald, § 314, *a*, who in this and similar cases takes הָיָה, הֵמָּה in the sense of *ipse, ipsi*.—Ver. 2. בְּעָרֵיהֶם, in their cities, *i.e.* the cities in which they dwelt in all the dominions of the king. לְשַׁלַּח יָד, to stretch out the hand (as also in ii. 21, iii. 6, for the purpose of killing) against those who sought their hurt, *i.e.* sought to destroy them. “And no one stood before them (עָמַד בְּפָנֵי, like Josh. x. 8, xxi. 42, and elsewhere), because the fear of them fell upon all people (see rem. on viii. 17). And all the rulers of the provinces, and the satraps and governors (comp. viii. 9), and those that did the king’s business (עָשִׂי הַמְּלָאכָה, see rem. on iii. 9), supported the Jews (נִשָּׂא like Ezra i. 4), because the fear of Mordochai fell upon them.”—Ver. 4. “For Mordochai was great in the king’s house (was much esteemed by the king), and his fame went through all the provinces (שָׁמְעוּ as in Josh. vi. 27, ix. 9, Jer. vi. 24); for this man Mordochai became continually greater;” comp. 2 Chron.

xvii. 12, where the partic. **נָל** stands instead of the infin. abs. **נָל**.—Ver. 5. Thus supported, the Jews inflicted defeat upon their enemies with the sword, and with slaughter and destruction. **הָכָה** with **בְּ**, to deal a blow upon or against some one, to cause or bring about upon enemies a defeat; comp. e.g. 2 Sam. xxiii. 10, xxiv. 17, Num. xxii. 6. The notion is strengthened by **מִכַּת־חֶרֶב וְנֹ**, literally, to strike a stroke of the sword, and of slaughter, and of destruction, in accordance with the decree, viii. 11. “And did according to their will to those that hated them,” i.e. retaliated upon their enemies at their discretion.—Ver. 6. In the citadel of Susa they destroyed (in round numbers) 500 men.—Vers. 7-10. Also they slew the ten sons of Haman, whose names are given, 7-9;<sup>1</sup> but on the spoil they laid not their hand, though this was allowed to them, viii. 11, as it had been commanded to their enemies by Haman’s edict, iii. 13, *ut ostenderent, se non aliud quam vitæ suæ incolumitatem quærere; hanc enim perdere volebant ii qui occidebantur*. C. a Lapide.

Vers. 11-19. When on the same day an account was given to the king of the result of the conflict, and the number of those slain in Susa reported, he announced to Queen Esther: the Jews have slain in the citadel of Susa 500 men and the ten sons of Haman; “what have they done in the rest of the king’s provinces?” i.e. if they have killed 500 men in Susa, how many may they not have slain in other parts of the kingdom? and then asked her what else she wished or required. With respect to the words, comp. v. 6 and vii. 2.

<sup>1</sup> The peculiar position of the names of the sons of Haman in editions of the Bible, grounded as it is upon the ancient mode of writing, must originally have been intended merely to give prominence to the names, and facilitate their computation. The later Rabbis, however, have endeavoured to discover therein some deeper meaning. This mode of writing the names has been said to be *signum voti, ut a ruina sua nunquam amplius resurgant*, or also a *signum quod sicut hi decem filii in linea perpendiculari, unus supra alterum, suspensi fuerint*. Comp. Buxtorf, *Synagoga jud.* pp. 157-159 of the Basle edit. 1580. What is indicated by the smaller forms of the letters **ת**, **ש**, and **י**, in the first, seventh, and tenth names, is not known; the larger **י** in the tenth may have been meant to give prominence, by the character employed, to this name as the last.

—Ver. 13. Esther requested: “let it be granted to the Jews which are in Susa to do to-morrow also according to the decree of to-day (*i.e.* exactly as to-day), and let the ten sons of Haman be hanged upon the tree,” *i.e.* their dead bodies nailed on crosses—*majoris infamiae causa*, according to Hebrew and Persian custom; comp. Deut. xxi. 22 and the explanation of Ezra vi. 11. On the motive for this request, see above, p. 310.—Ver. 14. The king commanded it so to be done. “Then was a decree given at Susa, and they hanged the ten sons of Haman.” The decree given in Susa does not refer to the hanging of the sons of Haman, but to the permission given to the Jews to fight against their enemies on the morrow also. This is required not only by a comparison of viii. 13, but also by the connection of the present verse; for in consequence of this decree the Jews assembled on the 14th Adar (comp. וַיִּקְהֲלוּ, then they assembled themselves, ver. 15), while the hanging of the sons of Haman, on the contrary, is related in an accessory clause by a simple perfect, חָלְלוּ.—Ver. 15. On this second day the Jews slew 300 more; comp. ver. 10.—Ver. 16. The rest of the Jews in the provinces, *i.e.* the Jews in the other parts of the kingdom, assembled themselves and stood for their lives, and had rest from their enemies, and slew of their foes 75,000, but upon the spoil they laid not their hand. וַיָּנוּחַ מֵאֵיבֵיהֶם inserted between וַיָּעֲמֵד עַל נֶ and וַיִּהְיוּ is striking; we should rather have expected the resting or having rest from their enemies after the death of the latter, as in vers. 17 and 18, where this is plainly stated to have taken place on the day after the slaughter. The position of these words is only explained by the consideration, that the narrator desired at once to point out how the matter ended. The narrative continues in the *infin. abs.* instead of expressing this clause by the *infin. constr.*, and so causing it to be governed by what precedes. Thus—as Ew. § 351, c, remarks—all the possible hues of the sentence fade into this grey and formless termination (*viz.* the use of the *infin. absol.* instead of the *verb. fin.*). This inaccuracy of diction does not justify us, however, in assuming that we have here an interpolation or an alteration in the

text. The statement of the day is given in ver. 17, and then the clause following is again added in the *inf. absol.*: "and they rested on the 14th day of the same (of Adar), and made it a day of feasting and gladness."—Ver. 18. The Jews in Susa, on the other hand, who were both on the 13th and 14th Adar still fighting against their enemies, and did not rest till the 15th, made this latter their day of rejoicing.—In ver. 19 it is again stated that the Jews in the country towns and villages made the 14th their day of gladness, and this statement is appended by *על־כֵּן* to make this appear the result of what precedes. The *Chethiv* *הַפְּרוֹחִים* is perhaps an Aramaic expression for *בְּרוּחִים*, Deut. iii. 5 and 1 Sam. vi. 18. *פְּרוֹחַ* means the inhabitants of the open, *i.e.* unfortified, towns and villages of the plains in contrast to the fortified capital; see on Deut. iii. 5. On *פְּרוֹחוֹת*, compare Ezek. xxxviii. 11, Zech. ii. 8. *מִשְׁלֹחַ מְנוּחַ וְנוֹ'*, and of mutual sending of gifts, *i.e.* portions of food; comp. Neh. viii. 10, 12.

Vers. 20-32. The feast of Purim instituted by letters from Mordochai and Esther. Ver. 20. Mordochai wrote these things, and sent letters to all the Jews, etc. *הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה* does not mean the contents of the present book, but the events of the last days, especially the fact that the Jews, after overcoming their enemies, rested in Susa on the 15th, in the other provinces on the 14th Adar, and kept these days as days of rejoicing. This is obvious from the object of these letters, ver. 21: *לָקִים עֲלֵיהֶם וְנוֹ'*, to appoint among them "that they should keep the 14th day of the month Adar and the 15th day of the same yearly, as the days on which the Jews rested from their enemies, and as the month which was turned unto them from sorrow to joy, and from mourning into a glad day, that they should keep them as days of feasting and joy, and of mutual sending of portions one to another, and gifts to the poor." *עֲשֶׂה יוֹם*, to keep, to celebrate a day. The *לְהוֹיֹת עֲשִׂים*, ver. 21, is after long parentheses taken up again in *לַעֲשׂוֹת אוֹתָם בְּיָמֵם*, to establish a matter, to authorize it, comp. Ruth iv. 7. Both the 14th and 15th Adar were made festivals because the Jews on them had rest from their enemies, and celebrated this rest by feasting, some on the

former, some on the latter day.—Ver. 23. And the Jews undertook to do as they had begun, and as Mordochai had written to them. They had begun, as ver. 22 tells us, by keeping both days, and Mordochai wrote to them that they should make this an annual custom. This they agreed to do in consequence of Mordochai's letters. The reason of their so doing is given in vers. 24 and 25, and the name of this festival is explained, ver. 26, by a brief recapitulation of the events which gave rise to it. Then follows, vers. 26*b* and 27, another wordy statement of the fact, that it was by reason of this letter, and on account of what they had seen, *i.e.* experienced, that the annual celebration of this feast was instituted for a perpetual memorial to all Jews at all times (vers. 28 and 29).—Ver. 24. For Haman, the enemy of all the Jews, had devised against the Jews to destroy them. (comp. iii. 1, 6 sq.), and had cast Pur, that is the lot (see on iii. 7), to consume them and to destroy them. הַמָּס, mostly used of the discomfiture with which God destroys the enemies, Ex. xiv. 24, Deut. ii. 15, and elsewhere.—Ver. 25. וּבִבְרָאָה, and when it (the matter), not when she, Esther, came before the king,—for Esther is not named in the context,—he commanded by letters (viii. 8), *i.e.* he gave the written order: let the wicked device which he devised against the Jews return upon his own head; and they hanged him and his sons upon the tree.—Ver. 26. Wherefore they called these days Purim after the name Pur. This first עַל־כֵּן refers to what precedes and states the reason, resulting from what has just been mentioned, why this festival received the name of *Purim*. With the second עַל־כֵּן begins a new sentence which reaches to ver. 28, and explains how it happened that these feast-days became a general observance with all Jews; namely, that because of all the words of this letter (of Mordochai, ver. 20), and of what they had seen concerning the matter (עַל־כֵּן, concerning so and so), and what had come upon them (therefore for two reasons: (1) because of the written injunction of Mordochai; and (2) because they had themselves experienced this event), the Jews established, and took upon themselves, their descendants, and all who should join

themselves unto them (proselytes), so that it should not fail (*i.e.* inviolably), to keep (to celebrate) these two days according to the writing concerning them and the time appointed thereby year by year.—Ver. 28. And that these days should be remembered and kept throughout every generation, every family, every province, and every city; and these days of Purim are not to pass away among the Jews, nor their remembrance to cease among their seed. The participles נִזְכָּרִים וְנֶעֱשִׂים still depend on לְהֵיוֹת, ver. 27. Not till the last clause does the construction change in לֹא יֵעָבְרוּ to the *temp. finit.* לֹא יֵעָבְרוּ is a periphrasis of the adverb: imperishably, inviolably. בְּכָתְבָם, *secundum scriptum eorum*, *i.e.* as Mordochai had written concerning them (ver. 23). בְּיָמָם, as he had appointed their time. מִן מָוֶה, to come to an end from, *i.e.* to cease among their descendants.

Vers. 29-32. A second letter from Queen Esther and Mordochai to appoint fasting and lamentation on the days of Purim. Ver. 29. And Esther the queen and Mordochai the Jew wrote with all strength, that is very forcibly, to appoint this second letter concerning Purim, *i.e.* to give to the contents of this second letter the force of law. הִנָּחַת refers to what follows, in which the contents of the letter are briefly intimated. The letter is called הַשְּׁנִיָּה with reference to the first letter sent by Mordochai, ver. 20 sq.—Ver. 30. And he (Mordochai) sent letters, *i.e.* copies of the writing mentioned ver. 29, to all the Jews in the 127 provinces (which formed) the kingdom of Ahashverosh, words of peace and truth, *i.e.* letters containing words of peace and truth (ver. 31), to appoint these days of Purim in their portions of time according as Mordochai the Jew and Esther the queen had appointed, and as they (the Jews) had appointed for themselves and for their descendants, the things (or words=precepts) of the fastings and their lamentations. בְּיָמֵיהֶם, in their appointed times; as the suffix relates to the days of Purim, the יָמִים can mean only portions of time in these days. The sense of vers. 29-31 is as follows: According to the injunctions of Esther and Mordochai, the Jews appointed for themselves and their descendants times also of

fasting and lamentation in the days of Purim. To make this appointment binding upon all the Jews in all provinces of the Persian monarchy, Esther and Mordochai published a second letter, which was sent by Mordochai throughout the whole realm of King Ahashverosh. To this is added, ver. 32, that the decree of Esther appointed these matters of Purim, *i.e.* the injunction mentioned vers. 29–31, also to fast and weep during these days, and it was written in the book. **הַסֵּפֶר**, the book in which this decree was written, cannot mean the writing of Esther mentioned ver. 29, but some written document concerning Purim which has not come down to us, though used as an authority by the author of the present book. The times when the fasting and lamentation were to take place in the days of Purim, are not stated in this verse; this could, however, only be on the day which Haman had appointed for the extermination of the Jews, *viz.* the 13th Adar. This day is kept by the Jews as **תַּעֲנִית אֶסְתֵּר**, Esther's fast.<sup>1</sup>

#### CHAP. X.—THE POWER AND GREATNESS OF MORDOCHAI.

Ver. 1. And King Ahashverosh laid a tribute upon the land, and upon the isles of the sea. Ver. 2. And all the acts of his power and of his might, and the statement of the greatness of Mordochai to which the king advanced him, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia? The *Chethiv* **אַחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ** is a clerical error for **אַחֲשֵׁרֶשׁ**. The word **כֶּסֶם**, service,

<sup>1</sup> According to 2 Macc. xv. 36, the victory over Nicanor was to be celebrated on the 13th Adar, but, according to a note of Dr. Cassel in Grimm's *kurzgef. exeget. Handb. zu den Apokryphen*, on 2 Macc. xv. 36, the festival of Nicanor is mentioned in Jewish writings, as *Megillat Taanit*, c. 12, in the Babylonian Talmud, *tr. Taanit*, f. 18b, in *Massechet Sofrim* 17, 4, but has been by no means observed for at least the last thousand years. The book *Scheiltot* of R. Acha (in the 9th century) speaks of the 13th Adar as a fast-day in memory of the fast of Esther, while even at the time of the Talmud the "Fast of Esther" is spoken of as a three days fast, kept, however, after the feast of Purim. From all this it is obvious, that a diversity of opinions prevailed among the Rabbis concerning the time of this fast of Esther.



here stands for tribute. As the provinces of the kingdom paid the imposts for the most part in natural produce, which they had reared or obtained by the labour of their hands, their labour (agriculture, cattle-keeping, etc.) was to a certain extent service rendered to the king. The matter of ver. 1 seems extraneous to the contents of our book, which has hitherto communicated only such information concerning Ahashverosh as was necessary for the complete understanding of the feast of Purim. "It seems"—remarks Bertheau—"as though the historian had intended to tell in some further particulars concerning the greatness of King Ahashverosh, for the sake of giving his readers a more accurate notion of the influential position and the agency of Mordochai, the hero of his book, who, according to ix. 4, waxed greater and greater; but then gave up his intention, and contented himself with referring to the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia, which contained information of both the power and might of Ahashverosh and the greatness of Mordochai." There is not, however, the slightest probability in such a conjecture. This matter may be simply explained by the circumstance, that the author of this book was using as an authority the book of the chronicles alluded to in ver. 2, and is quite analogous with the mode observed in the books of Kings and Chronicles by historians both of Babylonian and post-Babylonian days, who quote from the documents they make use of such events only as seem to them important with regard to the plan of their own work, and then at the close of each reign refer to the documents themselves, in which more may be found concerning the acts of the kings, at the same time frequently adding supplementary information from these sources,—comp. *e.g.* 1 Kings xiv. 30, xv. 7, 23, 32, xxii. 47–50, 2 Kings xv. 37, 2 Chron. xii. 15,—with this difference only, that in these instances the supplementary notices follow the mention of the documents, while in the present book the notice precedes the citation. As, however, this book opened with a description of the power and glory of King Ahashverosh, but yet only mentioned so

much concerning this ruler of 127 provinces as was connected with the history of the Jews, its author, before referring to his authorities, gives at its close the information contained in ver. 1, from the book of the chronicles of the kingdom, in which probably it was connected with a particular description of the power and greatness of Ahashverosh, and probably of the wars in which he engaged, for the sake of briefly intimating at the conclusion whence the king derived the means for keeping up the splendour described at the commencement of the book. This book of the chronicles contained accounts not only of the power and might of Ahashverosh, but also a פֶּרֶשָׁה, a plain statement or accurate representation of the greatness of Mordochai wherewith the king had made him great, *i.e.* to which he had advanced him, and therefore of the honours of the individual to whom the Jews were indebted for their preservation. On this account is it referred to. For Mordochai was next to the king, *i.e.* prime minister of the king (מִשְׁנֵה, comp. 2 Chron. xxviii. 7), and great among the Jews and acceptable to the multitude of his brethren, *i.e.* he was also a great man among the Jews and was beloved and esteemed by all his fellow-countrymen (on רָצִי, comp. Deut. xxiii. 24), seeking the good of his people and speaking peace to all his race. This description of Mordochai's position with respect both to the king and his own people has, as expressive of an exalted frame of mind, a rhetorical and poetic tinge. Hence it contains such expressions as רַב אֶחָיו, the fulness of his brethren, דָּרַשׁ טוֹב; comp. Ps. cxxii. 9, Jer. xxxviii. 4. On דִּבֶּר שְׁלוֹם, comp. Ps. lxxxv. 9, xxxv. 20, xxviii. 3. וְרַעִי in parallelism with עַמּוֹ is not the descendants of Mordochai, or his people, but his race. Comp. on this signification of וְרַעִי, 2 Kings xi. 1, Isa. lxi. 9. The meaning of the two last phrases is: Mordochai procured both by word and deed the good and prosperity of his people. And this is the way in which honour and fortune are attained, the way inculcated by the author of the 34th Psalm in vers. 13-15, when teaching the fear of the Lord.

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# BIBLICAL COMMENTARY

ON

## T H E B O O K O F J O B.

BY

F. DELITZSCH. D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY.

*. Translated from the German*

BY THE

REV. FRANCIS BOLTON, B.A.,

ELLAND.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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IT is with no ordinary feeling of relief and satisfaction that I am at length able to send forth the second and concluding volume of this Commentary. And I am confident that the trifling delay in this year's issues of the Foreign Theological Library will be readily pardoned, when the tedious toil involved in carrying such a work through the press amidst the pressure of other duties is considered. No pains have been spared to render the work worthy its position; and the care bestowed upon the work by myself has been fully seconded by the attention of the printers.

The duties of translation have been carefully discharged, and it has been my aim to preserve the complexion of the original as far as possible, even sometimes at the expense of an easy flow of language. Conscious of imperfection in the working out of my design, I have nevertheless sought to put the reader in the position of a student of the original volume. The task which I imposed upon myself has not been confined to *mere* translation; but close attention has been given to the accurate reproduction of the critical portions, with the hope of contributing in some small degree to the diffusion of sound exegetical knowledge for the elucidation of one of the



grandest and most practical books of the Old Testament Scriptures, and from a conviction of the need there is for the cultivation of the cognate Semitic languages. This latter branch of study is specially applicable and necessary in the interpretation of the book of Job, and the established scholarship of Dr Delitzsch eminently qualifies him for the effective execution of the work.

Further explanation need scarcely be added, except in reference to the retention of the word *Chokma*, and the character of the translation of the text. As to the former, I regret that I did not append a note to vol. i. p. 5, to the effect that the word *Chokma* (חִכְמָה, *Wisdom*) was reproduced because used technically by the author. I presumed that students of the volume would at once recognise the word; but from the consideration that the Commentary may also be used, so far as the practical parts are concerned, even by readers unacquainted with Hebrew, this explanation has been deemed needful.

And it may further suffice, in connection with the second section of the Introduction, to define *Chokma* as the one word for the lofty spirit of wisdom which dwelt in the minds of the wise men of Israel in the Salomonic age,—a wisdom taught, inspired, by the Holy Spirit of God—the culmination of which is found in Solomon himself. In brief, the *Chokma* is the divine philosophy of the Jewish church.

With reference to the new rendering of the text: it aims at a literal and faithful reproduction of Dr Delitzsch's translation, as representing his "sense and appreciation of the original," and as the embodiment of the results of the critical notes. Therefore I have not felt at liberty to use that

freedom of expression which I regard as most desirable in adapting the translation of the original text to the requirements of the general reader. This portion of my undertaking has not been free from difficulty; and occasionally an amount of stiffness has seemed unavoidable, owing to the different structure of the Hebrew and English languages, while, from the plastic nature of the German language, the author is enabled to mould his translation closely after the original text, and still render it elegant, and at times rhythmical.

A note on the transcription of Arabic words will be found at the end of the Appendix. The references have been verified, so far as the means of verification have been accessible; and I believe I may speak with confidence of those that I have not been able to verify, from the general accuracy I found in the others.

To clear up the misapprehension which has been manifested in many quarters, I would add that this Commentary forms a part of the *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament* by Drs Keil and Delitzsch. But the name of the latter only is appended to these volumes, because Dr Delitzsch is the writer of this portion, just as Dr Keil only is the author of the *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, and all the other volumes that have appeared to this date.

I have still to acknowledge the kind promptitude with which my esteemed friend Dr Delitzsch has, in more than one instance, given me an explanation of a difficult point, and favoured me with an additional amendment of the original work during the progress of this translation through the press.

In the hope that the usefulness of Dr Delitzsch's valuable contribution to Biblical Exegesis may be extended beyond his original design, I commend it to all earnest students of the Holy Word, with the prayer that the blessing of the Spirit of Jehovah may rest upon the labours of *our* hands.

F. B.

ELLAND, *November 2, 1866.*

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### NOTE TO SECOND EDITION.

A NEW Edition being required, every advantage has been taken of the opportunity thus afforded of improving this Commentary. During a visit to Germany this summer, the translator went to Leipzig, at Dr. Delitzsch's invitation, for the express purpose of obtaining from the Author his later corrections to "Job." These corrections have been incorporated in the volumes, and the translation has undergone a careful revision.

Dr. Delitzsch has also undertaken to furnish the Publishers with an Appendix to his Commentary, containing the result of more recent work, which he has not at present been able to put into form for publication. When ready, the Publishers will make arrangements by which possessors of this and the first Edition can obtain it in a separate form at a moderate price.

ELLAND, *September 16, 1868.*

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## INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK OF JOB.

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JOB, maintaining his virtue, and justifying the utterance of the Creator respecting him, sits upon his heap of ashes as the glory and pride of God. God, and with Him the whole celestial host, witnesses the manner in which he bears his misfortune. He conquers, and his conquest is a triumph beyond the stars. Be it history, be it poetry : ne who thus wrote was a divine seer.

FRIEDR. HEINR. JACOBI  
(*Werke*, iii. 427).

IN this Introduction but little has been transferred from the Art. *Hiob*, which the Author has contributed to Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*. It presents a new, independent working up of the introductory matter, and contains only so much of it as is required at the commencement of a Commentary. The Author's treatise on the idea of the book of Job in the *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus u. Kirche*, 1851, S. 65-85, is recapitulatory rather than isagogic, and consequently of a totally distinct character.

#### NOTE.

[This work is enriched by critical notes contributed by Prof. Dr Fleischer, and illustrative notes contributed by Dr Wetzstein, fifteen years Prussian Consul at Damascus.

The second volume will contain an Appendix contributed by Dr Wetzstein on the "Monastery of Job" in Hauran, the tradition concerning Job, and a map of the district.—TR.]

# THE BOOK OF JOB.

## INTRODUCTION.

### § 1. THE PROBLEM OF THE BOOK OF JOB.



WHY do afflictions upon afflictions befall the righteous man? This is the question, the answering of which is made the theme of the book of Job. Looking to the conclusion of the book, the answer stands: that afflictions are for the righteous man the way to a twofold blessedness. But in itself, this answer cannot satisfy; so much the less, as the twofold blessedness to which Job finally attains is just as earthly and of this world as that which he has lost by affliction. This answer is inadequate, since on the one hand such losses as those of beloved children cannot, as the loss of sheep and camels, really be made good by double the number of other children; on the other hand, it may be objected that many a righteous man deprived of his former prosperity dies in outward poverty. There are numerous deathbeds which protest against this answer. There are many pious sufferers to whom this present material issue of the book of Job could not yield any solace; whom, when in conflict at last, it might the rather bring into danger of despair. With reference to this conclusion, the book of Job is an insufficient theodicy, as in general the truth taught in the Old Testament,

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that the end, אחרית, of the righteous, as of the unrighteous, would reveal the hidden divine recompense, could afford no true consolation so long as this אחרית flowed on with death into the night of Hades, שואל, and had no prospect of eternal life.

But the issue of the history, regarded externally, is by no means the proper answer to the great question of the book. The principal thing is not that Job is doubly blessed, but that God acknowledges him as His servant, which He is able to do, after Job in all his afflictions has remained true to God. Therein lies the important truth, that there is a suffering of the righteous which is not a decree of wrath, into which the love of God has been changed, but a dispensation of that love itself. In fact, this truth is the heart of the book of Job. It has therefore been said—particularly by Hirzel, and recently by Renan—that it aims at destroying the old Mosaic doctrine of retribution. But this old Mosaic doctrine of retribution is a modern phantom. That all suffering is a divine retribution, the Mosaic Thora does not teach. Renan calls this doctrine *la vieille conception patriarcale*. But the patriarchal history, and especially the history of Joseph, gives decided proof against it. The distinction between the suffering of the righteous and the retributive justice of God, brought out in the book of Job, is nothing new. The history before the time of Israel, and the history of Israel even, exhibit it in facts; and the words of the law, as Deut. viii. 16, expressly show that there are sufferings which are the result of God's love; though the book of Job certainly presents this truth, which otherwise had but a scattered and presageful utterance, in a unique manner, and causes it to come forth before us from a calamitous and terrible conflict, as pure gold from a fierce furnace. It comes forth as the result of the controversy with the false doctrine of retribution advanced by the friends; a doctrine which is indeed not Mosaic, for the Mosaic Thora

in the whole course of the history of revelation is nowhere impugned and corrected, but ever only augmented, and, consistently with its inherent character, rendered more complete.

But if we now combine both the truths illustrated in the book of Job,—(1) The affliction of the righteous man leads to a so much greater blessedness; (2) The affliction of the righteous is a dispensation of the divine love, which is expressed and verified in the issue of the affliction,—this double answer is still not an adequate solution of the great question of the book. For there ever arises the opposing consideration, wherefore are such afflictions necessary to raise the righteous to blessedness—afflictions which seem so entirely to bear the character of wrath, and are in no way distinguished from judgments of retributive justice?

To this question the book furnishes, as it appears to us, two answers: (1.) The afflictions of the righteous are a means of discipline and purification; they certainly arise from the sins of the righteous man, but still are not the workings of God's wrath, but of His love, which is directed to his purifying and advancement. Such is the view Elihu in the book of Job represents. The writer of the introductory portion of Proverbs has expressed this briefly but beautifully (Prov. iii. 11; cf. Heb. xii.). Oehler, in order that one may perceive its distinction from the view of the three friends, rightly refers to the various theories of punishment. Discipline designed for improvement is properly no punishment, since punishment, according to its true idea, is only satisfaction rendered for the violation of moral order. In how far the speeches of Elihu succeed in conveying this view clear and distinct from the original standpoint of the friends, especially of Eliphaz, matters not to us here; at all events, it is in the mind of the poet as the characteristic of these speeches. (2.) The afflictions of the righteous man are means of proving and testing, which, like chastisements, come from the love of

God. Their object is not, however, the purging away of sin which may still cling to the righteous man, but, on the contrary, the manifestation and testing of his righteousness. This is the point of view from which, apart from Elihu's speeches, the book of Job presents Job's afflictions. Only by this relation of things is the chagrin with which Job takes up the words of Eliphaz, and so begins the controversy, explained and justified or excused. And, indeed, if it should be even impossible for the Christian, especially with regard to his own sufferings, to draw the line between disciplinary and testing sufferings so clearly as it is drawn in the book of Job, there is, however, for the deeper and more acute New Testament perception of sin, a suffering of the righteous which exists without any causal connection with his sin, viz. confession by suffering, or martyrdom, which the righteous man undergoes, not for his own sake, but for the sake of God.

If we, then, keep in mind these two further answers which the book of Job gives us to the question, "Why through suffering to blessedness?" it is not to be denied that practically they are perfectly sufficient. If I know that God sends afflictions to me because, since sin and evil are come into the world, they are the indispensable means of purifying and testing me, and by both purifying and testing of perfecting me,—these are explanations with which I can and must console myself. But this is still not the final answer of the book of Job to its great question. And its unparalleled magnitude, its high significance in the historical development of revelation, its typical character already recognised in the Old Testament, consists just in its going beyond this answer, and giving us an answer which, going back to the extreme roots of evil, and being deduced from the most intimate connections of the individual life of man with the history and plan of the world in the most comprehensive sense, not only practically, but speculatively, satisfies.

## § 2. THE CHOKMA-CHARACTER OF THE BOOK.

But before we go so far into this final and highest answer as the province of the Introduction permits and requires, in order to assign to the reader the position necessary to be taken for understanding the book, we ask, How comes it that the book of Job presents such a universal and absolute solution of the problem, otherwise unheard of in the Old Testament Scriptures? The reason of it is in the peculiar mental tendency (*Geistesrichtung*) of the Israelitish race from which it proceeded. There was in Israel a bias of a universalistic, humanic, philosophical kind, which, starting from the fear or worship (religion) of Jehovah, was turned to the final causes of things,—to the cosmical connections of the earthly, the common human foundations of the Israelitish, the invisible roots of the visible, the universal actual truth of the individual and national historical. The common character of the few works of this Chokma which have been preserved to us is the humanic standpoint, stripped of everything peculiarly Israelitish. In the whole book of Proverbs, which treats of the relations of human life in its most general aspects, the name of the covenant people, *עַמּוּדָא*, does not once occur. In Ecclesiastes, which treats of the nothingness of all earthly things, and with greater right than the book of Job may be called the canticle of Inquiry,<sup>1</sup> even the covenant name of God, *יהוה*, does not occur. In the Song of Songs, the groundwork of the picture certainly, but not the picture itself, is Israelitish: it represents a common human primary relation, the love of man and woman; and that if not with allegorical, yet mystical meaning, similar to the Indian *Gitagovinda*,

<sup>1</sup> The book of Job, says H. Heine, in his *Vermischte Schriften*, 1854, i., is the canticle of Inquiry (*das Hohelied der Skepsis*), and horrid serpents hiss therein their eternal Wherefore? As man when he suffers must weep his fill, so must he cease to doubt. This poison of doubt must not be wanting in the Bible, that great storehouse of mankind.

and also the third part of the Tamul *Kural*, translated by Graul.

So the book of Job treats a fundamental question of our common humanity; and the poet has studiously taken his hero not from Israelitish history, but from extra-Israelitish tradition. From beginning to end he is conscious of relating an extra-Israelitish history,—a history handed down among the Arab tribes to the east of Palestine, which has come to his ears; for none of the proper names contain even a trace of symbolically intended meaning, and romantic historical poems were moreover not common among the ancients. This extra-Israelitish history from the patriarchal period excited the purpose of his poem, because the thought therein presented lay also in his own mind. The Thora from Sinai and prophecy, the history and worship of Israel, are nowhere introduced; even indirect references to them nowhere escape him. He throws himself with wonderful truthfulness, effect, and vividness, into the extra-Israelitish position. His own Israelitish standpoint he certainly does not disavow, as we see from his calling God יהוה everywhere in the prologue and epilogue; but the non-Israelitish character of his hero and of his locality he maintains with strict consistency. Only twice is יהוה found in the mouth of Job (i. 21, xii. 9), which is not to be wondered at, since this name of God, as the names *Morija* and *Jochebed* show, is not absolutely post-Mosaic, and therefore may have been known among the Hebrew people beyond Israel. But with this exception, Job and his friends everywhere call God אֱלֹהִים, which is more poetic, and for non-Israelitish speakers (*vid.* Prov. xxx. 5) more appropriate than אֱלֹהִים, which occurs only three times (xx. 29, xxxii. 2, xxxviii. 7); or they call Him שׁוֹרֵי, which is the proper name of God in the patriarchal time, as it appears everywhere in Genesis, where in the Elohist portions the high and turning-points of the self-manifestation of God occur (xvii. 1, xxxv. 11; cf. Ex.

vi. 3), and when the patriarchs, at special seasons, pronounce the promise which they have received upon their children (xxviii. 3, xlviii. 3, xlix. 25; cf. xliii. 14). Even many of the designations of the divine attributes which have become fixed in the Thora, as **יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים**, **יְהוָה**, **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ**, which one might well expect in the book of Job, are not found in it; nor **יְהוָה**, often used of Jehovah in Psalms; nor generally the too (so to speak) dogmatic terminology of the Israelitish religion;<sup>1</sup> besides which also this characteristic, that only the oldest mode of heathen worship, star-worship (xxx. 26–28), is mentioned, without even the name of God (**אֱלֹהִים** or **יְהוָה**), occurring, which designates God as Lord of the heavens, which the heathen deified. The writer has also intentionally avoided this name, which is the star of the time of the Israelitish kings; for he is never unmindful that his subject is an ante- and extra-Israelitish one.

Hengstenberg, in his *Lecture on the Book of Job*, 1856, goes so far as to maintain, that a character like Job cannot possibly have existed in the heathen world, and that revelation would have been unnecessary if heathendom could produce such characters for itself. The poet, however, without doubt, presupposes the opposite; and if he did not presuppose it, he should have refrained from using all his skill to produce the appearance of the opposite. That he has nevertheless done it, cannot mislead us: for, on the one hand, Job belongs to the patriarchal period, therefore the period before the giving of the law,—a period in which the primal revelation was still at work, and the revelation of God, which had not remained

<sup>1</sup> קדוּשָׁה, of God, only occurs once (vi. 10); חֹסֶד but twice (x. 12, and with Elihu, xxxvii. 13); אֱהָבָה with its derivatives not at all (gen. only xix. 19). In the speeches of the three, צָדִיק (only with Elihu, xxxiv. 17), מְשֻׁפָּט, and שְׁלָמָה, as expressions of the divine *justitia recompensativa*, are not to be found; נָפֶשׁ and בָּהֶן become nowhere synonymous to designate Job's sufferings by the right name; כָּפָר appears (ix. 23) only in the general signification of misfortune.

unknown in the side branches of the patriarchal family. On the other hand, it is quite consistent with the standpoint of the Chokma, that it presupposes a preparatory self-manifestation of God even in the extra-Israelitish world; just as John's Gospel, which aims at proving in Christianity the absolute religion which shall satisfy every longing of all mankind, acknowledges τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ διεσκορπισμένα also beyond the people of God, xi. 52, without on this account finding the incarnation of the Logos, and the possibility of regeneration by it, to be superfluous.

This parallel between the book of Job and the Gospel by John is fully authorized; for the important disclosure which the prologue of John gives to us of the Logos, is already in being in the book of Job and the introduction to the book of Proverbs, especially ch. viii., without requiring the intervening element of the Alexandrine religious philosophy, which, however, after it is once there, may not be put aside or disavowed. The Alexandrine doctrine of the Logos is really the genuine more developed form, though with many imperfections, of that which is taught of the Chokma in the book of Job and in Proverbs. Both notions have a universalistic comprehensiveness, referring not only to Israel, but to mankind. The חכמה certainly took up its abode in Israel, as it itself proves in the book Σοφία Σειραχ, ch. xxiv.; but there is also a share of it attainable by and allotted to all mankind. This is the view of the writer of the book of Job. He is imbued with the conviction, that even beyond Israel fellowship is possible with the one living God, who has revealed himself in Israel; that He also there continually reveals himself, ordinarily in the conscience, and extraordinarily in dreams and visions; that there is also found there a longing and struggling after that redemption of which Israel has the clear words of promise. His wondrous book soars high above the Old Testament limit; it is the Melchizedek among the Old Testament books. The final and highest

solution of the problem with which it grapples, has a quarry extending out even beyond the patriarchal history. The Wisdom of the book of Job originates, as we shall see, from paradise. For this turning also to the primeval histories of Genesis, which are earlier than the rise of the nations, and the investigation of the hieroglyphs in the prelude to the Thora, which are otherwise almost passed over in the Old Testament, belong to the peculiarities of the Chokma.

### § 3. POSITION IN THE CANON.

As a work of the Chokma, the book of Job stands, with the three other works belonging to this class of the Israelitish literature, among the Hagiographa, which are called in Hebrew simply כְּתוּבִים. Thus, by the side of תוֹרָה and נְבִיאִים, the third division of the canon is styled, in which are included all those writings belonging neither to the province of prophetic history nor prophetic declaration. Among the Hagiographa are writings even of a prophetic character, as Psalms and Daniel; but their writers were not properly נְבִיאִים. At present Lamentations stands among them; but this is not its original place, as also Ruth appears to have stood originally between Judges and Samuel. Both Lamentations and Ruth are placed among the Hagiographa, that there the five so-called סֵפֶר or scrolls may stand together: Schir ha-Schirim the feast-book of the eighth Passover-day, Ruth that of the second Schabuoth-day, Kinoth that of the ninth of Ab, Koheleth that of the eighth Succoth-day, Esther that of Purim. The book of Job, which is written neither in prophetico-historical style, nor in the style of prophetic preaching, but is a didactic poem, could stand nowhere else but in the third division of the canon. The position which it occupies is moreover a very shifting one. In the Alexandrine canon, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Tobit, Judith, Esther, follow the four books of



the Kings. The historical books therefore stand, from the earliest to the latest, side by side; then begins with Job, Psalms, Proverbs, a new row, opened with these three in stricter sense poetical books. Then Melito of Sardis, in the second century, places Chronicles with the books of the Kings, but arranges immediately after them the non-historical Hagiographa in the following order: Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job; here the Salomonic writings are joined to the Davidic Psalter, and the anonymous book of Job stands last. In our editions of the Bible, the Hagiographa division begins with Psalms, Proverbs, Job (the succession peculiar to mss. of the German class); in the Talmud (*Bathra*, 14*b*), with Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs; in the Masora, and in mss. of the Spanish class, with Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs. All these modes of arrangement are well considered. The Masora connects with the *נביאים אחרונים* the homogeneous book, the Chronicles; the Talmud places the book of Ruth before the Psalter as an historical prologue, or as a connection between the prophetico-historical books and the Hagiographa.<sup>1</sup> The practice in our editions is to put the Psalms as the first book of the division, which agrees with Luke xxiv. 44, and with Philo, who places *ψαλμοὺς* next to the prophetical books. Job stands only in the LXX. at the head of the three so-called poetic books, perhaps as a work by its patriarchal contents referring back to the earliest times. Everywhere else the Psalter stands first among the three books. These three are commonly denoted by the *vox memorialis* ספרי א"ת; but this succession, Job, Proverbs, Psalms, is nowhere found. The Masora styles them after its own, and the Talmudic order ספרי ת"א.

<sup>1</sup> That Job stands after the Psalms is explained by his being contemporary with the Queen of Sheba, or, accepting Moses as the writer of the book (in which case it should stand at the head of the Chethubim), by its not being placed foremost, on account of its terrible contents (according to the maxim *לא מתחילין בפרענות*).

§ 4. THE SYSTEM OF ACCENTUATION, MANNER OF WRITING  
IN VERSES, AND STRUCTURE OF THE STROPHE.

The so-ciphered three books have, as is known, this in common, that they are (with the exception of the prologue and epilogue in the book of Job) punctuated according to a special system, which has been fully discussed in my *Commentary on the Psalms*, and in Baer's edition of the Psalter. This accent system, like the prosaic, is constructed on the fundamental law of dichotomy; but it is determined by better organization, more expressive and melodious utterance. Only the so-called prose accents, however, not the metrical or poetic (with the exception of a few detached fragments), have been preserved in transmission. Nevertheless, we are always still able to discern from these accents how the reading in the synagogue divided the thoughts collected into the form of Masoretic verses, into two chief divisions, and within these again into lesser divisions, and connected or separated the single words; while the musical rhythm accommodated itself as much as possible to the logical, so that the accentuation is on this account an important source for ascertaining the traditional exegesis, and contains an abundance of most valuable hints for the interpreter. Tradition, moreover, requires for the three books a verse-like short line stich-manner of writing; and פסוק, *versus*, meant originally, not the Masoretic verse, but the separate sentence, στίχος, denoted in the accent system by a great distinctive; as e.g. Job iii. 3:

*Let the day perish wherein I was born,  
And the night, which said, There is a man-child con-  
ceived,*

is a Masoretic verse divided into two parts by Athnach, and therefore, according to the old order, is to be written as two

στίχοι.<sup>1</sup> This also is important. In order to recognise the strophe-structure of Hebrew poems, one must attend to the στίχοι, in which the poetic thoughts follow one another in well-measured flow. Parallelism, which we must likewise acknowledge as the fundamental law of the rhythm of Hebrew poetry, forms the evolutions of thought not always of two members, but often—as e.g. iii. 4, 5, 6, 9—also of three. The poetic formation is not, however, confined to this, but even further combines (as is most unmistakeably manifest in the alphabetical psalms,<sup>2</sup> and as recently also Ewald inclines to acknowledge<sup>3</sup>) such distichs and tristichs into a greater whole, forming a complete circle of thought; in other words, into strophes of four, eight, or some higher number of lines, in themselves paragraphs, which, however, show themselves as strophes, inasmuch as they recur and change symmetrically.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this old order, and the aptness of its execution, has been lost in later copyists, because they break off not according to the sense, but only according to the space, as the στίχοι in numbering the lines, e.g. of the Greek orators, are mere lines according to the space (*Raumzeile*), at least according to Ritschl's view (*Die alex. Bibliotheken*, 1838, S. 92–136), which, however, has been disputed by Vömel. The old soferish order intends lines according to the sense, and so also the Greek distinction by *πέντε στιχηραὶ* (στιχῆρεις) βίβλοι, i.e. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes.

<sup>2</sup> That from these we may proceed, the ancients here and there conjectured; as e.g. Serpilius says, "It may perhaps occur to some, whether now and then a slight judgment of the Davidic species of verse and poesy may not be in some way formed from his, so to speak, alphabetical psalms."

<sup>3</sup> On strophes in the book of Job, *Jahrb.* iii. 118: "That the Masoretic division of the verses is not always correct, follows also from a more exact consideration of the strophes. Here comes a further question, whether one must determine the limit of such a strophe only according to the verses, which are often in themselves very irregular, or rather, strictly according to the *members* of the verse? The latter seems to me, at least in some parts, certainly to be the case, as I have already had opportunity to remark." Nevertheless, he reckons the strophes in *Neue Bemerkungen zum B. Ijob*, ix. 35–37, according to lines = Masoretic verses.

Hupfeld has objected that these strophes, as an aggregate formed of a symmetrical number of stichs, are opposed to the nature of the rhythm = parallelism, which cannot stand on one leg, but needs two; but this objection is as invalid as if one should say, Because every soldier has two legs, therefore soldiers can only march singly, and not in a row and company. It may be seen, *e.g.*, from xxxvi. 22-25, 26-29, 30-33, where the poet begins three times with  $\overline{\text{m}}$ , and three times the sentences so beginning are formed of eight lines. Shall we not say there are three eight-line strophes beginning with  $\overline{\text{m}}$ ? Nevertheless, we are far from maintaining that the book of Job consists absolutely of speeches in the strophe and poetic form. It breaks up, however, into paragraphs, which not unfrequently become symmetrical strophes. That neither the symmetrical nor mixed strophe-schema is throughout with strict unexceptional regularity carried out, arises from the artistic freedom which the poet was obliged to maintain in order not to sacrifice the truth as well as the beauty of the dialogue. Our translation, arranged in paragraphs, and the schemata of the number of stichs in the paragraph placed above each speech, will show that the arrangement of the whole is, after all, far more strophic than its dramatic character allows, according to classic and modern poetic art.<sup>1</sup> It is similar in Canticles, with the melodramatic character of which it better agrees. In both cases it is explained from the

<sup>1</sup> What Gottfr. Hermann, in his *diss. de arte poesis Græcorum bucolicæ*, says respecting the strophe-division in Theocritus, is nevertheless to be attentively considered: Verendum est ne ipsi nobis somnia fingamus perdamusque operam, si artificiosas stropharum comparationes comminiscamur, de quibus ipsi poetæ ne cogitaverint quidem. Viderique potest id eo probabilius esse, quod sæpenumero dubitari potest, sic an aliter constituendæ sint strophæ. Nam poesis, qualis hæc bucolicorum est, quæ maximam partem ex brevibus dictis est composita, ipsa natura sua talis est ut in partes fere vel pares vel similes dividi possit. Nihilominus illam strophicam rationem non negligendam arbitror, ut quæ apud poetas bucolicos in consuetudinem vertisse videatur, etc.

Hebrew poesy being in its fundamental peculiarity lyric, and from the drama not having freed itself from the lyric element, and attained to complete independence. The book of Job is, moreover, not a drama grown to complete development. Prologue and epilogue are treated as history, and the separate speeches are introduced in the narrative style. In the latter respect (with the exception of ch. ii. 10a), Canticles is more directly dramatic than the book of Job.<sup>1</sup> The drama is here in reference to the strophic form in the garb of song, and in respect of the narrative form in the garb of history or epopee. Also the book of Job cannot be regarded as drama, if we consider, with G. Baur,<sup>2</sup> dramatic and scenic to be inseparable ideas; for the Jews first became acquainted with the theatre from the Greeks and Romans.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, it is questionable whether the drama everywhere presupposes the existence of the stage, as e.g. A. W. v. Schlegel, in his *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, maintains. Göthe, at least, more than once asserts, that "drama and a composition for the stage may be separate," and admits a "dramatic plot and execution" in Canticles.<sup>4</sup>

#### § 5. THE DRAMATIC ART OF THE PLOT AND EXECUTION.

On the whole, we have as little hesitation as Hupfeld in calling the book of Job a drama; and it is characteristic of

<sup>1</sup> Hence there are Greek mss., in which the names of the speakers (e.g. ἡ νύμφη, αἱ νεανίδες, ὁ νυμφίος) are prefixed to the separate parts of Canticles (vid. *Repertorium für bibl. u. morgenl. Lit.* viii. 1781, S. 180). The Archimandrite Porphyrios, who in his *Travels*, 1856, described the *Codex Sinaiticus* before Tischendorf, though unsatisfactorily, describes there also such *διαλογικῶς* written mss. of Canticles.

<sup>2</sup> *Das B. Hiob und Dante's Göttliche Comödie, Studien u. Krit.* 1856, iii.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Geschichte der jüdischen Dramatik* in my edition of the *Migdal Oz* (hebr. imitation of the *Pastor fido* of Guarini) by Mose Chajim Luzzatto, Leipz. 1837.

<sup>4</sup> Werke (neue Ausg. in 80 Bden.), xiii. 596: xxvi. 513 f.

the Israelitish Chokma, that by Canticles and the book of Job, its two generic manifestations, it has enriched the national poesy with this new form of poetic composition. The book of Job is, though not altogether, yet substantially, a drama, and one consisting of seven divisions: (1) ch. i.-iii., the opening; (2) ch. iv.-xiv., the first course of the controversy, or the beginning entanglement; (3) ch. xv.-xxi., the second course of the controversy, or the increasing entanglement; (4) ch. xxii.-xxvi., the third course of the controversy, or the increasing entanglement at its highest; (5) ch. xxvii.-xxxi., the transition from the entanglement (*δέσις*) to the unravelling (*λύσις*): Job's monologues; (6) ch. xxxviii.-xlii. 6, the unravelment in the consciousness; (7) xlii. 7 sq., the unraveling in outward reality. In this we have left Elihu's speeches (ch. xxxii.-xxxvii.) out of consideration, because it is very questionable whether they are a part of the original form of the book, and not, on the contrary, the introduction of another poet. If we include them, the drama has eight divisions. The speeches of Elihu form an interlude in the transition from the *δέσις* to the *λύσις*. The book of Job is an audience-chamber, and one can readily suppose that a cotemporary or later poet may have mixed himself up with the speakers. Whether, however, this is really the case, may remain here undecided. The prologue is narrative, but still partly in dialogue style, and so far not altogether undramatical. In form it corresponds most to the Euripidean, which also are a kind of epic introduction to the pieces, and it accomplishes what Sophocles in his prologues so thoroughly understands. At the very beginning he excites interest in the occurrences to be brought forward, and makes us acquainted with that which remains concealed from the actors. After the knot of the puzzle is tied in the prologue, it becomes more and more deeply entangled in the three courses of the controversy. In the monologues of Job it begins to be disentangled, and

in the sixth part the unravelling follows, well prepared for, and therefore not ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, and is perfected in the epilogue or exodus: the servant of God, being so far as necessary cleared by penitence, is justified in opposition to his friends; and the victor, tried in accordance with the divine utterance, is crowned. It is therefore a continually progressing history. The remark of Herder,<sup>1</sup> "Here all is stationary in long conversations," is superficial. It is from beginning to end a stream of the most active life, with external incident only in the opening and in the unravelling; what Schlegel says of Göthe's *Iphigenie* holds good of the middle of the book, that the ideas are worked into incidents, and brought, as it were, before the eye. Moreover, as in Göthe's *Tasso*, the deficiency of external action is compensated by the richness and precision with which the characters are drawn. Satan, Job's wife, the hero himself, the three friends,—everywhere diversified and minute description. The poet manifests, also, dramatic skill in other directions. He has laid out the controversy with a masterly hand, making the heart of the reader gradually averse to the friends, and in the same degree winning it towards Job. He makes the friends all through give utterance to the most glorious truths, which, however, *in the application to the case before them*, turn out to be untrue. And although the whole of the representation serves one great idea, it is still not represented by any of the persons brought forward, and is by no one expressly uttered. Every person is, as it were, the consonant letter to the word of this idea; it is throughout the whole book taken up with the realization of itself; at the end it first comes forth as the resulting product of the whole. Job himself is not less a tragic hero than the Œdipus of both Sophocles' tragedies.<sup>2</sup> What is there an

<sup>1</sup> *Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, 1805, i. S. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Schultens says: Quidquid tragoedia vetus unquam Sophocleo vel Æschyleo molita est cothurno, infra magnitudinem, gravitatem, ardorem,

inevitable fate, expressed by the oracle, is in the book of Job the decree of Jehovah, over whom is no controlling power, decreed in the assembly of angels. As a painful puzzle the lot of affliction comes down on Job. At the beginning he is the victor of an easy battle, until the friends' exhortations to repentance are added to suffering, which in itself is incomprehensible, and make it still harder to be understood. He is thereby involved in a hard conflict, in which at one time, full of arrogant self-confidence, he exalts himself heavenward; at another time, sinks to the ground in desponding sadness.

The God, however, against which he fights is but a phantom, which the temptation has presented to his saddened eye instead of the true God; and this phantom is in no way different from the inexorable fate of the Greek tragedy. As in that the hero seeks to maintain his inward freedom against the secret power which crushes him with an iron arm; so Job maintains his innocence against this God, which has devoted him to destruction as an offender. But in the midst of this terrific conflict with the God of the present, this creation of the temptation, Job's faith gropes after the God of the future, to whom he is ever driven nearer the more mercilessly the enemies pursue him. At length Jehovah really appears, but not at Job's impetuous summons. He appears first after Job has made a beginning of humble self-concession, in order to complete the work begun, by condescendingly going forth to meet him. Jehovah appears, and the fury vanishes. The dualism, which the Greek tragedy leaves unabolished, is here reconciled. Human freedom does not succumb; but it be-

*animositatem horum affectuum infinitum quantum subsidet.* Similarly Ewald (*Jahrb.* ix. 27): Neither the Hindoos, nor the Greeks and Romans, have such a lofty and purely perfected poem to produce. One would perhaps compare it with one of Æschylus or Sophocles' tragedies as the nearest; but we cannot easily find a single one among these approaching its unblemished height and perfection in the midst of the greatest simplicity.



comes evident that not an absolute arbitrary power, but divine wisdom, whose inmost impulse is love, moulds human destiny.

### § 6. TIME OF COMPOSITION.

That this masterpiece of religious reflection and systematic creative art—this, to use Luther's expression, lofty and grand book, in which, as the mountains round an Alpine valley, all the terribly sublime that nature and human history present is ranged one above another—belongs to no other than the Salomonic period, we might almost assume, even if it were not confirmed on all sides. The opinion that Moses wrote the book of Job before the giving of the law, is found in the Talmuds (*jer. Sota V. 8* ; *b. Bathra, 15a*). This view has been recently revived by Ebrard (1858). But how improbable, all but impossible, that the poetical literature of Israel should have taken its rise with such a *non plus ultra* of reflective poetry, and that this poem should have had Moses the lawgiver for its author! "Moses certainly is not the composer of the book of Job," says Herder rightly,<sup>1</sup> "or Solon might have written the *Iliad* and the *Eumenides* of Æschylus." This opinion, which is also found in Origen, Jerome, Polychronius, and Julian of Halicarnassus, would surely never have suggested itself to any one, had not the studious avoidance in the book of all reference to the law, prophecy, history, religious worship, and even of the religious terminology of Israel, consequent on its design, produced the appearance of a pre-Sinaitic origin. But, first, this absence of such reference is, as we have already seen, the result of the genius and aim which belong to the book ; secondly, the writer distinctly enough betrays his acquaintance with the Thora : for as the Chokma for the most part necessarily presupposes the revelation of God deposited in the Thorn,

<sup>1</sup> *Geist der Ebr. Poesie*, 1805, i. S. 130.

and is even at pains to show its universal and eternal ideas, and its imperishable nature full of meaning for all men, so a book like the book of Job could only have been written by an Israelitish author, only have sprung from the spiritual knowledge and experience rendered possible by the Thora.<sup>1</sup> For as insight into the groping of the heathen world after divine truth is only possible in the light of Christianity, so also such a spiritually bold and accurate reproduction of an old patriarchal tradition was only possible in the light of the revelation of Jehovah: not to mention that the middle part of the book is written in the style of the book of Proverbs, the surrounding parts in evident imitation of the style of the primitive histories of the Pentateuch.

But as the supposition of a pre-Salomonic composition is proved invalid, so also are all the grounds on which it has been sought to prove a post-Salomonic. Ewald, whom Heiligstedt and Renan follow, is of opinion that it shows very unsettled and unfortunate times in the background, and from this and other indications was written under Manasseh; Hirzel, that the writer who is so well acquainted with Egypt, seems to have been carried into Egypt with King Jehoahaz; Stickel, that the book presupposes the invasion of the Asiatic conqueror as begun, but not yet so far advanced as the destruction of Jerusalem; Bleek, that it must belong to the post-Salomonic period, because it seems to refer to a previous

<sup>1</sup> Reggio indeed maintains (*Kerem Chemed*, vi. 53-60) in favour of the Mosaic pre-Sinaitic composition: "God is only represented as the Almighty, the Ruler of the universe: His love, mercy, forbearance—attributes which the Thora first revealed—are nowhere mentioned;" and S. D. Luzzatto concludes from this even the non-Israelitish origin of the book: "The God of Job is not the God of Israel, the gracious One: He is the almighty and just, but not the kind and true One;" but although the book does not once use the words goodness, love, forbearance, compassion of God, it is nevertheless a bright mirror of them all; and it is the love of God which it manifests as a bright ray in the dark mystery of the affliction of the righteous.

comprehensive diversified literature. But all this rests on invalid grounds, false observation, and deceptive conclusions. Indeed, the assumption that a book which sets forth such a fearful conflict in the depths of affliction must have sprung from a time of gloomy national distress, is untenable: it is sufficient to suppose that the writer himself has experienced the like, and experienced it at a time when all around him were living in great luxury, which must have greatly aggravated his trial. It would be preferable to suppose that the book of Job belongs to the time of the exile (Umbreit and others), and that Job, though not exactly a personification of Israel, is still *משל לישראל*,<sup>1</sup> a pattern for the people of the exile (Bernstein); for this view, interesting indeed in itself, has the similarity of several passages of the second part of the book of Isaiah in its favour: comp. ch. xl. 14 with Job xxi. 22, xl. 23 with Job xii. 24, xliv. 25 with Job xii. 17, 20, xliv. 24 with Job ix. 8, lix. 4 with Job xv. 35, Ps. vii. 15. These, however, only prove that the severely tried *ecclesia pressa* of the exiles might certainly recognise itself again in the example of Job, and make it seem far more probable that the book of Job is older than that period of Israel's suffering.

The literature of the Chokma began with Solomon. First in the time of Solomon, whose peculiar gift was worldly wisdom, a time which bears the character of peaceful contemplation resulting from the conflicts of belief of David's time,<sup>2</sup> the external and internal preliminary conditions for

<sup>1</sup> Vid. c. 90 of *Ez chajim*, by Ahron b. Elias of Nicomedia, edited by Delitzsch, 1841, which corresponds to *More Nebuchim*, iii. 22-24. The view that the poet himself, by Job intended the Israel of the exile (according to Warburton, the Israel of the restoration after the exile; according to Grotius, the Edomites carried into exile by the Babylonians), is about the same as the view that the guilty Pericles may be intended by King Œdipus, or the Sophists by the Odysseus of the Philoctetes.

<sup>2</sup> Thus far Gaupp, *Praktische Theol.* ii. 1, 488, is in some degree right, when he considers the book of Job a living testimony of the new spirit of belief which was bursting forth in David's time.

it existed. The chief part of Proverbs and Canticles are by Solomon himself; the introductory passages (Prov. i.-ix.) represent a later period of the Chokma, probably the time of Jehoshaphat; the book of Ecclesiastes, which is rightly assigned by H. G. Bernstein in his *Questiones Kohelethanae* to the time between Artaxerxes I. Longimanus, and Darius Codomannus, and perhaps belongs to the time of Artaxerxes II. Mnemon, represents the latest period. The book of Job is indicated as a work of the first of these three periods, by its classic, grand, and noble form. It bears throughout the stamp of, that creative, beginning-period of the Chokma,—of that Salomonic age of knowledge and art, of deeper thought respecting revealed religion, and of intelligent, progressive culture of the traditional forms of art,—that unprecedented age, in which the literature corresponded to the summit of glorious magnificence to which the kingdom of the promise had then attained. The heart of Solomon (according to 1 Kings v. 9 sq., Heb.; iv. 29, English version) enclosed within itself a fulness of knowledge, “even as the sand that is on the sea-shore:” his wisdom exceeded that of the **בני קדם**, from whom the traditional matter of the book of Job is borrowed; exceeded also the wisdom of the **מצרים**, with whose country and natural marvels the author of the book of Job is intimately acquainted. The extensive knowledge of natural history and general science displayed in the book of Job, is the result of the wide circle of observation which Israel had reached in the time of Solomon. It was a time when the chasm between Israel and the nations was more than ever bridged over. The entire education of Israel at that time took a so to speak cosmopolitan direction. It was a time introductory to the extension of redemption, and the triumph of the religion of Israel, and the union of all nations in belief on the God of love.

## § 7. SIGNS FROM THE DOCTRINAL CONTENTS.

That the book of Job belongs to this period and no other, is confirmed also by the relation of its doctrinal contents to the other canonical writings. If we compare the doctrine respecting Wisdom—her super-eminence, applicability to worldly matters, and co-operation in the creation of the world—in Prov. i.-ix., especially ch. viii., with Job xxviii., it is there manifestly more advanced, and further developed. If we compare the pointing to the judgment of God, Job xix. 29, with the hint of a future general judgment, which shall decide and adjust all things, in Eccl. xii. 14, we see at once that what comes forward in the former passage only at first as an expression of personal belief, is in the latter already become a settled element of general religious consciousness.

And however we may interpret that brilliant passage of the book of Job, ch. xix. 25-27,—whether it be the beholding of God in the present bodily, future spiritual, or future glorified state,—it is by no means an echo of an already existing revelation of the resurrection of the dead, that acknowledgment of revelation which we see breaking forth and expanding throughout Isa. xxvi. 19, comp. xxv. 8, and Ezek. xxxvii. comp. Hos. vi. 2, until Dan. xii. 2. The prevailing representations of the future in the book of Job are exactly the same as those in the Psalms of the time of David and Solomon, and in the Proverbs of Solomon. The writer speaks as one of the same age in which Heman sighed, Ps. lxxxviii. 11 sq., “*Wilt Thou show wonders to the dead? or shall the shades arise and praise Thee? Shall Thy loving-kindness be declared in the grave, Thy faithfulness in the abyss?*” Besides, the greatest conceivable fulness of allusion to the book of Job, including Elihu’s speeches, is found in Ps. lxxxviii. and lxxxix., whose authors, Heman and Ethan, the Ezrahites, are not the same as the

chief singers of David of the same name, but the contemporaries of Solomon mentioned in 1 Kings <sup>10 31</sup> ~~v. 11~~. These two psalms coincide with the book of Job, both in expressions with which remarkable representations are united, as קרשים of the celestial spirits, רפאים of the shades in Hades, אכרוך of Hades itself, and also in expressions which do not occur elsewhere in the Old Testament, as אַמִּים and בְּעָתִים; and the agreement is manifest, moreover, in the agreement of whole verses either in thought or in expression: comp. Ps. lxxxix. 38 with Job xvi. 19, lxxxix. 48 with Job vii. 7, lxxxix. 49 with Job xiv. 14, lxxxviii. 5 with Job xiv. 10, lxxxviii. 9 with Job xxx. 10, lxxxix. 8 with Job xxxi. 34. In all these passages, however, there is no such similarity as suggests a borrowing, but an agreement which, since it cannot possibly be accidental, may be most easily explained by supposing that the book of Job proceeds from just the same Chokma-fellowship to which, according to 1 Kings ~~v. 11~~, <sup>iv. 31</sup>, the two Ezrahites, the writers of Ps. lxxxviii. and lxxxix., belong.

One might go further, and conjecture that the same Heman who composed Ps. lxxxviii., the gloomiest of all the Psalms, and written under circumstances of suffering similar to Job's, may be the author of the book of Job—for which many probable reasons might be advanced; by which also what G. Baur rightly assumes would be confirmed, that the writer of the book of Job has himself passed through the inward spiritual conflict which he describes, and accordingly gives a page from his own religious history. But we are satisfied with the result, that the book of Job is the work of one of the wise men whose rendezvous was the court of Solomon. Gregory of Nazianza and Luther have already admitted the origin of the book in Solomon's time; and among later critics, Rosenmüller, Hävernicks, Vaihinger, Hahn, Schlottmann, Keil, and Hofmann (though in

his *Weissagung und Erfüllung* he expressed the opinion that it belongs to the Mosaic period), are agreed in this.<sup>1</sup>

### § 8. ECHOES IN THE LATER SACRED WRITINGS.

It may be readily supposed, that a book like this, which is occupied with a question of such vital import to every thinking and pious man,—which treats it in such a lively manner, riveting the attention, and bespeaking sympathy,—which, apart from its central subject, is so many-sided, so majestically beautiful in language, and so inexhaustible in imagery,—will have been one of the most generally read of the national books of Israel. Such is found to be the case; and also hereby its origin in the time of Solomon is confirmed: for at this very period it is to Ps. lxxxviii. lxxxix. only that it stands in the mutual relation already mentioned. But the echoes appear as early as in the דברי חכמים, which are appended to the Salomonic מלך in the book of Proverbs: comp. the teaching from an example in the writer's own experience, Prov. xxiv. 30 sqq. with Job v. 3 sqq. The book of Job, however, next to the Proverbs of Solomon, was the favourite source of information for the author of the introductory proverbs (ch. i.—ix.). Here (apart from the doctrine of wisdom) we find whole passages similar to the book of Job: comp. Prov. iii. 11 with Job v. 17, viii. 25 with Job xv. 7, iii. 15 with Job xxviii. 18.

Then, in the prophets of the flourishing period of prophetic literature, which begins with Obadiah and Joel, we find distinct traces of familiarity with the book of Job. Amos describes the glory of God the Creator in words taken from it (ch. iv. 13, v. 8, after Job ix. 8; cf. x. 22,

<sup>1</sup> Also Professor Barnwell, in the *Carolina Times*, 1857, No. 785, calls the book of Job "the most brilliant flower of this brighter than Elizabethan and nobler than Augustan era."

xxxviii. 31). Isaiah has introduced a whole verse of the book of Job, almost *verbatim*, into his prophecy against Egypt (ch. xix. 5 = Job xiv. 11): in the same prophecy, ch. xix. 13 sq. refer to Job xii. 24 sq., so also ch. xxxv. 3 to Job iv. 4. These reminiscences of the book of Job are frequent in Isaiah (ch. xl.-lxvi.). This book of solace for the exiles corresponds to the book of Job not only in words, which exclusively belong in common to the two (as *וְיָסֵר* and *וְיִסְרֶנּוּ*), and in surprising similarity of expression (as ch. liii. 9, comp. Job xvi. 17; lx. 6, comp. Job xxii. 11), but also in numerous passages of similar thought and form (comp. ch. xl. 23 with Job xii. 24); and in the description of the Servant of Jehovah, one is here and there involuntarily reminded of the book of Job (as ch. l. 6, comp. with Job xvi. 10). In Jeremiah, the short lyric passage, ch. xx. 14-18, in which he curses the day of his birth, falls back on Job iii.: the form in which the despondency of the prophet breaks forth is determined by the book of Job, with which he was familiar. It requires no proof that the same prophet follows the book of Job in many passages of Lamentations, and especially the first part of ch. iii.: he makes use of confessions, complaints, and imagery from the affliction of Job, to represent the affliction of Israel.

By the end of the time of the kings, Job was a person generally known in Israel, a recognised saint; for Ezekiel, in the year 593-2 B.C. (ch. xiv. 14 sqq.), complains that the measure of Israel's sin is so great, that if Noah, Daniel, and Job were in the midst of Israel, though they might save themselves, they would not be able to hold back the arm of divine justice. The prophet mentions first Noah, a righteous man of the old world; then Daniel, a righteous man of contemporary Israel; and last of all Job, a righteous man beyond the line of the promise.<sup>1</sup> He would not, however, have been able

<sup>1</sup> Hengstenberg (*Beiträge*, i. 72) thinks Job is mentioned last because less suited to Ezekiel's purpose than Noah and Daniel. Carpov (*Introd.*



to mention him, if he had not, by means of the written narrative, been a person well known among the people to whom the prophetic discourse was addressed. The literature of the Old Testament has no further references to the question of the time of the composition of the book of Job; for, on a comparison of Eccl. v. 14 with Job i. 21, it scarcely remains a question to which the priority belongs.

### § 9. THE CHIEF CRITICAL QUESTIONS.

Whether, however, the whole book, as we now have it, comes from the time of Solomon, as the work of one poet, or of one chief poet,<sup>1</sup> is a question which can be better determined in the course of the exposition. More or less important doubts have been entertained whether some constituent parts of the whole belong to the original setting. By far the most important question of criticism respects the six chapters of Elihu's speeches (ch. xxxii.-xxxvii.), respecting which the suspicion entertained by the fathers, and first decidedly expressed by Stuhlmann (1804), that not only in form are they inferior to the artistic execution of the rest of the work, but also in contents are opposed to its original plan, is not yet set aside, and perhaps never will be altogether satisfactorily settled. Besides this, Kennicot also has suspected the speech of Job, ch. xxvii. 11-xxviii. 28, because there Job seems to yield to the friends' controverted doctrine of retribution. De Wette is more inclined here to suppose a want of connection on the

in *ll. poet.* p. 35) is more ingenious, but too artificial, when he finds an anti-climax in the order: *Noachus in clade primi mundi æcumenica, Daniel in clade patriæ ac gentis suæ, Iobus in clade familiæ servatus est.*

<sup>1</sup> Compare Böttcher, *Æhrenlese*, S. 68: "Respecting the mode of composition, we think there was one chief poet, with several contemporary associates, incited by a conversation on the then (i.e., according to Böttcher's view, in the reign of Manasseh) frequent afflictions of the innocent."

part of the writer than an interpolation. We shall have to prove whether this speech of Job really encroaches upon the province of the unravelling, or renders the transition more complete.

The whole description of *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*, ch. xl. 15-xli. 26, is regarded by Ewald as a later addition: De Wette extends this judgment only to ch. xli. 4-26: Eichhorn was satisfied at first with changing the order of Jehovah's speeches; but in the last edition of his *Einleitung* ascribed the passage about the two monsters to a later poet. The exposition will have to bring the form of expression of the supposed interpolation, and its relation to the purpose of the second speech of Jehovah, in comparison with the first, under consideration. But we need not defer our judgment of the prologue and epilogue. All the doubts raised by Stuhlmann, Bernstein, Knobel (*diss. de carminis Iobi argumento, fine ac dispositione*, and *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1842, ii.), and others, respecting both these essential parts, are put an end to by the consideration, that the middle part of the book, without them, is a torso without head and feet.

#### § 10. THE SATAN OF THE PROLOGUE.

But the Satan in the prologue is a stumbling-block to many, which, if it does not lead them to doubt the authenticity of the prologue, still causes them to question whether the composition of the book belongs to the time of Solomon. For Satan is first definitely named, Zech. iii., and 1 Chron. xxi. 1; consequently in writings of the period after the exile. On the other hand, *שָׂטָן*, Num. xxii. 22, appellatively describes one who comes forward hostilely, or as a hindrance; and Ps. cix. 6 is at least open to question whether the prince of evil spirits may not be meant, which, according to Zech. iii. 1, seems to be intended. However, in Micaiah's vision, 1 Kings xxii. 19-23,

where one might expect השטן, הרמ is used. It is even maintained in the present day, that the idea of Satan was first obtained by the Israelitish race from contact with the East-Asiatic nations, which began with Israel in the time of Menahem, with Judah in the time of Ahaz; the view of Diestel, that it is the copy of the Egyptian *Set-Typhon*, stands at present alone. When we consider that the redemptive work of Jesus Christ is regarded by Him and His apostles from one side as the overthrow of Satan, it were a miserable thing for the divine truth of Christianity that this Satan should be nothing more than a copy of the Persian *Ahriman*, and consequently a mere phantom. However, supposing there were some such connection, we should then have only two periods at which the book of Job could possibly have been composed,—the time after the exile, and the time of Solomon; for these are the only periods at which not only collision, but also an interchange of ideas, between Israel and the profane nations could have taken place. It is also just as possible for the conception of Satan to have taken possession of the Israelitish mind under Solomon as during the exile, especially as it is very questionable whether the religion of Cyrus, as found in the Zend books, may not have been far more influenced by Israel, than, contrariwise, have influenced Israel.

But the conception of Satan is indeed much older in its existence than the time of Solomon: the serpent of paradise must surely have appeared to the inquiring mind of Israel as the disguise of an evil spirit; and nothing further can be maintained, than that this evil spirit, which in the Mosaic rite of the great day of atonement is called עֶזְרָאֵל (called later בעל זבוב, a name borrowed from the god of Ekron), appears first in the later literature of Israel under the name השטן. If now, moreover, the Chokma of the Salomonic period was specially conversant with the pre-Israelitish his-

tories of Genesis, whence indeed even the chief thought of Canticles and the figure of חיים עץ *e.g.* frequently occurring in Proverbs are drawn, it is difficult to conceive why the evil spirit, that in its guise of a serpent aimed its malice against man, could not have been called נחש so early as the Salomonic period.

The wisdom of the author of the book of Job, we have said above, springs from paradise. Thence he obtains the highest and final solution of his problem. It is now time to give expression to this. At present we need only do so in outline, since it is simply of use to place us from the commencement at the right standpoint for understanding the book of Job.

#### § 11. THE FINAL SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

The nature of sin is two-sided. It consists in the creature's setting up himself in opposition to God, who is the essence of the personality of the creature. It consists also, on the other side, in the stirring up of the depth of the nature of the creature, whose essential consistence has its harmony in God; and by this stirring up, falls into a wild confusion. In other words, evil has a personal side and a natural side. And just so, also, is God's wrath which it excites, and which operates against it. For God's wrath is, on the one hand, the personal displeasure or aversion into which His love is changed, since the will of the creature and the will of God are in opposition; on the other hand, an excited condition of the contrary forces of the divine nature, or, as Scripture expresses it, the kindling of the fire of the divine glory, in which sense it is often said of wrath, that God sends it forth, that He pours it forth, and that man has to drink of it (Job xxi. 20, comp. vi. 4).<sup>1</sup>

In reference to the creature, we call evil according to its personal side *ἐχθρα*, and according to its natural side *ἀραξία*,

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* my Proleg. to Weber's book on the Wrath of God.

*turba*.<sup>1</sup> Both personal evil and natural evil have originated in the spirit world: first of all, in a spirit nearest to God, which as fallen is called *טִבְעָן*. It has sought its own selfish ends, and thereby deranged its nature, so that it has become in every respect the object of the divine wrath, and the material for the burning of the divine wrath: for the *echthra* and *turba* have the intention and the burning of the wrath of God in themselves as divine *correlata*; but Satan, after that he has become entirely possessed of these divine powers (*Energien*), is also their instrument. The spirit of light and love is altogether become the spirit of fire and wrath; the whole sphere of wrath is centred in him. After having given up his high position in the realm of light, he is become lord of the realm of wrath.

He has, from the commencement of his fall, the hell within himself, but is first cast into the lake of fire at the end of the present dispensation (Matt. xxv. 41; Apoc. xx. 10: comp. Dan. vii. 11). In the meantime, he is being deprived of his power by the Son of man, who, in the midst of His own and His disciples' victories over the demons, beholds him fall as lightning from heaven (Luke x. 18), and by His death gives him his deathblow,—a final judgment, which, later on, becomes fully manifest in the continuous degradation of the vanquished (comp. Apoc. xii. 9, xx. 3, xx. 10). Accordingly, when Satan, in the book of Job, still appears among the angels of God in heaven, and indeed as *κατήγωρ*, it is quite in accordance with the disclosures which the New Testament Scriptures give us respecting the invisible angelic side of the present dispensation.

We will now cast a glance at the relation to the wrath of God, and to Satan, into which man has fallen through the temptation of the old serpent. Tempted by Satan, he is himself fallen into the realm of wrath, and become a servant of

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. Biblical Psychology*, pp. 153, 189 sq.

Satan. He is in his grasp. All calamity that befalls him is divine punishment, either proceeding directly from the wrath of God, or worked by the wrath-spirit, Satan. But in prospect of the future atonement, which was to free man from the wrath of God, and from the power of wrath in which Satan holds him, it was possible for man, even under the Old Testament, to realize this deliverance, by virtue of an apprehension of the grace flowing from God's purpose of redemption. Whoever has been made free by this grace is changed from an object of the divine wrath to an object of the divine love, and nothing that befalls him in this condition proceeds from the wrath of God—all from His love. This love cannot, however, manifest itself so brightly as it would, so long as sin remains in the man and in the world; it is only able to manifest itself as loving wrath, *i.e.* as love controlling, and making wrath serviceable to itself.

Thus Job's suffering is a dispensation of love, but brought about by the wrath-spirit, and with every appearance of wrath. It is so with every trial and chastisement of the righteous. And it cannot be otherwise; for *trial* is designed to be for man a means of overcoming the evil that is external to him, and *chastisement* of overcoming the evil that is within him. There is a conflict between evil and good in the world, which can issue in victory to the good only so, that the good proves itself in distinction from the evil, withstands the assault of evil, and destroys the evil that exists bound up with itself: only so, that the good as far as it is still mixed with the evil is refined as by fire, and more and more freed from it.

This is the twofold point of view from which the suffering of Job is to be regarded. It was designed, first of all, that Job should prove himself in opposition to Satan, in order to overcome him; and since Job does not pass through the trial entirely without sinning, it has the effect at the same time of

purifying and perfecting him. In both respects, the history of Job is a passage from the history of God's own conflict with the evil one, which is the substance of the history of redemption, and ends in the triumph of the divine love. And Gaupp<sup>1</sup> well says: In the book of Job, Satan loses a cause which is intended only as prelude to the greatest of all causes, since judgment is gone forth over the world, and the prince of darkness has been cast forth. Accordingly the church has always recognised in the passion of Job a type of the passion of Jesus Christ. James (v. 11) even compares the patience of Job and the issue of the Lord's sufferings. And according to this indication, it was the custom after the second century to read the book of Job in the churches during passion-week.<sup>2</sup> The final solution of the problem which this marvellous book sets forth, is then this: the suffering of the righteous, in its deepest cause, is the conflict of the seed of the woman with the seed of the serpent, which ends in the head of the serpent being trampled under foot; it is the type or copy of the suffering of Christ, the Holy God, who has himself borne our sins, and in the constancy of His reconciling love has withstood, even to the final overthrow, the assault of wrath and of the angel of wrath.

The real contents of the book of Job is the mystery of the Cross: the Cross on Golgotha is the solution of the enigma of every cross; and the book of Job is a prophecy of this final solution.

<sup>1</sup> *Praktische Theologie*, ii. 1, S. 488 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid. Origen's Opp. t. ii. p. 851: In conventu ecclesie in diebus sanctis legitur passio Iob, in diebus jejunii, in diebus abstinentie, in diebus, in quibus tanquam compatiuntur ei qui jejunant et abstinent admirabili illo Iob, in diebus, in quibus in jejuniis et abstinentia sanctam Domini nostri Jesu Christi passionem sectamur.* Known thus from the public reading in the churches, Job was called among the Syrians, *Machbono*, the Beloved, the Friend (Ewald, *Jahrb.* x. 207); and among the Arabs, *Es-sabâr*, the patient one.

## § 12. THE HISTORY OF THE EXPOSITION.

Before proceeding to the exposition, we will take a brief review of the *history* of the exposition of the book. The promise of the Spirit to lead into all truth is continually receiving its fulfilment in the history of the church, and especially in the interpretation of Scripture. But nowhere is the progress of the church in accordance with this promise so manifest as in the exposition of the word, and particularly of the Old Testament. In the patristic and middle ages, light was thrown only on detached portions of the Old Testament; they lacked altogether, or had but an inadequate knowledge of, the Hebrew language. They regarded the Old Testament not as the forerunner, but allegory, of the New, and paid less attention to it in proportion as the spiritual perception of the church lost its apostolic purity and freshness. However, so far as inward spiritual feeling and experience could compensate for the almost entire absence of outward conditions, this period has produced and handed down many valuable explanations.

But at the time of the Reformation, the light of the day which had already dawned first spread in all its brightness over the Old Testament. The knowledge of Hebrew, until then the private possession of a few, became the public property of the church: all erroneous interventions which had hitherto separated the church both from Christ and from the living source of the word were put aside; and starting from the central truth of justification by faith and its results, a free but still not unrestricted investigation commenced. Still there was wanting to this period all perception of historical development, and consequently the ability to comprehend the Old Testament as preparing the way for the New by its gradual historical development of the plan of redemption. The exposition of Scripture, more-



over, soon fell again under the yoke of an enslaving tradition, of a scholastic systematizing, and of an unhistorical dogmatizing which mistook its peculiar aim ; and this period of bondage, devoid of spirituality, was followed by a period of false freedom, that of rationalism, which cut asunder the mutual relation between the exposition of Scripture and the confession of the church, since it reduced the covenant contents of the church's confession to the most shallow notion of God and the most trivial moral rules, and regarded the Old Testament as historical indeed, but with carnal eyes, which were blind to the work of God that was preparing the way in the history of Israel for the New Testament redemption. The progress of exegesis seemed at that time to have been stayed ; but the Head of the church, who reigns in the midst of His enemies, caused the exposition of His word to come forth again from the dead in a more glorious form. The bias towards the human side of Scripture has taught exegesis that Scripture is neither altogether a divine, nor altogether a human, but a divine-human book. The historical method of regarding it, and the advanced knowledge of language, have taught that the Old Testament presents a divine-human growth tending towards the God-man, a gradual development and declaration of the divine purpose of salvation,—a miraculous history moving onward towards that miracle of all miracles, Jesus Christ. Believing on Him, bearing the seal of His Spirit in himself, and partaking of the true liberty His Spirit imparts, the expositor of Scripture beholds in the Old Testament, with open face, now as never before, the glory of the Lord.

The truth of this sketch is confirmed by the history of the exposition of the book of Job. The Greek fathers, of whom twenty-two (including Ephrem) are quoted in the *Catena*,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It contains as basis the Greek text of the book of Job from the *Cod. Alexandrinus*, arranged in stichs.

published by Patricius Junius, 1637, furnish little more than could be expected. If there be any Old Testament book whose comprehensive meaning is now first understood according to the external and internal conditions of its gradual advance to maturity, it is the book of Job. The Greek fathers were confined to the LXX., without being in a position to test that translation by the original text; and it is just the Greek translation of the book of Job which suffers most seriously from the flaws which in general affect the LXX. Whole verses are omitted, others are removed from their original places, and the omissions are filled up by apocryphal additions.<sup>1</sup> Origen was well aware of this (*Ep. ad Afric.* § 3 sq.), but he was not sufficiently acquainted with Hebrew to give a reliable collation of the LXX. with the original text in his *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla*; and his additions (denoted by daggers), and the passages restored by him from other translators, especially Theodotion (by asterisks), deprive the Septuagint text of its original form, without, however, giving a correct impression of the original text. And since in the book of Job the meaning of the whole is dependent upon the meaning of the most isolated passage, the full meaning of the book was a perfect impossibility to the Greek fathers. They occupied themselves much with this mysterious book, but typical and allegorical could not make up what was wanting to the fathers, of grammatical and historical interpretation. The Italic, the next version to the LXX., was still more defective than this: Jerome calls the book of Job in this translation, *Decurtatus et laceratus corrosusque*. He revised it by the text of the *Hexapla*, and according to his own plan had to supply not less than about 700–800 *versus* (στίχοι). His own independent translation is far before its age; but he himself acknowledges its defectiveness, inasmuch as he relates,

<sup>1</sup> On this subject *vid.* Gust. Bickel's *De indole ac ratione versionis Alexandrinæ in interpretando l. Iobi*, just published (1863).

in his *præfatio in l. Iob*, how it was accomplished. He engaged, *non parvis numis*, a Jewish teacher from Lydda, where there was at that time an university, but confesses that, after he had gone through the book of Job with him, he was no wiser than before : *Cujus doctrina an aliquid profecerim nescio; hoc unum scio, non potuisse me interpretari nisi quod antea intellexeram*. On this account he calls it, as though he would complain of the book itself, *obliquus, figuratus, lubricus*, and says it is like an eel—the more tightly one holds it, the faster it glides away. There were then three Latin versions of the book of Job,—the Italic, the Italic improved by Jerome, and the independent translation of Jerome, whose deviations, as Augustine complains, produced no little embarrassment. The Syrians were better off with their *Peschito*, which was made direct from the original text;<sup>1</sup> but the *Scholia* of Ephrem (pp. 1–19, t. ii. of the three Syriac *tomi* of his works) contain less that is useful than might be expected.<sup>2</sup> The succeeding age produced nothing better.

Among the expositors of the book of Job we find some illustrious names : Gregory the Great, Beda Venerabilis (whose Commentary has been erroneously circulated as the still undiscovered Commentary of Jerome), Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus,<sup>3</sup> and others ; but no progress was made in the interpretation of the book, as the means were wanting. The principal work of the middle ages was Gregory the Great's *Expositio in beatum Iob seu Moraliū*, ll. xxxv., a

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps with the use of the Jewish Targum, though not the one extant, for Talmudic literature recognises the existence of a Targum of the book of Job before the destruction of the temple, *b. Sabbath*, 115a, etc. Besides, the LXX. was considered of such authority in the East, that the monophysite Bishop Paulus of Tela, 617, formed a new Syriac translation from the LXX. and the text of the *Hexapla* (published by Middeldorff, 1834–35 ; cf. his *Curæ hexaplares in Iobum*, 1817).

<sup>2</sup> Froriep, *Ephræmiana in l. Iobi*, 1769, iv., says much about these *Scholia* to little purpose.

<sup>3</sup> His *Postilla super Iob* are still unprinted.

gigantic work, which leaves scarcely a dogmatic-ethical theme untouched, though in its own proper sphere it furnishes nothing of importance, for Gregory explained so, *ut super historicæ fundamentum moralitatis construeret ædificium et anagoges imposuerit culmen præstantissimum*,<sup>1</sup> but the linguistic-historical foundation is insufficient, and the exposition, which gives evidence of significant character and talent, accordingly goes off almost constantly into digressions opposed to its object.

It was only towards the end of the middle ages, as the knowledge of the Hebrew language began, through Jewish converts, to come into the church, that a new era commenced. For what advance the Jewish exposition of the book of Job had hitherto made, beyond that of the church, it owed to the knowledge of Hebrew; although, in the absence of any conception of the task of the expositor, and especially the expositor of Scripture, it knew not how fittingly to turn it to account. Saadia's (born 890) Arabic translation of the book of Job, with explanations,<sup>2</sup> does not accomplish much more than that of Jerome, if we may in general say that it surpasses it. Salomo Isaaki of Troyes (Raschi, erroneously called Jarchi), whose *Commentary on the Book of Job* (rendered incomplete by his death, 1105) was completed by his grandson, Samuel b. Meïr (Raschbam, died about 1160),<sup>3</sup> contains a few attempts at grammatical historical exposition, but is in other respects entirely dependent on *Midrash Haggada* (which may be compared with the church system of allegorical interpretation), whose barren material is treasured up in the catena-like compilations, one of which to the collected books of the Old Testa-

<sup>1</sup> Notker quoted by Dümmler, *Formelbuch des Bischof's Salomo von Constanx, 1857*, S. 67 f.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Ewald-Duke's *Beiträge zur Gesch. der ältesten Auslegung und Spracherklärung des A. T.* 2 Bdd. 1844.

<sup>3</sup> Respecting this accounts are uncertain: vid. Geiger, *Die französische Exegetschule* (1855), S. 22; and comp. de Rossi, *Catalogus Cod.* 181. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*.

ment bears the name of *Simeon ha-Darschan* (יִלְקוֹם שִׁמְעוֹנִי); the other to the three poetical books, the name of *Machir b. Todros* (יִלְקוֹם מַכִּיר). Abenezra the Spaniard, who wrote his *Commentary on the Book of Job* in Rome, 1175, delights in new bold ideas, and to enshroud himself in a mystifying nimbus. David Kimchi, who keeps best to the grammatico-historical course, has not expounded the book of Job; and a commentary on this book by his brother, Mose Kimchi, is not yet brought to light. The most important Jewish works on the book of Job are without doubt the Commentaries of Mose b. Nachman or Nachmanides (Ramban), born at Gerona 1194, and Levi b. Gerson, or Gersonides (Ralbag), born at Bagnols 1288. Both were talented thinkers; the former more of the Platonic, the latter of the Aristotelic type. Their Commentaries (taken up in the collective Rabbinical Commentaries), especially that of the latter, were widely circulated in the middle ages. They have both a philosophical bias.<sup>1</sup> What is to be found in them that is serviceable on any point, may be pretty well determined from the compilation of Lyra. Nikolaus de Lyra, author of *Postillæ perpetuæ in universa Biblia* (completed 1330), possessed, for that age, an excellent knowledge of the original text, the necessity of which he acknowledged, and regarded the *sensus literalis* as basis of all other *sensus*. But, on the one hand, he was not independent of his Jewish predecessors; on the other, he was fettered by the servile unevangelical ecclesiasticism of his age.

The bursting of this fetter was the dawn of a new day for exegesis. Luther, Brentius, and other reformers, by the depth of their religious experience, their aversion to the capriciousness of the system of allegorical interpretation and

<sup>1</sup> Other older commentaries bearing on the history of exposition, as Menahem b. Chelbo, Joseph Kara, Parchon, and others, are not yet known; also that of the Italian poet Immanuel, a friend of Dante, is still unprinted. The rabbinical commentaries contain only, in addition, the Commentary of Abraham Farisol of Avignon (about 1460).

freedom from tradition, were fitted to look into the very heart of the book of Job; and they also possessed sufficient acquaintance with the Hebrew to get an inkling of the carrying out of its chief idea, but no more than an inkling of it. "The book of Job," says Luther in his preface, "treats of the question whether misfortune from God befalls even the godly. Here Job is firm, and maintains that God afflicts even the godly without cause, for His praise alone, as Christ (John ix.) also shows from the man who was born blind." In these words the idea of the book is correctly indicated. But that he had only an approximate conception of the separate parts, he openly confesses. By the help of Melancthon and the Hebraist Aurogallus, he translated the book of Job, and says in his epistle on the translation, that they could sometimes scarcely finish three lines in four days. And while engaged upon the translation, he wrote to Spalatin, in his naïve strong way, that Job seemed to bear his translation less patiently than the consolation of his friends, and would rather remain seated on his dunghill. Jerome Weller, a man who, from inward experience similar to that described in this book, was qualified above many to be its expositor, felt the same unsatisfactoriness. An expositor of Job, says he, must have lain on the same bed of sickness as Job, and have tasted in some measure the bitter experience of Job. Such an expositor was Weller, sorely tried in the school of affliction. But his exposition does not extend beyond the twelfth chapter; and he is glad when at last, by God's grace, he has got through the twelve chapters, as through firm and hard rock; the remaining chapters he commends to another. The most comprehensive work of the Reformation period on the book of Job, is the Sermons (*conciones*) of Calvin. The exegesis of the pre-rationalistic period advanced beyond these performances of the reformers only in proportion as philological learning extended, particularly Mercier and Cocceius in the

Reformed, Seb. Schmid in the Lutheran, Joannes de Pineda in the Romish Church. The Commentary of the last named (Madrid, 1597), a surprisingly learned compilation, was also used and admired by Protestants, but zealously guards the immaculateness of the Vulgate. The commentaries of the German reformers are to the present day unsurpassed for the comprehension of the fundamental truth of the book.

With the Commentary of Albert Schultens, a Dutchman (2 vols. 1737), a new epoch in the exposition begins. He was the first to bring the Semitic languages, and chiefly the Arabic, to bear on the translation of the book. And rightly so,<sup>1</sup> for the Arabic has retained more that is ancient than any other Semitic dialect; and Jerome, in his preface to Daniel, had before correctly remarked, *Iob cum arabica lingua plurimam habet societatem*. Reiske (*Conjecturæ in Iobum*, 1779) and Schnurrer (*Animadv. ad quædam loca Iobi*, 1781) followed later in the footsteps of Schultens; but in proportion as the Israelitish element was considered in its connection with the Oriental, the divine distinctiveness of the former was forgotten. Nevertheless, the book of Job had far less to suffer than the other biblical books from rationalism, with its frivolous moral judgments and distorted interpretations of Scripture: it reduced the idea of the book to tameness, and Satan, here with more apparent reason than elsewhere, was regarded as a mythical invention; but there were, however, no miracles and prophecies to be got rid of.

And as, for the first time since the apostolic period, attention was now given to the book as a poetical masterpiece, substantial advantage arose to the exposition itself from the translations and explanations of an Eckermann, Moldenhauer, Stuhlmann, and others. What a High-German rhymster of

<sup>1</sup> Though not in due proportion, especially in *Animadversiones philologicæ in Iobum* (Opp. *minora*, 1769), where he seeks to explain the errors of translation in the LXX. from the Arabic.

the fourteenth century, made known by Hennig, and the Florentine national poet Julianio Dati at the beginning of the sixteenth century, accomplished in their poetical reproductions of the book of Job, is here incomparably surpassed. What might not the fathers have accomplished if they had only had at their disposal such a translation of the book of Job as *e.g.* that of Böckel, or of the pious Miss Elizabeth Smith, skilled in the Oriental languages (died, in her twenty-eighth year, 1805),<sup>1</sup> or of a studious Swiss layman (*Notes to the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, together with a Translation of the Book of Job*; Basel 1841)?

The way to the true and full perception of the divine in Scripture is through the human: hence rationalism—especially after Herder, whose human mode of perception improved and deepened—prepared the way for a new era in the church's exposition of the book of Job. The Commentaries of Samuel Lee (1837), Vaihinger (1842), Welte (1849), Hahn (1850), and Schlottmann (1851),<sup>2</sup> are the first-fruits of this new period, rendered possible by the earlier Commentaries of Umbreit (1824–32), Ewald (1836–51), and Hirzel (1839, second edition, edited by Olshausen, 1852), of whom the first<sup>3</sup> is characterized by enthusiasm for the poetical grandeur of the book, the second by vivid perception of the tragical, and the third by sound tact and good arrangement,—three qualifications which a young Scotch investigator, A. B. Davidson, strives, not unsuccessfully, to unite in his Commentary (vol. i. 1862).<sup>4</sup> Besides these substantially

<sup>1</sup> Vid. *Volksblatt für Stadt und Land*, 1859, No. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. the review of the last two by Oehler in *Reuter's Repertorium*, Feb. 1852; and Koenigarten's *Aufsatz über das B. Hiob in der Kieler Allgem. Monatsschrift*, 1853, S. 761–774.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Ullmann-Riehm's *Blätter der Erinnerung an F. W. C. Umbreit* (1862), S. 54–58.

<sup>4</sup> The author, already known by a *Treatise on the Hebrew Accentology*, is not to be mistaken for Sam. Davidson. In addition, we would call



progressive works, there is the Commentary of Heiligstedt (1847), which is only a recapitulatory *clavis* after the style of Rosenmüller, but more condensed; and for what modern Jewish commentaries, as those of Blumenfeld, Arnheim (1836), and Löwenthal (1846), contain beyond the standpoint of the earlier פירושים and באורים, they are almost entirely indebted to their Christian predecessors. Also in the more condensed form of translations, with accompanying explanations, the understanding of the book of Job has been in many ways advanced. We may mention here the translations of Köster (1831), who first directed attention to the strophe-structure of Hebrew poetry, but who also, since he regarded the Masoretic verse as the constructive element of the strophe, has introduced an error which has not been removed even to the present day; Stickel (1842), who has, not untastefully, sought to imitate the form of this masterpiece, although his division of the Masoretic verse into strophe lines, according to the accents, like Hirzel's and Meier's in Canticles, is the opposite extreme to the mistake of Köster; Ebrard (1858), who translates in iambic pentameters, as Hosse had previously done;<sup>1</sup> and Renan, who solely determines his arrangement of the *stichs* by the Masoretic division of verses, and moreover haughtily displays his scornful opposition to Christianity in the prefatory *Etude*.<sup>2</sup> Besides, apart from the general commentaries (*Bibelwerke*), among which that of Von Gerlach (Bd. iii. *des A. T.* 1849) may be mentioned as the most noted, and such popular practical expositions as Diedrich's (1858), many—some in the interest of poetry generally (as Spiess,

attention to the Commentary of Carey (1858), in which the archæology and geography of the book of Job is illustrated by eighty woodcuts and a map.

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Schneider, *Die neuesten Studien über das B. Hiob*, *Deutsche Zeitschr. für christl. Wissensch.*, 1859, No. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Against which Abbé Crelier has come forward: *Le livre de Job venge des interprétations fausses et impies de M. Ernest Renan*, 1860.

1852), others in the interest of biblical theology (as Haupt, 1847; Hosse, 1849; Hayd, 1859; Birkholz, 1859; and in Sweden, Lindgren, Upsala 1831)—have sought to render the reading of the book of Job easier and more profitable by means of a translation, with a short introduction and occasional explanations.

Even with all these works before us, though they are in part excellent and truly serviceable, it cannot be affirmed that the task of the exposition has been exhaustively performed, so that absolutely no *plus ultra* remains. To adjust the ideal meaning of the book according to its language, its bearing on the history of redemption, and its spiritual character,—and throughout to indicate the relation of the single parts to the idea which animates the whole, is, and remains, a great task worthy of ever-new exertion. We will try to perform it, without presuming that we are able to answer all the claims on the expositor. The right expositor of the book of Job must before everything else bring to it a believing apprehension of the work of Christ, in order that he may be able to comprehend this book from its connection with the historical development of the plan of redemption, whose unity is the work of Christ. Further, he must be able to give himself up freely and cheerfully to the peculiar vein of this (together with Ecclesiastes) most bold of all Old Testament books, in order that he may gather from the very heart its deeply hidden idea. Not less must he possess historical perception, in order that he may be able to appreciate the relativeness with which, since the plan of salvation is actually and confessedly progressive, the development of the idea of the book is burdened, notwithstanding its absolute truth in itself. Then he must not only have a clear perception of the divinely true, but also of the beautiful in human art, in order to be able to appreciate the wonderful blending of the divine and human in the form as in the contents. Finally,

he must stand on the pinnacle of linguistic and antiquarian knowledge, in order to be able to follow the lofty flight of its language, and become familiar with the incomparably rich variety of its matter. This ideal of an expositor of the book of Job we will keep in view, and seek, as near as possible, to attain within the limit assigned to this condensed exegetical handbook.

# TRANSLATION AND EXPOSITION OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

Ἐκ' αὐτῶν τῶν λήξαιον [τοῦ βιβλίου] γενόμενοι σαφηνίσωμεν τὴν ἔννοιαν, αὐτοῦ ποδηγούντος ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, τοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄγιον Ἰώβ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐνισχύσαντος.—OLYMPIODOROS.

## THE OPENING.

### CHAP. I.—III.

#### JOB'S PIETY IN THE MIDST OF THE GREATEST PROSPERITY.—CHAP. I. 1-5.

THE book begins in prose style: as Jerome says, *Prosa incipit, versu labitur, pedestri sermone finitur*. Prologue and epilogue are accordingly excepted from the poetical accentuation, and are accented according to the usual system, as the first word shows; for תִּבִּיר has, in correct editions, Tebir, a smaller distinctive, which does not belong to the poetical accentuation. The writer does not begin with יְהִי, as the writers of the historico-prophetical books, who are conscious that they are relating a portion of the connection of the collective Israelitish history, e.g. 1 Sam. i. 1, יְהִי אֱלֹהִים, but, as the writer of the book of Esther (ii. 5) for a similar reason, with הָיָה שָׁם, because he is beginning a detached extra-Israelitish history.

Ver. 1. *There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job; and that man was perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil.*

The LXX. translates, ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Αὐσιτίδι; and adds at

the close of the book, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Ἀραβίας, therefore north-east from Idumæa, towards the Arabian desert. There, in the Arabian desert west from Babylon, under the Caucabenes, according to Ptolemy (v. 19, 2), the Αἰσῖται (Αἰσείται), i.e. the Uzzites, dwelt. This determination of the position of Uz is the most to be relied on. It tends indirectly to confirm this, that Οἰσος, in Jos. Ant. i. 6, 4, is described as founder of Trachonitis and Damascus; that the *Jakut Hamawi* and Moslem tradition generally (as recently Fries, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1854, ii.) call the East Hauran fertile tract of country north-west of Têmâ and Bûzân, el-Bethenije, the district of Damascus in which Job dwelt;<sup>1</sup> that the Syrian tradition also transfers the dwelling-place of Job to Hauran, where, in the district of Damascus, a monastery to his honour is called Dair Ejjub (*vid.* Volck, *Calendarium Syriacum*, p. 29). All these accounts agree that Uz is not to be sought in Idumæa proper (Gebâl). And the early historical genealogies (Gen. x. 23, xxii. 21, xxxvi. 28) are not unfavourable to this, since they place Uz in relation to Seir-Edom on the one hand, and on the other to Aram: the perplexing double occurrence of such names as Têmâ and Dûma, both in Idumæa and East Hauran, perhaps just results from the mixing of the different tribes through migration. But at all events, though Uz did not lie in Gebâl, yet both from Lam. iv. 21, and on account of the reference in the book of Job itself to the Horites (ch. xxiv. 30), a geographical connection between Idumæa and Ausitis is to be held; and from Jer. xxv. 20 one is warranted in supposing, that עֲרַב, with which the Arabic name of Esau, عيسى (العيسى), perhaps not accidentally accords, was the collective name of the northern part of the Arabian desert, extending north-east

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Abulfeda, *Historia anteislam.* p. 26 (cf. 207 f.), where it says, "The whole of Bethenije, a part of the province of Damascus, belonged to Job as his possession."

from Idumæa towards Syria. Here, where the aborigines of Seir were driven back by the Aramaic immigrants, and to where in later times the territory of Edom extended, dwelt Job. His name is not symbolic with reference to the following history. It has been said, יֹבִי signifies one hostilely treated, by Satan namely.<sup>1</sup> But the following reasons are against it: (1) that none of the other names which occur in the book are symbolically connected with the history; (2) that the form יֹבִי has never a properly passive signification, but either active, as יֹפִי, reprover (as parallel form with יֹפֵל), or neuter, as יֹדִי, born, יֹבִי, drunken, also occasionally infinitive (*vid.* Fürst, *Concord.* p. 1349 s.), so that it may be more natural, with Ewald, after the Arabic (أوب, cognate with שׁוּב, perhaps also בּוֹשׁ), to explain the “penitent one” [*resipiscens*]. Similar in sound are, יֹבִי, the name of one of the sons of Issachar (Gen. xvi. 13); the name of the Idumæan king, יֹבִי, Gen. xxxvi. 33 (which the LXX., Aristeas, Jul. Africanus,<sup>2</sup> combine with Job); and the name of the king of Mauritania, Juba, which in Greek is written Ἰόβας (*Didymus Chalcenter. ed. Schmidt*, p. 305): perhaps all these names belong to the root יב, to shout with joy. The LXX. writes Ἰώβ with *lenis*; elsewhere the κ at the beginning is rendered by *asper*, e.g. Ἀβραάμ, Ἡλίας. Luther writes Hiob; he has preferred the latter mode, that it may not be read Job with consonantal Jod, when it should be Iob, as e.g. it is read by the English. It had been more correctly Ijob, but Luther wished to keep to the customary form of the name so far as he could; so we, by writing Iob with vowel I, do not wish to

<sup>1</sup> Geiger (DMZ, 1858, S. 542 sq.) conjectures that, Sir. xlix. 9 (*καὶ γὰρ ἐμνήσθη τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν ὀμβρῶν*), *τῶν ἐχθρῶν* is a false translation of יֹבִי. Renan assents; but *τῶν ἐχθρῶν* suits there excellently, and Job would be unnaturally dragged in.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid.* Routh, *Reliquiæ* ii. 154 sq.: *Ἐκ τοῦ Ἡσαῦ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Παγούηλ γεννᾶται, ἀφ’ οὗ Ζάρεθ, ἐξ οὗ Ἰώβ, ὃς κατὰ συγχώρησιν θεοῦ ὑπὸ διαβόλου ἐπειράσθη καὶ ἐνίκησε τὸν πειράζοντα.*

deviate too much from the mode of writing and pronunciation customary since Luther.<sup>1</sup>

The writer intentionally uses four synonyms together, in order to describe as strongly as possible Job's piety, the reality and purity of which is the fundamental assumption of the history. **יָסַד**, with the whole heart disposed towards God and what is good, and also well-disposed toward mankind; **יָשָׁר**, in thought and action without deviation conformed to that which is right; **יָרָא אֱלֹהִים**, fearing God, and consequently being actuated by the fear of God, which is the beginning (i.e. principle) of wisdom; **פָּר מַרְעַ**, keeping aloof from evil, which is opposed to God. The first predicate recalls Gen. xxv. 27, the fourth the proverbial Psalms (xxxiv. 15, xxxvii. 27) and Prov. xiv. 16. This mingling of expressions from Genesis and Proverbs is characteristic. First now, after the history has been begun in prætt., aorr. follow.

Vers. 2 sq. *And there were born unto him seven sons and three daughters. His substance also was seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses, and servants in great number; so that this man was the greatest of all the men of the east.*

It is a large, princely household. The numbers are large, but must not on that account be considered an invention. The four animals named include both kinds. With the doubled **אֲלָפִים** corresponds the also constructive **בָּמֹת**, the Tseré of which is never shortened, though in the singular one says **בָּמָה**, from **הוּהָ** (הוּהָ). The aorists, especially of the verb **הָיָה** (הוּהָ),

<sup>1</sup> On the authorizing of the writing Iob, more exactly *Īob*, also *Ījob* (not, however, *Ijjob*, which does not correspond to the real pronunciation, which softens *ij* into *i*, and *uw* into *ū*), *vid.* Fleischer's *Beiträge zur arab. Sprachkunde* (*Abh. der sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, 1863), S. 137 f. [The usual English form *Job* is adopted here, though Dr Delitzsch writes *Iob* in the original work.—TR.]

which, according to its root, signifies not so much *esse* as *fieri*, *ere*, are intended to place us at once in the midst of his prosperity. *Ex iis*, says Leo Africanus in reference to flocks, *Arabes suas divitias ac possessiones æstimant*. In fine, Job was without his equal among the בני קרם. So the tribes are called which extend from Arabia Deserta, lying to the east of Palestine, northwards to the countries on the Euphrates, and south over Arabia Petræa and Felix. The wisdom of these tribes, treasured up in proverbs, songs, and traditions, is mentioned in 1 Kings v. 10, side by side with the wisdom of the Egyptians. The writer now takes a very characteristic feature from the life of Job, to show that, even in the height of prosperity, he preserved and manifested the piety affirmed of him.

Vers. 4 sq. *And his sons went and feasted in the house of him whose day it was, and sent and called for their sisters to eat and drink with them. And it happened, when the days of their feasting were gone about, that Job sent and sanctified them, and rose up early in the morning, and offered burnt-offerings according to the number of them all: for Job said, It may be that my sons have sinned, and dismissed God from their hearts. Thus did Job continually.*

The subordinate facts precede, ver. 4, in *perff.*; the chief fact follows, ver. 5, in *fut. consec.* The *perff.* describe, according to Ges. § 126, 3, that which has happened repeatedly in the past, as *e.g.* Ruth iv. 7; the *fut. consec.* the customary act of Job, in conjunction with this occurrence. The *consecutio temporum* is exactly like 1 Sam. i. 3 sq.

It is questionable whether בֵּית אֵלֶּיךָ is a distinct adverbial expression, *in domu uniuscujusque*, and יוֹמוֹ also distinct, *die ejus* (Hirz. and others); or whether the three words are only one adverbial expression, *in domo ejus cujus dies erat*, which latter we prefer. At all events, יוֹמוֹ here, in this connection, is not,



with Hahn, Schlottm., and others, to be understood of the birthday, as ch. iii. 1. The text, understood simply as it stands, speaks of a weekly round (Oehler and others). The seven sons took it in turn to dine with one another the week round, and did not forget their sisters in the loneliness of the parental home, but added them to their number. There existed among them a family peace and union which had been uninterruptedly cherished; but early on the morning of every eighth day, Job instituted a solemn service for his family, and offered sacrifices for his ten children, that they might obtain forgiveness for any sins of frivolity into which they might have fallen in the midst of the mirth of their family gatherings.

The writer might have represented this celebration on the evening of every seventh day, but he avoids even the slightest reference to anything Israelitish: for there is no mention in Scripture of any celebration of the Sabbath before the time of Israel. The sacred observance of the Sabbath, which was consecrated by God the Creator, was first expressly enjoined by the Sinaitic Thora. Here the family celebration falls on the morning of the *Sunday*,—a remarkable prelude to the New Testament celebration of Sunday in the age before the giving of the law, which is a type of the New Testament time after the law. The fact that Job, as father of the family, is the *Cohen* of his house,—a right of priesthood which the fathers of Israel exercised at the first passover (פסח מצרים), and from which a relic is still retained in the annual celebration of the passover (פסח הדורות),—is also characteristic of the age prior to the law. The standpoint of this age is also further faithfully preserved in this particular, that עֹלָה here, as also ch. xlii. 8, appears pre-eminently as an expiatory offering; whilst in the Mosaic ritual, although it still indeed serves לִכְפֹּר (Lev. i. 4), as does every blood-offering, the idea of expiation as its peculiar intention is

transferred to חטאת and אשם. Neither of these forms of expiatory offering is here mentioned. The blood-offering still bears its most general generic name, עֹלָה, which it received after the flood. This name indicates that the offering is one which, being consumed by fire, is designed to ascend in flames and smoke. הֶעֱלָה refers not so much to bringing it up to the raised altar, as to causing it to rise in flame and smoke, causing it to ascend to God, who is above. קִדְּשׁ is the outward cleansing and the spiritual preparation for the celebration of the sacred festival, as Ex. xix. 14. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the masculine suffixes refer also to the daughters. There were ten whole sacrifices offered by Job on each opening day of the weekly round, therefore at the dawn of the Sunday, since one has to imagine this round of entertainment as beginning with the first-born on the first day of the week. "Perhaps," says Job, "my children have sinned, and bidden farewell to God in their hearts." Undoubtedly, בִּרְךָ signifies elsewhere (1 Kings xxi. 10; Ps. x. 3), according to a so-called ἀντιφραστική εὐφημία, *maledicere*. This signification also suits ch. ii. 5, but does not at all suit ch. ii. 9. This latter passage supports the signification *valedicere*, which arises from the custom of pronouncing a benediction or benedictory salutation at parting (e.g. Gen. xlvii. 10). Job is afraid lest his children may have become somewhat unmindful of God during their mirthful gatherings. In Job's family, therefore, there was an earnest desire for sanctification, which was far from being satisfied with mere outward propriety of conduct. Sacrifice (which is as old as the sin of mankind) was to Job a means of grace, by which he cleansed himself and his family every week from inward blemish. The *futt. consec.* are followed by *perff.*, which are governed by them. כָּכָה, however, is followed by the *fut.*, because in historical connection (cf. on the other hand, Num. viii. 26), in the signifi-

cation, *faciebat h.e. facere solebat* (Ges. § 127, 4, *b*). Job did every day, *i.e.* continually. As head of the family, he faithfully discharged his priestly vocation, which permitted him to offer sacrifice as an early Gentile servant of God. The writer has now made us acquainted with the chief person of the history which he is about to record, and in ver. 6 begins the history itself.

JEHOVAH'S DETERMINATION TO TRY JOB.—CHAP. I. 6–12.

He transfers us from earth to heaven, where everything that happens on earth has its unseen roots, its final causes.

Ver. 6. *Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before Jehovah; and Satan came also in the midst of them.*

The translation "it happened on a day" is rejected in Ges. § 109, rem. 1, *c*.<sup>1</sup> The article, it is there said, refers to what precedes—the day, at the time; but this favourite mode of expression is found at the beginning of a narrative, even when it cannot be considered to have any reference to what has preceded, *e.g.* 2 Kings iv. 18. The article is used in the opposite manner here, because the narrator in thought connects the day with the following occurrence; and this frees it from absolute indefiniteness: the western mode of expression is different. From the writer assigning the earthly measure of time to the place of God and spirits, we see that celestial things are represented by him parabolically. But the assumptions on which he proceeds are everywhere recognised in Scripture; for (1.) בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, as the name of the celestial spirits, is also found out of the book of Job (Gen. vi. 2; cf.

<sup>1</sup> The references to Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar* have been carefully verified according to the English edition published by Bagster and Sons, London.—TR.

Ps. xxix. 1, lxxxix. 7, Dan. iii. 25). They are so called, as beings in the likeness of God, which came forth from God in the earliest beginning of creation, before this material world and man came into existence (ch. xxxviii. 4-7): the designation  $\text{יְרֵא}$  points to the particular manner of their creation. (2.) Further, it is the teaching of Scripture, that these are the nearest attendants upon God, the nearest created glory, with which He has surrounded himself in His eternal glory, and that He uses them as the immediate instruments of His cosmical rule. This representation underlies Gen. i. 26, which Philo correctly explains, *διαλέγεται ὁ τῶν ὅλων πατήρ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν*; and in Ps. lxxxix. 6-8, a psalm which is closely allied to the book of Job,  $\text{לְהַרְבֵּי}$  and  $\text{רוּחַ}$ , of the holy ones, is just the assembly of the heavenly spirits, from which, as *ἄγγελοι* of God, they go forth into the universe and among men. (3.) It is also further the teaching of Scripture, that one of these spirits has withdrawn himself from the love of God, has reversed the truth of his bright existence, and in sullen ardent self-love is become the enemy of God, and everything godlike in the creature. This spirit is called, in reference to God and the creature,  $\text{יְבִיחַ}$ , from the verb  $\text{יָבַח}$ , to come in the way, oppose, treat with enmity,—a name which occurs first here, and except here occurs only in Zech. iii. and 1 Chron. xxi. 1. Since the Chokma turned, with a decided preference, to the earliest records of the world and mankind before the rise of nationalities, it must have known the existence of this God-opposing spirit from Gen. ii. sq. The frequent occurrence of the tree of life and the way of life in the Salomonic Proverbs, shows how earnestly the research of that time was engaged with the history of Paradise: so that it cannot be surprising that it coined the name  $\text{יְבִיחַ}$  for that evil spirit. (4.) Finally, it agrees with 1 Kings xxii. 19-22, Zech. iii., on the one hand, and Apoc. xii. on the other, that Satan here appears still among the good spirits, resembling Judas Iscariot

among the disciples until his treachery was revealed. The work of redemption, about which his enmity to God overdid itself, and by which his damnation is perfected, is during the whole course of the Old Testament history incomplete.

Herder, Eichhorn, Lutz, Ewald, and Umbreit, see in this distinct placing of Satan in relation to the Deity and good spirits nothing but a change of representations arising from foreign influences; but if Jesus Christ is really the vanquisher of Satan, as He himself says, the realm of spirits must have a history, which is divided into two eras by this triumph. Moreover, both the Old and New Testaments agree herein, that Satan is God's adversary, and consequently altogether evil, and must notwithstanding serve God, since He makes even evil minister to His purpose of salvation, and the working out of His plan in the government of the world. This is the chief thought which underlies the further progress of the scene. The earthly elements of time, space, and dialogue, belong to the poetic drapery.

Instead of *הִתְחַבֵּר עָלַי*, *לִפְנֵי* is used elsewhere (Prov. xxii. 29) : *עָלַי* is a usage of language derived from the optical illusion of the one who is in the foreground seeming to surpass the one in the background. It is an assembly day in heaven. All the spirits present themselves to render their account, and expecting to receive commands; and the following dialogue ensues between Jehovah and Satan :—

Ver. 7. *Then Jehovah said to Satan, Whence comest thou ?*  
*Satan answered Jehovah, and said, From going to and fro*  
*in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.*

The *fut.* follows *מֵאֵי* in the signification of the *præs.*, Whence comest thou? the *perf.* would signify, Whence hast thou come? (Ges. § 127, 2.) Cocceius subtly observes: *Notatur Satanus velut Deo nescio h.e. non adprobante res suas agere.* It is implied in the question that his business is selfish, arbi-

trary, and has no connection with God. In his answer, בְּשֵׁשׁ יָמִים, as 2 Sam. xxiv. 2, signifies rapid passing from one end to the other; הַתְּהַלֵּךְ, an observant roaming forth. Peter also says of Satan, *περιπατεῖ* (1 Pet. v. 8 sq.).<sup>1</sup> He answers at first generally, as expecting a more particular question, which Jehovah now puts to him.

Ver. 8. *Then said Jehovah to Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job? for there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God and escheweth evil.*

By בְּ Jehovah gives the reason of His inquiry. Had Satan been observant of Job, even he must have confessed that there was on the earth real genuine piety. לְבָבָא, *animus advertere* (for לְבָבָא is *animus*, שֵׁשׁ *anima*), is construed with עַל, of the object on which the attention falls, and on which it fixes itself, or לְ, of the object towards which it is directed (ch. ii. 3). The repetition of the four predicates used of Job (ver. 1) in the mouth of Jehovah (though without the *waw* combining both pairs there) is a skilful touch of the poet. Further on, the narrative is also interwoven with poetic repetitions (as e.g. ch. xxxiv. and Gen. i.), to give it architectural symmetry, and to strengthen the meaning and impression of what is said. Jehovah triumphantly displays His servant, the incomparable one, in opposition to Satan; but this does not disconcert him: he knows how, as on all occasions, so here also, to deny what Jehovah affirms.

Vers. 9-11. *Then Satan answered Jehovah, and said, Doth Job fear God for nought? Hast Thou not made a hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side? Hast Thou not blessed the work of his*

<sup>1</sup> Among the Arabs the devil is called الجارث, *el-hharith*—the active, busy, industrious one.

*hands, and his substance is increased in the land? But put forth Thine hand now, and touch all that he hath: truly he will renounce Thee to Thy face!*

Satan is, according to the Apoc. xii. 10, the *κατήγωρ* who accuses the servants of God day and night before God. It is a fact respecting the invisible world, though expressed in the language and imagery of this world. So long as he is not finally vanquished and condemned, he has access to God, and thinks to justify himself by denying the truth of the existence and the possibility of the continuance of all piety. God permits it; for since all that happens among His creatures is placed under the law of free development, evil in the world of spirits is also free to maintain and expand itself, until a spiritual power comes forward against it, by which the hitherto wavering conflict between the principles of good and evil is for ever decided. This is the truth contained in the poetic description of the heavenly scene, sadly mistaken by Umbreit in his *Essay on Sin*, 1853, in which he explains Satan, according to Ps. cix. 6, as a creation of our author's fancy. The paucity of the declarations respecting Satan in the Old Testament has misled him. And indeed the historical advance from the Old Testament to the New, though in itself well authorized, has in many ways of late induced to the levelling of the heights and depths of the New Testament. Formerly Umbreit was of the opinion, as many are still, that the idea of Satan is derived from Persia; but between Ahriman (*Angramainyus*) and Satan there is no striking resemblance;<sup>1</sup> whereas Diestel, in his *Abh. über Set-Typhon, Asasel und Satan*, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1860, 2, cannot indeed recognise any

<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it is still questionable whether the form of the ancient doctrine of fire-worship among the Persians did not result from Jewish influences. *Vid. Stühr, Religionssysteme der heidn. Völker des Orients*, S. 373-75.

connection between *למך* and the Satan of the book of Job, but maintains a more complete harmony in all essential points between the latter and the Egyptian Typhon, and infers that "to Satan is therefore to be denied a purely Israelitish originality, the natural outgrowth of the Hebrew mind. It is indeed no special honour for Israel to be able to call him their own. He never has taken firm hold on the Hebrew consciousness." But how should it be no honour for Israel, the people to whom the revelation of redemption was made, and in whose history the plan of redemption was developed, to have traced the poisonous stream of evil up to the fountain of its first free beginning in the spiritual world, and to have more than superficially understood the history of the fall of mankind by sin, which points to a disguised super-human power, opposed to the divine will? This perception undoubtedly only begins gradually to dawn in the Old Testament; but in the New Testament, the abyss of evil is fully disclosed, and Satan has so far a hold on the consciousness of Jesus, that He regards His life's vocation as a conflict with Satan. And the *Protevangelium* is deciphered in facts, when the promised seed of the woman crushed the serpent's head, but at the same time suffered the bruising of its own heel.

The view (*e.g.* Lutz in his *Biblische Dogmatik*) that Satan as he is represented in the book of Job is not the later evil spirit, is to be rejected: he appears here only first, say Herder and Eichhorn, as impartial executor of judgment, and overseer of morality, commissioned by God. But he denies what God affirms, acknowledges no love towards God in the world which is not rooted in self-love, and is determined to destroy this love as a mere semblance. Where piety is dulled, he rejoices in its obscurity; where it is not, he dims its lustre by reflecting his own egotistical nature therein. Thus it is in Zech. iii., and so here. Genuine love loves God *יהוה*.



(adverb from **לָ**, like *gratis* from *gratia*): it loves Him for His own sake; it is a relation of person to person, without any actual stipulations and claim. But Job does not thus fear God; **יָרָא** is here *præter.*, whereas in vers. 1 and 8 it is the adjective. God has indeed hitherto screened him from all evil; **שָׁכַח** from **שָׁחַח**, *sepire*, and **בָּעַר** (**בָּעַר**) composed of **בָּ** and **עַר**, in the primary signification *circum*, since **עַר** expresses that the one joins itself to the other, and **בָּ** that it covers it, or covers itself with it. By the addition of **מִפְּנֵי**, the idea of the triple **בָּעַר** is still strengthened. **מַעֲשֵׂה**, LXX., Vulg. have translated by the plural, which is not false according to the thought; for **מַעֲשֵׂה יָדַיִם** is, especially in Deuteronomy, a favourite collective expression for human enterprise. **פָּרַץ**, one word with the Sanskrito-Sem. *frangere*, related to **פָּרַץ**, signifying to break through the bounds, multiply and increase one's self unboundedly (Gen. xxx. 30, and freq.). The particle **אַלְמָּ**, proper only to the oldest and classic period, and very commonly used in the first four books of the Pentateuch, and in our book, generally **אַלְמָּ**, is an emphatic "nevertheless;" Lat. (suited to this passage at least) *verum enim vero*. **אִם־לֹא** is either, as frequently, a shortened formula of asseveration: May such and such happen to me if he do not, etc., = forsooth he will (LXX. *ἢ μήν*); or it is half a question: Attempt only this and this, whether he will not deny thee, = *annon*, as ch. xvii. 2, xxii. 20. The first perhaps suits the character of Satan better: he affirms that God is mistaken. **בָּרַךְ** signifies here also, *valedicere*: he will say farewell to thee, and indeed **עַל־פְּנֵיךָ** (as Isa. lxxv. 3), meeting thee arrogantly and shamelessly: it signifies, properly, upon thy countenance, i.e. say it to thee, to the very face, that he will have nothing more to do with thee (comp. on ch. ii. 5). In order now that the truth of His testimony to Job's piety, and this piety itself, may be tried, Jehovah surrenders all Job's possessions, all that is his, except himself, to Satan.

Ver. 12. *Then Jehovah said to Satan, Behold, all that he hath is in thy hand; only upon himself put not forth thy hand. And Satan went forth from the presence of Jehovah.*

Notice well: The divine permission appears at the same time as a divine command, for in general there is not a permission by which God remains purely passive; wherefore God is even called in Scripture *creator mali* (the evil act as such only excepted), Isa. xlv. 7. Further, the divine arrangement has not its foundation in the sin which still clings to Job. For in the praise conferred upon Job, it is not said that he is absolutely without sin: universal liability to sin is assumed not only of all the unrighteousness, but even of all the righteousness, of Adam's race. Thirdly, the permission proceeds, on the contrary, from God's purpose to establish, in opposition to Satan, the righteousness which, in spite of the universal liability to sin, is peculiar to Job; and if we place this single instance in historical connection with the development of the plan of redemption, it is a part of the conflict of the woman's seed with the serpent, and of the gradual degradation of Satan to the lake of fire. After Jehovah's permission, Satan retires forthwith. The licence is welcome to him, for he delights in the work of destruction. And he hopes to conquer. For after he has experienced the unlimited power of evil over himself, he has lost all faith in the power of good, and is indeed become himself the self-deceived father of lies.

THE FOUR MESSENGERS OF MISFORTUNE.—CHAP. I. 13 SQQ.

Satan now accomplishes to the utmost of his power, by repeated blows, that which Jehovah had granted to him: first on Job's oxen, and asses, and herdsmen.

Vers. 13-15. *And it came to pass one day, when his sons and his daughters were eating and drinking wine in the house of their eldest brother, that a messenger came to Job, and said, The oxen were ploughing, and the asses feeding beside them, when the Sabeans fell upon them, and carried them away, and smote the servants with the edge of the sword; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.*

The principal clause, **וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם**, in which the art. of **הַיּוֹם** has no more reference to anything preceding than in ver. 6, is immediately followed by an adverbial clause, which may be expressed by participles, Lat. *filiis ejus filiabusque convivantibus*. The details which follow are important. Job had celebrated the usual weekly worship early in the morning with his children, and knew that they were met together in the house of his eldest son, with whom the order of mutual entertainment came round again, when the messengers of misfortune began to break in upon him: it is therefore on the very day when, by reason of the sacrifice offered, he was quite sure of Jehovah's favour. The participial construction, the oxen were ploughing (*vid. Ges. § 134, 2, c*), describes the condition which was disturbed by the calamity that befell them. The verb **וַיְהִי** stands here because the clause is a principal one, not as ver. 13, adverbial. **עַל־יָדֵיהֶם**, properly "at hand," losing its radical meaning, signifies (as Judg. xi. 26) "close by." The interpretation "in their places," after Num. ii. 17, is untenable, as this signification of **יָד** is only supported in the *sing.* **שָׂבָא** is construed as *fem.*, since the name of the country is used as the name of the people. In Genesis three races of this name are mentioned: Cushite (x. 7), Joktanish (x. 28), and Abrahamic (xxv. 3). Here the nomadic portion of this mixed race in North Arabia from the Persian Gulf to Idumæa is intended. Luther, for the sake of clearness, translates here, and 1 Kings x. 1, *Arabia*. In **וַאֲפִלְכָה**, the *waw*, as is seen

from the Kametz, is *waw convertens*, and the paragogic *ah*, which otherwise indicates the cohortative, is either without significance, or simply adds intensity to the verbal idea: I have saved myself with great difficulty. For this common form of the 1 *fut. consec.*, occurring four times in the Pentateuch, *vid.* Ges. § 49, 2. The clause לִּהְיוֹת לְךָ is objective: in order that—so it was intended by the calamity—I might tell thee.

**THE SECOND MESSENGER:** Ver. 16. *While he was yet speaking, another came, and said, The fire of God fell from heaven, and set fire to the sheep and servants, and consumed them; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.*

The fire of God, which descends, is not a suitable expression for *Samûm* (Schlottm.), that wind of the desert which often so suddenly destroys man and beast, although indeed it is indicated by certain atmospheric phenomena, appearing first of a yellow colour, which changes to a leaden hue and spreads through the atmosphere, so that the sun when at the brightest becomes a dark red. The writer, also, can scarcely have intended lightning (Rosenm., Hirz., Hahn), but rain of fire or brimstone, as with Sodom and Gomorrha, and as 1 Kings xviii. 38, 2 Kings i. 12.

**THE THIRD MESSENGER:** Ver. 17. *While he was yet speaking, there came also another, and said, The Chaldeans ranged themselves in three bands, and rushed upon the camels, and carried them away, and slew the servants with the edge of the sword; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.*

Without any authority, Ewald sees in this mention of the Chaldeans an indication of the composition of the book in the seventh century B.C., when the Chaldeans under Nabopolassar began to inherit the Assyrian power. Following Ewald, Renan

observes that the Chaldeans first appear as such marauders about the time of Uzziah. But in Genesis we find mention of early Semitic Chaldeans among the mountain ranges lying to the north of Assyria and Mesopotamia; and later, Nahor Chaldeans of Mesopotamia, whose existence is traced back to the patriarchal times (*vid.* Genesis, p. 422<sup>1</sup>), and who were powerful enough at any time to make a raid into Idumæa. To make an attack divided into several ראשונים, heads, multitudes, bands (two—Gen. xiv. 15; three—Judg. vii. 16, 1 Sam. xi. 11; or four—Judg. ix. 34), is an ancient military stratagem; and פושט, *e.g.* Judg. ix. 33, is the proper word for attacks of such bands, either for plunder or revenge. In לפי-חרב, at the edge of the sword, à l'épée, ל is like the usual acc. of manner.

**THE FOURTH MESSENGER:** Ver. 18 sq. *While he was yet speaking, another also came, and said, Thy sons and thy daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house: and, behold, a great wind came across from the desert, and smote the four corners of the house, and it fell upon the young people, and they are dead; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.*

Instead of עור, we have ער here: the former denotes continuity in time, the latter continuity in space, and they may be interchanged. ער in the signif. "while" is here construed with the participle, as Neh. vii. 3; comp. other constructions, ch. viii. 21, 1 Sam. xiv. 19, Jonah iv. 2. "From the other side of the desert" is equivalent to, from its farthest end. הַנְּעָרִים are the youthful sons and daughters of Job, according to the epicene use of נער in the Pentateuch (youths and maidens). In one day Job is now bereft of everything which he accounted the gift of Jehovah,—his herds, and with

<sup>1</sup> This reference is to Delitzsch's *Commentar über die Genesis*, 1860, a separate work from the Keil and Delitzsch series.—TR.

these his servants, which he not only prizes as property, but for whom he has also a tender heart (ch. xxxi.) ; last of all, even his dearest ones, his children. Satan has summoned the elements and men for the destruction of Job's possessions by repeated strokes. That men and nations can be excited by Satan to hostile enterprises, is nothing surprising (cf. Apoc. xx. 8) ; but here, even the fire of God and the hurricane are attributed to him. Is this poetry or truth ? Luther, in the *Larger Catechism*, question iv., says the same : "The devil causes strife, murder, rebellion, and war, also thunder and lightning, and hail, to destroy corn and cattle, to poison the atmosphere," etc.,—a passage of our creed often ridiculed by rationalism ; but it is correct if understood in accordance with Scripture, and not superstitiously. As among men, so in nature, since the Fall two different powers of divine anger and divine love are in operation : the mingling of these is the essence of the present Kosmos. Everything destructive to nature, and everything arising therefrom which is dangerous and fatal to the life of man, is the outward manifestation of the power of anger. In this power Satan has fortified himself ; and this, which underlies the whole course of nature, he is able to make use of, so far as God may permit it as being subservient to His chief design (comp. Apoc. xiii. 13 with 2 Thess. ii. 9). He has no creative power. Fire and storm, by means of which he works, are of God ; but he is allowed to excite these forces to hostility against man, just as he himself is become an instrument of evil. It is similar with human demonocracy, whose very being consists in placing itself *en rapport* with the hidden powers of nature. Satan is the great juggler, and has already manifested himself as such, even in paradise and in the temptation of Jesus Christ. There is in nature, as among men, an entanglement of contrary forces which he knows how to unloose, because it is the sphere of his special dominion ; for the whole course of nature, in the

change of its phenomena, is subject not only to abstract laws, but also to concrete supernatural powers, both bad and good.

THE CONDUCT OF JOB: Vers. 20 sq. *Then Job arose, and rent his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground, and worshipped, and said, Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: Jehovah gave, and Jehovah hath taken away; blessed be the name of Jehovah.*

The first three messengers Job has heard, sitting, and in silence; but at the news of the death of his children, brought by the fourth, he can no longer overcome his grief. The intensity of his feeling is indicated by rising up (cf. Jonah iii. 6); his torn heart, by the rending of his mantle; the conscious loss of his dearest ones, by cutting off the hair of his head. He does not, however, act like one in despair, but, humbling himself under the mighty hand of God, falls to the ground and prostrates himself, *i.e.* worshipping God, so that his face touches the earth. וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, *se prosternere*, this is the gesture of adoration, *προσκύνησις*.<sup>1</sup> וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה is defectively written, as Num. xi. 11; cf. *infra*, ch. xxxii. 18. The occurrence of וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה here is remarkable, and may have given rise to the question of Nicodemus, John iii. 4: *μη δύναται ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ δεύτερον εἰσελθεῖν*. The writer of Ecclesiastes (ch. v. 14) has left out this difficult וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה. It means either being put back into a state of unconsciousness and seclusion from the light and turmoil of this world, similar to his former state in his mother's womb, which Hupfeld, in his *Commentatio in quosdam Iobidos locos*, 1853, favours; or, since the idea of וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה may be extended, return to the bosom of mother earth (Ew., Hirz., Schlottm., *et al.*), so that וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה is not so much retrospective as rather prospective with reference to

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Hölemann's *Abh. über die biblische Gestaltung der Anbetung*, in his *Bibelstudien*, Abth. 1 (1859).

the grave (Böttch.), which we prefer; for as the mother's bosom can be compared to the bosom of the earth (Ps. cxxxix. 15), because it is of the earth, and recalls the original forming of man from the earth, so the bosom of the earth is compared to the mother's, Sir. xl. 1: ἀφ' ἡμέρας ἐξόδου ἐκ γαστρὸς μητρὸς ἕως ἡμέρας ἐπιταφῆς εἰς μητέρα πάντων. The writer here intentionally makes Job call God יהוה. In the dialogue portion, the name יהוה occurs only once in the mouth of Job (ch. xii. 9); most frequently the speakers use אלה and שדי. This use of the names of God corresponds to the early use of the same in the Pentateuch, according to which שדי is the proper name of God in the patriarchal days, and יהוה in the later days, to which they were preparatory. The traditional view, that Elohim describes God according to the attribute of justice, Jehovah according to the attribute of mercy, is only in part correct; for even when the advent of God to judgment is announced, He is in general named Jehovah. Rather, אלהים (*plur.* of אלה, fear), the Revered One, describes God as object; יהוה or יהוה, on the other hand, as subject. אלהים describes Him in the fulness of His glorious majesty, including also the spirits, which are round about Him; יהוה as the Absolute One. Accordingly, Job, when he says יהוה, thinks of God not only as the absolute cause of his fate, but as the Being ordering his life according to His own counsel, who is ever worthy of praise, whether in His infinite wisdom He gives or takes away. Job was not driven from God, but praised Him in the midst of suffering, even when, to human understanding and feeling, there was only occasion for anguish: he destroyed the suspicion of Satan, that he only feared God for the sake of His gifts, not for His own sake; and remained, in the midst of a *fourfold temptation, the conqueror*.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the whole book he does not

<sup>1</sup> In Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* (*vid.* Jul. Hamberger, *Gott und seine Offenbarung*, S. 71), there is much that reminds one of the



go so far as to deny God (בִּירוֹ אֱלֹהִים), and thus far he does not fall into any unworthy utterances concerning His rule.

Ver. 22. *In all this Job sinned not, nor attributed folly to God.*

In all this, *i.e.* as the LXX. correctly renders it : which thus far had befallen him ; Ewald *et al.* translate incorrectly : he gave God no provocation. תִּפְלוֹ signifies, according to ch. xxiv. 12, comp. ch. vi. 6, saltlessness and tastelessness, dealing devoid of meaning and purpose, and is to be translated either, he uttered not, *non edidit*, anything absurd against God, as Jerome translates, *neque stultum quid contra Deum locutus est* ; or, he did not attribute folly to God : so that לֵּ נָתַן are connected, as Ps. lxviii. 35, Jer. xiii. 16. Since נָתַן by itself nowhere signifies to express, we side with Hirzel and Schlottm. against Rödiger (in his *Thes.*) and Oehler, in favour of the latter. The writer hints that, later on, Job committed himself by some unwise thoughts of the government of God.

#### THE FIFTH AND SIXTH TEMPTATION.—CHAP. II. 1-10.

Satan has now exhausted his utmost power, but without success.

Ver. 1. *Again there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before Jehovah, and Satan came also among them, to present himself before Jehovah.*

The clause expressive of the purpose of their appearing is here repeated in connection with Satan (comp. on the contrary, ch. i. 6), for this time he appears with a most definite

book of Job, especially the repeated misfortunes which befall the worthy clergyman, his submission under all, and the issue which counterbalances his misfortune. But what is copied from the book of Job appears to be drawn only from its surface, not from its sacred depths.

object. Jehovah addresses Satan as He had done on the former occasion.

Ver. 2. *And Jehovah said to Satan, Whence comest thou? And Satan answered Jehovah, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and wandering up and down in it.*

Instead of וְיָשָׁב, ch. i. 7, we have here the similar expression וְיָשָׁב (Ges. § 150, *extra*). Such slight variations are also frequent in the repetitions in the Psalms, and we have had an example in ch. i. in the interchange of וְיָשָׁב and וְיָשָׁב. After the general answer which Satan gives, Jehovah inquires more particularly.

Ver. 3. *Then Jehovah said to Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job? for there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, fearing God and eschewing evil; and still he holdeth fast his integrity, although thou hast moved me against him, to injure him without cause.*

From the antecedent, that amidst all his sufferings hitherto Job has preserved and proved his יָשָׁב (except in the book of Job, only Prov. xi. 3), the *fut. consec.* draws a conclusion: there was no previous reason for the injury which Satan had urged God to decree for Job. וְיָשָׁב does not signify, as Umbreit thinks, to lead astray, in which case it were an almost blasphemous anthropomorphism: it signifies *instigate*, and indeed generally, to evil, as *e.g.* 1 Chron. xxi. 1; but not always, *e.g.* Josh. xv. 18: here it is certainly in a strongly anthropopathical sense of the impulse given by Satan to Jehovah to prove Job in so hurtful a manner. The writer purposely chooses these strong expressions, וְיָשָׁב and וְיָשָׁב. Satan's aim, since he suspected Job still, went beyond the limited power which was given him over Job. Satan even now again denies what Jehovah affirms

Vers. 4 sq. *And Satan answered Jehovah, and said, Skin for skin, and all that man hath will he give for his life : stretch forth yet once Thy hand, and touch his bone, and his flesh, truly he will renounce Thee to Thy face.*

Olshausen refers עור בָּעֵר עֵר to Job in relation to Jehovah : So long as Thou leavest his skin untouched, he will also leave Thee untouched; which, though it is the devil who speaks, were nevertheless too unbecomingly expressed. Hupfeld understands by the skin, that skin which is here given for the other,—the skin of his cattle, of his servants and children, which Job had gladly given up, that for such a price he might get off with his own skin sound; but בָּעֵר cannot be used as *Beth pretii*: even in Prov. vi. 26 this is not the case. For the same reason, we must not, with Hirz., Ew., and most, translate, Skin for skin = like for like, which Ewald bases on the strange assertion, that one skin is like another, as one dead piece is like another. The meaning of the words of Satan (rightly understood by Schlottm. and the Jewish expositors) is this: One gives up one's skin to preserve one's skin; one endures pain on a sickly part of the skin, for the sake of saving the whole skin; one holds up the arm, as Raschi suggests, to avert the fatal blow from the head. The second clause is climacteric: a man gives skin for skin; but for his life, his highest good, he willingly gives up everything, without exception, that can be given up, and life itself still retained. This principle derived from experience, applied to Job, may be expressed thus: Just so, Job has gladly given up everything, and is content to have escaped with his life. וְאֵלֶּם, *verum enim vero*, is connected with this suppressed because self-evident application. The verb נָתַן, above, ch. i. 11, with אֵל, is construed here with אֵל, and expresses increased malignity: Stretch forth Thy hand but once to his very bones, etc. Instead of עַל-צָוָרֶיךָ, ch. i. 11,

שׁוֹׁ is used here with the same force: forthwith, fearlessly and regardlessly (comp. ch. xiii. 15; Deut. vii. 10), he will bid Thee farewell.

THE GRANT OF NEW POWER: Ver. 6. *And Jehovah said to Satan, Behold, he is in thy hand; only take care of his life.*

Job has not forfeited his life; permission is given to place it in extreme peril, and nothing more, in order to see whether or not, in the face of death, he will deny the God who has decreed such heavy affliction for him. שׁוֹׁ does not signify the same as נֶפֶשׁ; it is the soul producing the spirit-life of man. We must, however, translate "life," because we do not use "soul" in the sense of ψυχή, anima.

THE WORKING OUT OF THE PERMISSION: Vers. 7 et seq.

*Then Satan went forth from the presence of Jehovah, and smote Job with sore boils, from the sole of his foot to his crown. And he took him a potsherd to scrape himself with, and sat in the midst of ashes.*

The description of this disease calls to mind Deut. xxviii. 35 with 27, and is, according to the symptoms mentioned further on in the book, *elephantiasis* (so called because the limbs become jointless lumps like elephants' legs), Arab. جذام, *gudhâm*, Lat. *lepra nodosa*, the most fearful form of *lepra*, which sometimes seizes persons even of the higher ranks. Artapan (C. Müller, *Fragm.* iii. 222) says, that an Egyptian king was the first man who died of elephantiasis. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, was afflicted with it in a very dangerous form.<sup>1</sup> The disease begins with the rising of

<sup>1</sup> Vid. the literature in Heer, *De elephantiasi Græcorum et Arabum*, Breslau, 1842, and coloured plates in *Traité de la Spédalskhed ou Elephantiasis des Grecs par Danielssen et Boeck*, Paris, 1848, translated from the Norwegian; and in Hecker, *Elephantiasis oder Lepra Arabica*,

tubercular boils, and at length resembles a cancer spreading itself over the whole body, by which the body is so affected, that some of the limbs fall completely away. Scraping with a potsherd will not only relieve the intolerable itching of the skin, but also remove the matter. Sitting among ashes is on account of the deep sorrow (comp. Jonah iii. 6) into which Job is brought by his heavy losses, especially the loss of his children. The LXX. adds that he sat on a dunghill outside the city: the dunghill is taken from the passage Ps. cxiii. 7, and the "outside the city" from the law of the מצור. In addition to the four losses, a fifth temptation, in the form of a disease incurable in the eye of man, is now come upon Job: a natural disease, but brought on by Satan, permitted, and therefore decreed, by God. Satan does not appear again throughout the whole book. Evil has not only a personal existence in the invisible world, but also its agents and instruments in this; and by these it is henceforth manifested.

FIRST JOB'S WIFE (who is only mentioned in one other passage (ch. xix. 17), where Job complains that his breath is offensive to her) COMES TO HIM: Ver. 9.  
*Then his wife said to him, Dost thou still hold fast thine integrity? renounce God, and die.*

In the LXX. the words of his wife are unskillfully extended. The few words as they stand are sufficiently charac-

Lahr, 1858 (with lithographs). "The means of cure," says Aretäus the Cappadocian (*vid.* his writings translated by Mann, 1858, S. 221), "must be more powerful than the disease, if it is to be removed. But what cure can be successfully applied to the fearful evil of elephantiasis? It is not confined to one part, either internally or externally, but takes possession of the entire system. It is terrible and hideous to behold, for it gives a man the appearance of an animal. Every one dreads to live, and have any intercourse, with such invalids; they flee from them as from the plague, for infection is easily communicated by the breath. Where, in the whole range of pharmacy, can such a powerful remedy be found?"

teristic. They are not to be explained, Call on God for the last time, and then die (von Gerl.); or, Call on Him that thou die (according to Ges. § 130, 2); but קָרָא signifies, as Job's answer shows, to take leave of. She therefore counsels Job to do that which Satan has boasted to accomplish. And notwithstanding, Hengstenberg, in his *Lecture on the Book of Job* (1860),<sup>1</sup> defends her against the too severe judgment of expositors. Her desperation, says he, proceeds from her strong love for her husband; and if she had to suffer the same herself, she would probably have struggled against despair. But love hopeth all things; love keeps its despondency hidden even when it desponds; love has no such godless utterance, as to say, Renounce God; and none so unloving, as to say, Die. No, indeed! this woman is truly *diaboli adjutrix* (August.); a tool of the tempter (Ebrard); *impiæ carnis præco* (Brentius). And though Calvin goes too far when he calls her not only *organum Satanæ*, but even *Proserpinam et Furiam infernalem*, the title of another Xantippe, against which Hengstenberg defends her, is indeed rather flattery than slander. Tobias' Anna is her copy.<sup>2</sup> What experience of life and insight the writer manifests in introducing Job's wife as the mocking opposer of his constant piety! Job has lost his children, but this wife he has retained, for he needed not to be tried by losing her: he was tried sufficiently by having her. She is further on once referred to, but even

<sup>1</sup> Clark's Foreign Theological Library.

<sup>2</sup> She says to the blind Tobias, when she is obliged to work for the support of the family, and does not act straightforwardly towards him: *τοῦ εἶέναι αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου καὶ αἱ δικαιοσύναι σου, ἰδοὺ γνωστὰ πάντα μετὰ σοῦ*, i.e. (as Sengelmann, *Book of Tobit*, 1857, and O. F. Fritzsche, *Handbuch zu d. Apokr. Lief.* ii. S. 36, correctly explain) one sees from thy misfortunes that thy virtue is not of much avail to thee. She appears still more like Job's wife in the revised text: *manifeste vana facta est spes tua et eleemosynæ tuæ modo apparuerunt*, i.e. thy benevolence has obviously brought us to poverty. In the text of Jerome a parallel between Tobias and Job precedes this utterance of Tobias' wife.

then not to her advantage. Why, asks Chrysostom, did the devil leave him this wife? Because he thought her a good scourge, by which to plague him more acutely than by any other means. Moreover, the thought is not far distant, that God left her to him in order that when, in the glorious issue of his sufferings, he receives everything doubled, he might not have this thorn in the flesh also doubled.<sup>1</sup> What enmity towards God, what uncharitableness towards her husband, is there in her sarcastic words, which, if they are more than mockery, counsel him to suicide! (Ebrard). But he repels them in a manner becoming himself.

Ver. 10. *But he said to her, As one of the ungodly would speak, thou speakest. Shall we receive good from God, and shall we not also receive evil?*

The answer of Job is strong but not harsh, for the אָחָז (comp. 2 Sam. xiii. 13) is somewhat soothing. The translation "as one of the foolish women" does not correspond to the Hebrew; נָבִיל is one who thinks madly and acts impiously. What follows is a double question, דִּן for דִּן. The דִּן stands at the beginning of the sentence, but logically belongs to the second part, towards which pronunciation and reading must hurry over the first,—a frequent occurrence after interrogative particles, e.g. Num. xvi. 22, Isa. v. 4b; after causal particles, e.g. Isa. xii. 1, Prov. i. 24; after the negative אֵין, Deut. viii. 12 sqq., and often. Hupfeld renders the thought expressed in the double question very correctly: *bonum quidem hucusque a Deo accepimus, malum vero jam non item accipiemus?* דִּן is found also elsewhere at the beginning of a sentence, although

<sup>1</sup> The delicate design of the writer here must not be overlooked: it has something of the tragi-comic about it, and has furnished acceptable material for epigrammatic writers not first from Kästner, but from early times (vid. *das Epigramm vom J. 1696*, in Serpillius' *Personalia Iobi*). Vid. a Jewish proverb relating thereto in Tendlauer, *Sprüche u. Redensarten deutsch-jüd. Vorzeit* (1860), S. 11.

belonging to a later clause, and that indeed not always the one immediately following, *e.g.* Hos. vi. 11, Zech. ix. 11; the same syntax is to be found with חָא, חָא, and חָא. חָא, like חָא, is a word common to the book of Job and Proverbs (xix. 20); besides these, it is found only in books written after the exile, and is more Aramaic than Hebraic. By this answer which Job gives to his wife, he has repelled the sixth temptation. For

Ver. 10b. *In all this Job sinned not with his lips.*

The Targum adds: but in his thoughts he already cherished sinful words. חָא is certainly not undesignedly introduced here and omitted in ch. i. 22. The temptation to murmur was now already at work within him, but he was its master, so that no murmur escaped him.

#### THE SILENT VISIT.—CHAP. II. 11 SQQ.

After the sixth temptation there comes a seventh; and now the real conflict begins, through which the hero of the book passes, not indeed without sinning, but still triumphantly.

Ver. 11. *When Job's three friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his own place; Eliphaz from Teman, and Bildad from Shuach, and Zophar from Naama: for they had made an appointment to come together to go and sympathize with him, and comfort him.*

חָא is, according to Gen. xxxvi., an old Idumæan name (transposed = *Phasaël* in the history of the Herodeans; according to Michaelis, *Suppl.* p. 87: *cui Deus aurum est*, comp. ch. xxii. 25), and חָא a district of Idumæa, celebrated for its native wisdom (Jer. xlix. 7; Bar. iii. 22 sq.). But also in East-Hauran a *Témâ* is still found (described by Wetzstein



in his *Bericht über seine Reise in den beiden Trachonen und um das Hauran-Gebirge*, *Zeitschr. für allg. Erdkunde*, 1859), and about fifteen miles south of *Têma*, a *Bûzân* suggestive of Elihu's surname (comp. Jer. xxv. 23). אֶלְיָהוּ we know only from Gen. xxv. as the son of Abraham and Keturah, who settled in the east country. Accordingly it must be a district of Arabia lying not very far from Idumæa: it might be compared with trans-Hauran *Schakka*, though the sound, however, of the word makes it scarcely admissible, which is undoubtedly one and the same with *Σακκαία*, east from Batanæa, mentioned in Ptolem. v. 15. מִלֵּל is a name frequent in Syria and Palestine: there is a town of the Jewish Shephêla (the low ground by the Mediterranean) of this name, Josh. xv. 41, which, however, can hardly be intended here. מִלֵּל is *Milel*, consequently third pers. with the art. instead of the relative pron. (as, besides here, Gen. xviii. 21, xli. 27), *vid.* Ges. § 109 *ad init.* The *Niph.* נִפְּלָא is wrongly taken by some expositors as the same meaning with נִפְּלָא, to confer with, appoint a meeting: it signifies, to assemble themselves, to meet in an appointed place at an appointed time (Neh. vi. 2). Reports spread among the mounted tribes of the Arabian desert with the rapidity of telegraphic despatches.

**THEIR ARRIVAL:** Ver. 12. *And when they lifted up their eyes afar off, and knew him not, they lifted up their voice, and wept; and they rent every one his mantle, and threw dust upon their heads toward heaven.*

They saw a form which seemed to be Job, but in which they were not able to recognise him. Then they weep and rend their outer garments, and catch up dust to throw up towards heaven (1 Sam. iv. 12), that it may fall again upon their heads. The casting up of dust on high is the outward sign of intense suffering, and, as von Gerlach rightly remarks, of that which causes him to cry to heaven.

**THEIR SILENCE:** Ver. 13. *And they sat with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights; and none spake a word unto him: for they saw that his pain was very great.*

Ewald erroneously thinks that custom and propriety prescribed this seven days' silence; it was (as Ezek. iii. 15) the force of the impression produced on them, and the fear of annoying the sufferer. But their long silence shows that they had not fully realized the purpose of their visit. Their feeling is overpowered by reflection, their sympathy by dismay. It is a pity that they let Job utter the first word, which they might have prevented by some word of kindly solace; for, becoming first fully conscious of the difference between his present and former position from their conduct, he breaks forth with curses.

#### JOB'S DISCONSOLATE UTTERANCE OF GRIEF.—CHAP. III.

Job's first longer utterance now commences, by which he involves himself in the conflict, which is his seventh temptation or trial.

Vers. 1 sq. *After this Job opened his mouth, and cursed his day. And Job spake, and said.*

Ver. 2 consists only of three words, which are separated by *Rebia*; and רִאשִׁית, although *Milel*, is vocalized רִאשִׁית, because the usual form רִאשִׁית, which always immediately precedes direct narration, is not well suited to close the verse. וְעַתָּה signifies to begin to speak from some previous incitement, as the New Testament ἀποκρίνεσθαι (not always = הָשִׁיב) is also sometimes used.<sup>1</sup> The following utterance of Job, with

<sup>1</sup> Vid. on this use of ἀποκρίνεσθαι, *Quæstio xxi.* of the *Amphilochia* of Photius in *Ang. Maji Collectio*, i. 229 sq.

which the poetic accentuation begins, is analysed by modern critics as follows: vers. 3-10, 11-19, 20-26. Schlottmann calls it three strophes, Hahn three parts, in the first of which delirious cursing of life is expressed; in the second, eager longing for death; in the third, reproachful inquiry after the end of such a life of suffering. In reality they are not strophes. Nevertheless Ebrard is wrong when he maintains that, in general, strophe-structure is as little to be found in the book of Job as in Wallenstein's *Monologue*. The poetical part of the book of Job is throughout strophic, so far as the nature of the drama admits it. So also even this first speech. Stickel has correctly traced out its divisions; but accidentally, for he has reckoned according to the Masoretic verses. That this is false, he is now fully aware; also Ewald, in his *Essay on Strophes in the Book of Job*, is almost misled into this groundless reckoning of the strophes according to the Masoretic verses (*Jahrb.* iii. S. 118, Anm. 3). The strophe-schema of the following speech is as follows: 8. 10. 6. 8. 6. 8. 6. The translation will show how unmistakably it may be known. In the translation we have followed the complete lines of the original, and their rhythm: the iambic pentameter into which Ebrard, and still earlier Hosse (1849), have translated, disguises the oriental Hebrew poetry of the book with its variegated richness of form in a western uniform, the monotonous impression of which is not, as elsewhere, counterbalanced in the book of Job by the change of external action. After the translation we give the grammatical explanation of each strophe; and at the conclusion of the speech thus translated and explained, its higher exposition, *i.e.* its artistic importance in the connection of the drama, and its theological importance in relation to the Old and New Testament religion and religious life.

- 3 *Perish the day wherein I was born.*  
*And the night which said, A man-child is conceived !*
- 4 *Let that day become darkness ;*  
*Let not Eloah ask after it from above,*  
*And let not the light shine on it.*
- 5 *May darkness and the shadow of death purchase it back ;*  
*Let a cloud lie upon it ;*  
*May that which obscures the day terrify it.*

The curse is against the day of his birth and the night of his conception as recurring yearly, not against the actual first day (Schlottm.), to which the imprecations which follow are not pertinent. Job wishes his birth-day may become *dies ater*, swallowed up by darkness as into nothing. The elliptical relative clauses, ver. 3 (Ges. § 123, 3 ; cf. 127, 4, c), become clear from the translation. Transl. *the night* (לַיְלָהּ with parag. *He is masc.*) *which said*, not : in which they said ; the night alone was witness of this beginning of the development of a man-child, and made report of it to the High One, to whom it is subordinate. Day emerges from the darkness as Eloah from above (as ch. xxxi. 2, 28), i.e. He who reigns over the changes here below, asks after it ; interests Himself in His own (דְּרִשׁ). Job wishes his birth-day may not rejoice in this. The relations of this his birth-day are darkness and the shadow of death. These are to redeem it, as, according to the right of kinsmen, family property is redeemed when it has got into a stranger's hands. This is the meaning of נָאֵל (LXX. ἐκλάβου), not = נָעַל, *inquent* (Targ.). נֶחֱמָה is collective, as נִהְרָה, mass of cloud. Instead of בְּפִרְיִי (the *Caph* of which seems pointed as *præpos.*), we must read with Ewald (§ 157, a), Olshausen, (§ 187, b), and others, בְּפִרְיִי, after the form חֲבִלִי, darkness, dark flashing (*vid.* on Ps. x. 8), שִׁפְרִיר, tapestry, unless we are willing to accept a form of noun without example elsewhere. The word signifies an obscuring, from פָּרַר, to glow with heat, because the greater the glow the deeper the blackness it leaves

behind. All that ever obscures a day is to overtake and render terrible that day.<sup>1</sup>

- 6 *That night ! let darkness seize upon it ;  
Let it not rejoice among the days of the year ;  
Let it not come into the number of the month.*
- 7 *Lo ! let that night become barren ;  
Let no sound of gladness come to it.*
- 8 *Let those who curse the day curse it,  
Who are skilled in stirring up leviathan.*
- 9 *Let the stars of its early twilight be darkened ;  
Let it long for light and there be none ;  
And let it not refresh itself with the eyelids of the dawn.*

Darkness is so to seize it, and so completely swallow it up, that it shall not be possible for it to pass into the light of day. It is not to become a day, to be reckoned as belonging to the days of the year and rejoice in the light thereof. יָחַד, for יָחַד, fut. *Kal* from יָחַד (Ex. xviii. 9), with *Dagesh lene* retained, and a helping *Pathach* (vid. Ges. § 75, rem. 3, d); the reverse of the passage Gen. xlix. 6, where יָחַד, from יָחַד, *uniat se*, is found. It is to become barren, וְלֹא יִלְדֶּה, so that no human being shall ever be conceived and born, and greeted joyfully in it.<sup>2</sup> "Those who curse days" are magicians who know how to change days into *dies infausti* by their incantations. According to vulgar superstition, from which the imagery of ver. 8 is borrowed, there was a special art of exciting the dragon, which is the enemy of sun and moon, against them both, so that, by its devouring them, total darkness prevails. The dragon is called in Hindu *rāhu*; the Chinese, and also the

<sup>1</sup> We may compare here, and further on, Constance's outburst of despair in *King John* (iii. 1 and iii. 4). Shakespeare, like Goethe, enriches himself from the book of Job.

<sup>2</sup> Fries understands רִנְנָה, song of the spheres (*concentum coeli*, ch. xxxviii. 37, Vulg.); but this Hellenic conception is without support in holy Scripture.

natives of Algeria, even at the present day make a wild tumult with drums and copper vessels when an eclipse of the sun or moon occurs, until the dragon will release his prey.<sup>1</sup> Job wishes that this monster may swallow up the sun of his birth-day. If the night in which he was conceived or born is to become day, then let the stars of its twilight (*i.e.* the stars which, as messengers of the morning, twinkle through the twilight of dawn) be darkened. It is to remain for ever dark, never behold with delight the eyelids of the dawn. וַיִּרְאֵהוּ, to regale one's self with the sight of anything, refresh one's self. When the first rays of morning shoot up in the eastern sky, then the dawn raises its eyelids; they are in Sophocles' *Antigone*, 103, χρυσέης ἡμέρας βλέφαρον, the eyelid of the golden day, and therefore of the sun, the great eye.

- 10 *Because it did not close the doors of my mother's womb,  
Nor hid sorrow from my eyes.*
- 11 *Why did I not die from the womb,  
Come forth from the womb and expire?*
- 12 *Why have the knees welcomed me?  
And why the breasts, that I should suck?*

The whole strophe contains strong reason for his cursing the night of his conception or birth. It should rather have closed (*i.e.* made the womb barren, to be explained according to 1 Sam. i. 5, Gen. xvi. 2) the doors of his womb (*i.e.* the womb that conceived (*concepit*) him), and so have withdrawn the sorrow he now experiences from his unborn eyes (on the

<sup>1</sup> On the dragon *râhu*, that swallows up sun and moon, *vid.* Pott, in the *Hallische Lit. Zeitschr.* 1849, No. 199; on the custom of the Chinese, Käuffer, *Das chinesische Volk*, S. 123. A similar custom among the natives of Algeria I have read of in a newspaper (1856). Moreover, the clouds which conceal the sky the Indians represent as a serpent. It is *ahi*, the cloud-serpent, which Indra chases away when he divides the clouds with his lightning. *Vid.* Westergaard in Weber's *Indischer Zeitschr.* 1855, S. 417.

extended force of the negative, *vid.* Ges. § 152, 3). Then why, *i.e.* to what purpose worth the labour, is he then conceived and born? The four questions, vers. 11 sqq., form a climax: he follows the course of his life from its commencement in embryo (מִרְחֵם, to be explained according to Jer. xx. 17, and ch. x. 18, where, however, it is כֵּן local, not as here, temporal) to the birth, and from the joy of his father who took the new-born child upon his knees (comp. Gen. i. 23) to the first development of the infant, and he curses this growing life in its four phases (Arnh., Schlottm.). Observe the *consecutio temp.* The fut. אָמַיִת has the signification *moriebar*, because taken from the thought of the past period of his conception and birth; so also אָמַיִת, governed by the preceding *perf.*, the signification *et exspirabam* (Ges. § 127, 4, c). Just so אֵינִי, but modal, *ut sugerem ea*.

- 13 *So should I now have lain and had quiet,  
I should have slept, then it would have been well with me,*  
14 *With kings and councillors of the earth,  
Who built ruins for themselves,*  
15 *Or with princes possessing gold,  
Who filled their houses with silver:*  
16 *Or like a hidden untimely birth I had not been,  
And as children that have never seen the light.*

The *perf.* and interchanging *fut.* have the signification of oriental *imperfectu conjunctivi*, according to Ges. § 126, 5; כִּי עָתָה is the usual expression after hypothetical clauses, and takes the *perf.* if the preceding clause specifies a condition which has not occurred in the past (Gen. xxxi. 42, xliii. 10; Num. xxii. 29, 33; 1 Sam. xiv. 30), the *fut.* if a condition not existing in the present (ch. vi. 3, viii. 6, xiii. 19). It is not to be translated: for then; כִּי rather commences the conclusion: so I should now, indeed then I should. Ruins, הֲרָבוֹת, are uninhabited desolate buildings, elsewhere

such as have become, here such as are from the first intended to remain, uninhabited and desolate, consequently sepulchres, mausoleums; probably, since the book has Egyptian allusions in other passages also, an allusion to the pyramids, in whose name (*III-XPAM*, according to Coptic glossaries) *III* is the Egyptian article (*vid.* Bunsen, *Aeg.* ii. 361); Arab. without the art. *hirâm* or *ahrâm* (*vid.* Abdollatîf, *ed. de Sacy*, p. 293, s.).<sup>1</sup> Also Renan: *Qui se bâtissent des mausolées*. Böttch. *de inferis*, § 298 (who, however, prefers to read רחבות, wide streets), rightly directs attention to the difference between בנה החרבות (to rebuild the ruins) and בנה ח' לו (to build ruins for one's self). With א like things are then ranged after one another. Builders of the pyramids, millionaires, abortions (*vid.* Eccl. vi. 3), and the still-born: all these are removed from the sufferings of this life in their quiet of the grave, be their grave a "ruin" gazed upon by their descendants, or a hole dug out in the earth, and again filled in as it was before.

- 17 *There the wicked cease from troubling,  
And the weary are at rest.*  
18 *The captives dwell together in tranquillity;  
They hear not the voice of the taskmaster.*  
19 *The small and great,—they are alike there;  
And the servant is free from his lord.*

There, *i.e.* in the grave, all enjoy the rest they could not find here: the troublers and the troubled ones alike. רָנָן corresponds to the radical idea of looseness, broken in pieces, want of restraint, therefore of *Turba* (comp. Isa. lvii. 20, Jer. vi. 7), contained etymologically in רָשַׁע. The *Pilel* שָׁאַן (*vid.* Ges. § 55, 2) signifies perfect freedom from care. In

<sup>1</sup> We think that חרבות sounds rather like חרמות, the name of the pyramids, as the Arabic *haram* (instead of *h̄haram*), derived from *XPAM*, recalls *harmân* (*e.g.* *beith harmân*, a house in ruins), the synonym of *h̄harmân* (חרבאן).



שֶׁם הָיָא, *is* more than the sign of the copula (Hirz., Hahn, Schlottm.); the rendering of the LXX., Vulg., and Luth., *ibi sunt*, is too feeble. As it is said of God, Isa. xli. 4, xliii. 13, Ps. cii. 28, that He is הָיָא, *i.e.* He who is always the same, *ὁ αὐτός*; so here, הָיָא, used purposely instead of הָיָא, signifies that great and small are like one another in the grave: all distinction has ceased, it has sunk to the equality of their present lot. Correctly Ewald: *Great and small are there the same.* יָהִי, ver. 18, refers to this destiny which makes them one.

- 20 *Why is light given to the wretched,  
And life to the sorrowful in soul?*  
21 *Who wait for death, and he comes not,  
Who dig after him more than for treasure,*  
22 *Who rejoice with exceeding joy,  
Who are enraptured, when they can find the grave?*  
23 *To the man whose way is hidden,  
And whom Eloah hath hedged round?*

The descriptive *partt.* vers. 21a, 22a, are continued in predicative clauses, which are virtually relative clauses; ver. 21b has the *fut. consec.*, since the sufferers are regarded as now at last dead; ver. 22b the simple *fut.*, since their longing for the grave is placed before the eye (on this transition from the *part.* to the *verb. fin., vid.* Ges. § 134, rem. 2). Schlottm. and Hahn wrongly translate: who would dig (instead of do dig) for him more than for treasure. אֶל-יָהִי (with poetical אֶל instead of אֵל) might signify, accompanied by rejoicing, *i.e.* the cry and gesture of joy. The translation *usque ad exultationem*, is, however, more appropriate here as well as in Hos. ix. 1. With ver. 23 Job refers to himself: he is the man whose way of suffering is mysterious and prospectless, and whom God has penned in on all sides (a fig. like ch. xix. 8; comp. Lam. iii. 5). מִכָּכָה, *sepire*, above, ch. i. 10, to hedge round for protection, here: forcibly straiten.

- 24 *For instead of my food my sighing cometh,  
And my roarings pour themselves forth as water.*
- 25 *For I fear something terrible, and it cometh upon me,  
And that before which I shudder cometh to me.*
- 26 *I dwelt not in security, nor rested, nor refreshed myself :  
Then trouble cometh.*

That לִפְנֵי may pass over from the local signification to the substitutionary, like the Lat. *pro* (e.g. *pro præmio est*), is seen from ch. iv. 19 (comp. 1 Sam. i. 16) : the parallelism, which is less favourable to the interpretation, before my bread (Hahn, Schlottm., and others), favours the signification *pro* here. The *fut. consec.* יִפְּחֹזֵז (Kal of פָּחַז) is to be translated, according to Ges. § 129, 3, a, *se effundunt* (not *effuderunt*) : it denotes, by close connection with the preceding, that which has hitherto happened. Just so ver. 25a: I fear something terrible; forthwith it comes over me (this terrible, most dreadful thing). פָּחַז is conjugated by the פ passing into the original ' of the root (vid. Ges. § 74, rem. 4). And just so the conclusion: then also forthwith יִפְּחֹזֵז (i.e. suffering which disorders, rages and ransacks furiously) comes again. Schlottm. translates tamely and wrongly: then comes—oppression. Hahn, better: Nevertheless fresh trouble always comes; but the “nevertheless” is incorrect, for the *fut. consec.* indicates a close connection, not contrast. The *prætt.*, ver. 26, give the details of the principal fact, which follows in the *fut. consec.*: only a short cessation, which is no real cessation; then the suffering rages afresh.

Why—one is inclined to ask respecting this first speech of Job, which gives rise to the following controversy—why does the writer allow Job, who but a short time before, in opposition to his wife, has manifested such wise submission to God's dealings, all at once to break forth into such despair? Does it not seem as though the assertion of Satan were about to be

confirmed? Much depends upon one's forming a correct and just judgment respecting the state of mind from which this first speech proceeds. To this purpose, consider (1) That the speech contains no trace of what the writer means by **בְּרַךְ אֱתֵת ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ**: Job nowhere says that he will have nothing more to do with God; he does not renounce his former faithfulness: (2) That, however, in the mind of the writer, as may be gathered from ch. ii. 10, this speech is to be regarded as the beginning of Job's sinning. If a man, on account of his sufferings, wishes to die early, or not to have been born at all, he has lost his confidence that God, even in the severest suffering, designs his highest good; and this want of confidence is sin.

There is, however, a great difference between a man who has in general no trust in God, and in whom suffering only makes this manifest in a terrible manner, and the man with whom trust in God is a habit of his soul, and is only momentarily repressed, and, as it were, paralysed. Such interruption of the habitual state may result from the first pressure of unaccustomed suffering; it may then seem as though trust in God were overwhelmed, whereas it has only given way to rally itself again. It is, however, not the greatness of the affliction in itself which shakes his sincere trust in God, but a change of disposition on the part of God which seems to be at work in the affliction. The sufferer considers himself as forgotten, forsaken, and rejected of God, as many passages in the Psalms and Lamentations show: therefore he sinks into despair; and in this despair expression is given to the profound truth (although with regard to the individual it is a sinful weakness), that it is better never to have been born, or to be annihilated, than to be rejected of God (comp. Matt. xxvi. 24, *καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος*). In such a condition of spiritual, and, as we know from the prologue, of Satanic temptation (Luke xxii. 31, Eph. vi. 16),

is Job. He does not despair when he contemplates his affliction, but when he looks at God through it, who, as though He were become his enemy, has surrounded him with this affliction as with a rampart. He calls himself a man whose way is hidden, as Zion laments, Isa. xl. 27, "My way is hidden from Jehovah;" a man whom Eloah has hedged round, as Jeremiah laments on the ruins of Jerusalem, Lam. iii. 1-13 (in some measure a comment on Job iii. 23), "I am the man who has seen affliction by the rod of His wrath. . . . He has hedged me round that I cannot get out, and made my chain heavy." In this condition of entire deprivation of every taste of divine goodness, Job breaks forth into curses. He has lost wealth and children, and has praised God; he has even begun to bear an incurable disease with submission to the providence of God. Now, however, when not only the affliction, but God himself, seems to him to be hostile (*nunc autem occultato patre*, as Brentius expresses it),<sup>1</sup> we hear from his mouth neither words of *praise* (the highest excellence in affliction) nor words of *resignation* (duty in affliction), but words of *despair*: his trust in God is not destroyed, but overcast by thick clouds of melancholy and doubt.

It is indeed inconceivable that a New Testament believer,

<sup>1</sup> Fries, in his discussion of this portion of the book of Job, *Jahrbb. für Deutsche Theologie*, 1859, S. 790 ff., is quite right that the real affliction of Job consists in this, that the inward feeling of being forsaken of God, which was hitherto strange to him, is come upon him. But the remark directed against me, that this feeling of being forsaken of God does not always stand in connection with other afflictions, but may come on the favoured of God even in the midst of uninterrupted outward prosperity, does not concern me, since it is manifestly by the dispensations which deprive him of all his possessions, and at last affect him corporeally and individually, that Job is led to regard himself as one forsaken of God, and still more than that, one hated by God; and since, on the other hand also, this view of the tempted does not appear to me to be absolutely subjective, God has really withdrawn from Job the external proof, and at the same time the feeling, of His abiding love, in order to try the fidelity of His servant's love, and prove its absoluteness.

even under the strongest temptation, should utter such imprecations, or especially such a question of doubt as in ver. 20: Wherefore is light given to the miserable? But that an Old Testament believer might very easily become involved in such conflicts of belief, may be accounted for by the absence of any express divine revelation to carry his mind beyond the bounds of the present. Concerning the future at the period when the book of Job was composed, and the hero of the book lived, there were longings, inferences, and forebodings of the soul; but there was no clear, consoling word of God on which to rely,—no *θεῖος λόγος* which, to speak as Plato (*Phædo*, p. 85, D), could serve as a rescuing plank in the shipwreck of this life. Therefore the *πανταχοῦ θρυλλούμενον* extends through all the glory and joy of the Greek life from the very beginning throughout. The best thing is never to have been born; the second best, as soon as possible thereafter, to die. The truth, that the suffering of this present time is not worthy of the glory which shall be revealed in us, was still silent. The proper disposition of mind, under such veiling of the future, was then indeed more absolute, as faith committed itself blindfold to the guidance of God. But how near at hand was the temptation to regard a troublous life as an indication of the divine anger, and doubtingly to ask, Why God should send the light of life to such! They knew not that the present lot of man forms but the one half of his history: they saw only in the one scale misery and wrath, and not in the other the heaven of love and blessedness to be revealed hereafter, by which these are outweighed; they longed for a present solution of the mystery of life, because they knew nothing of the possibility of a future solution. Thus it is to be explained, that not only Job in this poem, but also Jeremiah in the book of his prophecy, ch. xx. 14–18, curses the day of his birth. He curses the man who brought his father the joyous tidings of the

birth of a son, and wishes him the fate of Sodom and Gomorrha. He wishes for himself that his mother might have been his grave, and asks, like Job, "Wherefore came I forth out of the womb to see labour and sorrow, and that my days should be consumed in shame?" Hitzig remarks on this, that it may be inferred from the contents and form of this passage, there was a certain brief disturbance of spirit, a result of the general indescribable distress of the troublous last days of Zedekiah, to which the spirit of the prophet also succumbed. And it is certainly a kind of delirium in which Jeremiah so speaks, but there is no physical disorder of mind with it: the understanding of the prophet is so slightly and only momentarily disturbed, that he has the rather gained power over his faith, and is himself become one of its disturbing forces.

Without applying to this lyric piece either the standard of pedantic moralizing, or of minute criticism as poetry, the intense melancholy of this extremely plaintive prophet may have proceeded from the following reasoning: After I have lived ten long years of fidelity and sacrifice to my prophetic calling, I see that it has totally failed in its aim: all my hopes are blighted; all my exhortations to repentance, and my prayers, have not availed to draw Judah back from the abyss into which he is now cast, nor to avert the wrath of Jehovah which is now poured forth: therefore it had been better for me never to have been born. This thought affects the prophet so much the more, since in every fibre of his being he is an Israelite, and identifies the weal and woe of his people with his own; just as Moses would rather himself be blotted out from the book of life than that Israel should perish, and Paul was willing to be separated from Christ as anathema if he could thereby save Israel. What wonder that this thought should disburden itself in such imprecations! Had Jeremiah not been born, he would not have had

occasion to sit on the ruins of Jerusalem. But his outburst of feeling is notwithstanding a paroxysm of excitement, for, though reason might drive him to despair, faith would teach him to hope even in the midst of downfall; and in reality, this small lyric piece in the collective prophecy of Jeremiah is only as a detached rock, over which, as a stream of clear living water, the prophecy flows on more joyous in faith, more certain of the future. In the book of Job it is otherwise; for what in Jeremiah and several of the psalms is compressed into a small compass,—the darkness of temptation and its clearing up,—is here the substance of a long entanglement dramatically presented, which first of all becomes progressively more and more involved, and to which this outburst of feeling gives the impulse. As Jeremiah, had he not been born, would not have sat on the ruins of Jerusalem; so Job, had he not been born, would not have found himself in this abyss of wrath. Neither of them knows anything of the future solution of every present mystery of life; they know nothing of the future life and the heavenly crown. This it is which, while it justifies their despair, casts greater glory round their struggling faith.

The first speaker among the friends, who now comes forward, is Eliphaz, probably the eldest of them. In the main, they all represent one view, but each with his individual peculiarity: Eliphaz with the self-confident pathos of age, and the mien of a prophet;<sup>1</sup> Bildad with the moderation and caution befitting one poorer in thought; Zophar with an excitable vehemence, neither skilled nor disposed for a lasting contest. The skill of the writer, as we may here at the outset remark, is also manifest in this, that what the friends say, considered in itself, is true: the error lies only in the inadequacy and inapplicability of what is said to the case before them.

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Davidson thinks Eliphaz is characterized as "the oldest, the most dignified, the calmest, and most considerate of Job's friends."

## SECOND PART.—THE ENTANGLEMENT.

## CHAP. IV.—XXVI.

## THE FIRST COURSE OF THE CONTROVERSY.—CHAP. IV.—XIV.

*Eliphaz' First Speech.*—Chap. iv. v.*Schema* : 8. 12. 11. 11. | 11. 12. 10. 10. 10. 2.

In reply to Sommer, who in his excellent *biblische Abhandlungen*, 1846, considers the octastich as the extreme limit of the compass of the strophe, it is sufficient to refer to the Syriac strophe-system. It is, however, certainly an impossibility that, as Ewald (*Jahrb.* ix. 37) remarks with reference to the first speech of Jehovah, ch. xxxviii. xxxix., the strophes can sometimes extend to a length of 12 lines = Masoretic verses, consequently consist of 24 *στίχοι* and more. [Then Eliphaz the Temanite began, and said:]

- 2 *If one attempts a word with thee, will it grieve thee?  
And still to restrain himself from words, who is able?*
- 3 *Behold, thou hast instructed many,  
And the weak hands thou hast strengthened.*
- 4 *Thy words upheld the stumbling,  
And the sinking knees thou hast strengthened.*
- 5 *But now it cometh to thee, thou art grieved;  
Now it toucheth thee, thou despondest.*

The question with which Eliphaz begins, is certainly one of those in which the tone of interrogation falls on the second of the paratactically connected sentences: Wilt thou, if we speak to thee, feel it unbearable? Similar examples are ch. iv. 21, Num. xvi. 22, Jer. viii. 4; and with interrogative Wherefore? Isa. v. 4, l. 2: comp. the similar paratactic union of sentences, ch. ii. 10, iii. 11b. The question arises



here, whether נִפְּה is an Aramaic form of writing for נִפְּחָ (as the *Masora* in distinction from Deut. iv. 34 takes it), and also either future, Wilt thou, if we raise, *i.e.* utter, etc.; or passive, as Ewald formerly,<sup>1</sup> If a word is raised, *i.e.* uttered, נִפְּחָ מִשָּׁל, like נִפְּחָ מִשָּׁל, ch. xxvii. 1; or whether it is *third pers. Piel*, with the signification, attempt, *tentare*, Eccles. vii. 23. The last is to be preferred, because more natural and also more expressive. נִפְּה followed by the *fut.* is a hypothetic *præt.*, Supposing that, etc., wilt thou, etc., as *e.g.* ch. xxiii. 10. מִלִּין is the Aramaic *plur.* of מִלָּה, which is more frequent in the book of Job than the Hebrew *plur.* מִלִּים. The *futt.*, vers. 3 sq., because following the *perf.*, are like *imperfects* in the western languages: the expression is like Isa. xxxv. 3. In עֲתִידָהּ, ver. 5, עֲ has a temporal signification, Now when, Ges. § 155, 1, e, (b).

- 6 *Is not thy piety thy confidence,  
Thy hope? And the uprightness of thy ways?*
- 7 *Think now: who ever perished, being innocent?!*  
*And where have the righteous been cut off?!*
- 8 *As often as I saw, those who ploughed evil  
And sowed sorrow,—they reaped the same.*
- 9 *By the breath of Eloah they perished,  
By the breath of His anger they vanished away.*
- 10 *The roaring of the lion, and the voice of the shachal,  
And the teeth of the young lions, are rooted out.*
- 11 *The lion wanders about for want of prey,  
And the lioness' whelps are scattered.*

In ver. 6 all recent expositors take the last *waw* as *waw*

<sup>1</sup> In the second edition, comp. *Jahrb.* ix. 37, he explains it otherwise: "If we attempt a word with thee, will it be grievous to thee *quod ægre feras?*" But that, however, must be נִפְּחָ; the form נִפְּה can only be *third pers. Piel*: If any one attempts, etc., which, according to Ewald's construction, gives no suitable rendering.

*apodosis* : And thy hope, is not even this the integrity of thy way? According to our punctuation, there is no occasion for supposing such an application of the *waw apodosis*, which is an error in a clause consisting only of substantives, and is not supported by the examples, ch. xv. 17, xxiii. 12, 2 Sam. xxii. 41.<sup>1</sup> כְּסִלְתָּךְ is the permutative of the ambiguous כְּסִלְתָּךְ, which, from כָּסַל, to be fat, signifies both the heaviness of stupidity and the boldness of confidence. The addition of מִי הוּא, ver. 7, like ch. xiii. 19, xvii. 3, makes the question more earnest : *quis tandem*, like מִי הוּא, *quisnam* (Ges. § 122, 2). In ver. 8, מִי הוּא is not comparative, but temporal, and yet so that it unites, as usual, what stands in close connection with, and follows directly upon, the preceding : When, so as, as often as I had seen those who planned and worked out evil (comp. Prov. xxii. 8), I also saw that they reaped it. That the ungodly, and they alone, perish, is shown in vers. 10 sq. under the simile of the lions. The Hebrew, like the oriental languages in general, is rich in names for lions ; the reason of which is, that the lion-tribe, although now become rarer in Asia, and of which only a solitary one is found here and there in the valley of the Nile, was more numerous in the early times, and spread over a wider area.<sup>2</sup> שִׁלְשִׁל, which the old expositors often understood as the panther, is perhaps the maneless lion, which is still found on the lower Euphrates and Tigris. נָחַץ = נָחַץ, Ps. lviii. 7, *evellere, elidere*, by zeugma, applies to the voice also. All recent expositors

<sup>1</sup> We will not, however, dispute the possibility, for at least in Arabic one can say, زيد فحکيم; Zeid, he is wise. Grammarians remark that زيد in this instance is like a hypothetical antecedent : If any one asks, etc. 2 Sam. xv. 34 is similar.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Schmarda, *Geographische Verbreitung der Thiere*, i. 210, where, among other things, we read : The lion in Asia is driven back at almost all points, and also in Africa has been greatly diminished ; for hundreds of lions and panthers were used in the Roman amphitheatres, whilst at the present time it would be impossible to procure so large a number.

translate ver. 11 *init.* wrongly: the lion perishes. The participle אֵלֶּכְךָ is a stereotype expression for wandering about prospectless and helpless (Deut. xxvi. 5, Isa. xxvii. 13, Ps. cxix. 176, and freq.). The *part.*, otherwise remarkable here, has its origin in this usage of the language. The parallelism is like Ps. xcii. 10.

- 12 *And to me a word came stealthily,  
And my ear heard a whisper thereof.*  
13 *In the play of thought from visions of the night,  
When deep sleep falleth on men—*  
14 *Fear came upon me, and trembling;  
And it caused the multitude of my bones to quake with fear.*  
15 *And a breathing passed over my face;  
The hair of my flesh stood up.*  
16 *It stood there, and I discerned not its appearance:  
An image was before my eyes;  
A gentle murmur and a voice I heard.*

The *fut.* יִנָּבֵּא, like Judg. ii. 1, Ps. lxxx. 9, is ruled by the following *fut. consec.*: *ad me furtim delatum est* (not *deferabatur*). Eliphaz does not say יִנָּבֵּא אֵלַי (although he means a single occurrence), because he desires, with pathos, to put himself prominent. That the word came to him so secretly, and that he heard only as it were a whisper (שָׁשִׁי, according to Arnheim, in distinction from שָׁמַע, denotes a faint, indistinct impression on the ear), is designed to show the value of such a solemn communication, and to arouse curiosity. Instead of the prosaic שָׁמַע, we find here the poetic pausal-form שָׁמָעִי expanded from שָׁמַע, after the form שָׁמָעִי, ch. xxi. 16, Ps. xviii. 23. שָׁ is partitive: I heard only a whisper, murmur; the word was too sacred and holy to come loudly and directly to his ear. It happened, as he lay in the deep sleep of night, in the midst of the confusion of thought resulting from nightly dreams. שְׁעָרַי (from שָׁעַר, branched) are thoughts proceeding like

branches from the heart as their root, and intertwining themselves; the  $\text{נ}$  which follows refers to the cause: there were all manner of dreams which occasioned the thoughts, and to which they referred (comp. ch. xxxiii. 15);  $\text{תַּרְדֵּמָה}$ , in distinction from  $\text{שְׁנָה}$ , sleep, and  $\text{תַּנְמָה}$ , slumber, is the deep sleep related to death and ecstasy, in which man sinks back from outward life into the remotest ground of his inner life. In ver. 14,  $\text{קָרָאֵנִי}$ , from  $\text{קָרָא} = \text{קָרָה}$ , to meet (Ges. § 75, 22), is equivalent to  $\text{קָרַנִּי}$  (not  $\text{קָרְנִי}$ , as Hirz., first edition, wrongly points it; comp. Gen. xlv. 29). The subject of  $\text{הַפְּתִיחַי}$  is the undiscerned ghostlike something. Eliphaz was stretched upon his bed when  $\text{רוּחַ}$ , a breath of wind, passed ( $\text{חָלַף}$ , similar to Isa. xxi. 1) over his face. The wind is the element by means of which the spirit-existence is made manifest; comp. 1 Kings xix. 12, where Jehovah appears in a gentle whispering of the wind, and Acts ii. 2, where the descent of the Holy Spirit is made known by a mighty rushing.  $\text{רוּחַ}$ ,  $\piνεῦμα$ , Sanscrit *ātma*, signifies both the immaterial spirit and the air, which is proportionately the most immaterial of material things.<sup>1</sup> His hair bristled up, even every hair of his body;  $\text{סָמָר}$ , not causative, but intensive of *Kal*.  $\text{יַעֲבֹר}$  has also the ghostlike appearance as subject. Eliphaz could not discern its outline, only a  $\text{תַּמָּזָגָה}$ , *imago quædam* (the most ethereal word for form, Num. xii. 8, Ps. xvii. 15, of  $\muορφη$  or  $δόξα$  of God), was before his eyes, and he heard, as it were proceeding from it,  $\text{וְלֵל}$ ,  $\text{דְּמָמָה}$ , i.e. *per hendiadyn*: a voice, which spoke to him in a gentle, whispering tone, as follows:

17 "Is a mortal just before Eloah,

Or a man pure before his Maker?

18 Behold, He trusteth not His servants!

And His angels He chargeth with imperfection—

<sup>1</sup> On wind and spirit, *vid.* Windischmann, *Die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgesch.* S. 1331 ff.

- 19 *How much more those who dwell in houses of clay,  
Whose origin is in the dust !  
They are crushed as though they were moths.*
- 20 *From morning until evening,—so are they broken in pieces :  
Unobserved they perish for ever.*
- 21 *Is it not so : the cord of their tent in them is torn away,  
So they die, and not in wisdom ?”*

The question arises whether  $\text{פָּ}$  is comparative: *præ Deo*, on which Mercier with penetration remarks: *justior sit oportet qui immerito affligitur quam qui immerito affligit*; or causal: *a Deo, h.e., ita ut a Deo justificetur*. All modern expositors rightly decide on the latter. Hahn justly maintains that  $\text{עַם}$  and  $\text{בְּעֵינַי}$  are found in a similar connection in other places; and ch. xxxii. 2 is perhaps not to be explained in any other way, at least that does not restrict the present passage. By the servants of God, none but the angels, mentioned in the following line of the verse, are intended.  $\text{שִׁים}$  with  $\text{פָּ}$  signifies *imputare* (1 Sam. xxii. 15); in ch. xxiv. 12 (comp. i. 22) we read  $\text{תִּפְּלָה}$ , *absurditatem* (which Hupf. wishes to restore even here), joined with the verb in this signification. The form  $\text{תִּפְּלָה}$  is certainly not to be taken as *stultitia* from the verb  $\text{הָלַל}$ ; the half vowel, and still less the absence of the *Dagesh*, will not allow this.  $\text{תִּפְּלָה}$  (Olsh. § 213, c), itself uncertain in its etymology, presents no available analogy. The form points to a *Lamedh-He* verb, as  $\text{תִּרְמָה}$  from  $\text{רָמָה}$ , so perhaps from  $\text{הָלָה}$ , *Niph.*  $\text{נִהְלָה}$ , *remotus*, Micah iv. 7: being distant, being behind the perfect, difference; or even from  $\text{הָלָה}$  (Targ.  $\text{הָלָה}$ , *Pa.*  $\text{הָלָה}$ ) =  $\text{לָאָה}$ , weakness, want of strength.<sup>1</sup> Both sig-

<sup>1</sup> Schnurrer compares the Arabic *wahila*, which signifies to be relaxed, forgetful, to err, to neglect. Ewald, considering the  $\text{ת}$  as radical, compares the Arabic  $\text{ضَل}$ , to err, and  $\text{ثَال}$ , *med. wau*, to be dizzy, unconscious; but neither from  $\text{הָלָה}$  nor from  $\text{תִּהְלָה}$  can the substantival form  $\text{לָאָה}$  be sustained.

nifications will do, for it is not meant that the good spirits positively sin, as if sin were a natural necessary consequence of their creatureship and finite existence, but that even the holiness of the good spirits is never equal to the absolute holiness of God, and that this deficiency is still greater in spirit-corporeal man, who has earthiness as the basis of his original nature. At the same time, it is presupposed that the distance between God and created earth is disproportionately greater than between God and created spirit, since matter is destined to be exalted to the nature of the spirit, but also brings the spirit into the danger of being degraded to its own level.

Ver. 19.  $\text{כִּי־אֵל}$  signifies, like  $\text{כִּי־אֵל}$ , *quanto minus*, or *quanto magis*, according as a negative or positive sentence precedes: since 18b is positive, we translate it here *quanto magis*, as 2 Sam. xvi. 11. Men are called dwellers in clay houses: the house of clay is their  $\phi\theta\alpha\rho\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ , as being taken *de limo terræ* (ch. xxxiii. 6; comp. Wisdom ix. 15); it is a fragile habitation, formed of inferior materials, and destined to destruction. The explanation which follows—those whose  $\text{יְסוֹד}$ , *i.e.* foundation of existence, is in dust—shows still more clearly that the poet has Gen. ii. 7, iii. 19, in his mind. It crushes them (subject, everything that operates destructively on the life of man)  $\text{לִפְנֵי־עוֹשׂ}$ , *i.e.* not: sooner than the moth is crushed (Hahn), or more rapidly than a moth destroys (Oehler, Fries), or even appointed to the moth for destruction (Schlottm.); but  $\text{לִפְנֵי}$  signifies, as ch. iii. 24 (cf. 1 Sam. i. 16), *ad instar*: as easily as a moth is crushed. They last only from morning until evening: thus they are broken in pieces ( $\text{הִפְתָּ}$ , from  $\text{בָּתָּה}$ , for  $\text{הוֹבִתָּ}$ ); they are therefore as ephemerae. They perish for ever, without any one taking it to heart (*suppl.*  $\text{עַל־לֵב}$ , Isa. xlii. 25, lvii. 1), or directing the heart towards it, *animum advertit* (*suppl.*  $\text{לֵב}$ , ch. i. 8).

In ver. 21 the soul is compared to the cord of a tent, which stretches out and holds up the body as a tent, like

Eccl. xii. 6, with a silver cord, which holds the lamp hanging from the covering of the tent. Olshausen is inclined to read יִתְּרָם, their tent-pole, instead of יִתְּרָם, and at any rate thinks the accompanying בָּנָם superfluous and awkward. But (1) the comparison used here of the soul, and of the life sustained by it, corresponds to its comparison elsewhere with a thread or weft, of which death is the cutting through or loose (ch. vi. 9, xxvii. 8; Isa. xxxviii. 12); (2) בָּנָם is neither superfluous nor awkward, since it is intended to say, that their duration of life falls in all at once like a tent when that which *in them* (בָּם) corresponds to the cord of a tent (*i.e.* the נֶפֶשׁ) is drawn away from it. The relation of the members of the sentence in ver. 21 is just the same as in ver. 2: Will they not die when it is torn away, etc. They then die off in lack of wisdom, *i.e.* without having acted in accordance with the perishableness of their nature and their distance from God; therefore, rightly considered: unprepared and suddenly, comp. ch. xxxvi. 12, Prov. v. 23. Oehler, correctly: without having been made wiser by the afflictions of God. The utterance of the spirit voice, the compass of which is unmistakeably manifest by the strophic division, ends here. Eliphaz now, with reference to it, turns to Job.

- Ch. v. 1 *Call now,—is there any one who will answer thee?  
And to whom of the holy ones wilt thou turn?*
- 2 *For he is a fool who is destroyed by complaining,  
And envy slays the simple one.*
- 3 *I, even I, have seen a fool taking root:  
Then I had to curse his habitation suddenly.*
- 4 *His children were far from help,  
And were crushed in the gate, without a rescuer;*
- 5 *While the hungry ate his harvest,  
And even from among thorns they took it away,  
And the intriguer snatched after their wealth.*

The chief thought of the oracle was that God is the absolutely just One, and infinitely exalted above men and angels. Resuming his speech from this point, Eliphaz tells Job that no cry for help can avail him unless he submits to the all-just One as being himself unrighteous; nor can any cry addressed to the angels avail. This thought, although it is rejected, certainly shows that the writer of the book, as of the prologue, is impressed with the fundamental intuition, that good, like evil, spirits are implicated in the affairs of men; for the "holy ones," as in Ps. lxxxix., are the angels. וְ supports the negation implied in ver. 1: If God does not help thee, no creature can help thee; for he who complains and chafes at his lot brings down upon himself the extremest destruction, since he excites the anger of God still more. Such a surly murmurer against God is here called לֹמְדָה. לְ is the Aramaic sign of the object, having the force of *quod attinet ad, quoad* (Ew. § 310, a).

Eliphaz justifies what he has said (ver. 2) by an example. He had seen such a complainer in increasing prosperity; then he cursed his habitation suddenly, *i.e.* not: he uttered forthwith a prophetic curse over it, which, though בְּרִכָּה might have this meaning (not *subito*, but *illico*; cf. Num. xii. 4), the following *futt.*, equivalent to *imperff.*, do not allow, but: I had then, since his discontent had brought on his destruction, suddenly to mark and abhor his habitation as one overtaken by a curse: the cursing is a recognition of the divine curse, as the echo of which it is intended. This curse of God manifests itself also on his children and his property (vers. 4 sqq.). וְעַל is the gate of the city as a court of justice: the phrase, to oppress in the gate, is like Prov. xxii. 22; and the form *Hithpa.* is according to the rule given in Ges. § 54, 2, b. The relative וְעַל, ver. 5, is here *conj. relativa*, according to Ges. § 155, 1, e. In the connection וְעַל מְנַחֵם, לְ is equivalent to עַל, *adeo e spinis*, the hungry fall so eagerly upon what the father of those now orphans has reaped, that even the thorny



fence does not hold them back.  $\text{מַצֵּי}$ , as Prov. xxii. 5: the double *præpos.*  $\text{מִן־לְאֵלֹהִים}$  is also found elsewhere, but with another meaning.  $\text{מַצֵּי}$  has only the appearance of being *plur.*: it is *sing.* after the form  $\text{מַצֵּה}$ , from the verb  $\text{מָצָה}$ , *nectere*, and signifies, ch. xviii. 9, a snare; here, however, not *judicii laqueus* (Böttch.), but what, besides the form, is still more natural: the snaremaker, intriguer. The Targ. translates  $\text{מַצֵּי}$   $\text{לְמַצֵּי}$ , *i.e.* *λησταί.* Most modern critics (Rosenm. to Ebr.) translate: the thirsty (needy), as do all the old translations, except the Targ.; this, however, is not possible without changing the form. The meaning is, that intriguing persons catch up ( $\text{מִן־לְאֵלֹהִים}$ , as Amos ii. 7) their wealth.

Eliphaz now tells why it thus befell this fool in his own person and his children.

- 6 *For evil cometh not forth from the dust,  
And sorrow sprouteth not from the earth—*
- 7 *No, indeed! man is born to sorrow,  
As the sparks fly upward.*
- 8 *On the contrary, I would earnestly approach unto God,  
And commit my cause to the Godhead;*
- 9 *To Him who doeth great things and unsearchable;  
Marvellous things till there is no number:*
- 10 *Who giveth rain over the earth,  
And causeth water to flow over the fields:*
- 11 *To set the low in high places;  
And those that mourn are exalted to prosperity.*

As the oracle above, so Eliphaz says here, that a sorrowful life is allotted to man,<sup>1</sup> so that his wisdom consequently consists

<sup>1</sup> Fries explains  $\text{יֵלֵךְ}$  as *part.*, and refers to Geiger's *Lehrb. zur Sprache der Mischna*, S. 41 f., according to which  $\text{מִקְרָא}$  signifies killed, and  $\text{קָרָא}$  (= *Rabb. מִקְרָא*) being killed (which, however, rests purely on imagination): not the matter from which mankind originates brings evil with it, but it is man who inclines towards the evil. Böttch. would read  $\text{יֵלֵךְ}$ : man is the parent of misery, let him rise never so high in anger.

in accommodating himself to his lot: if he does not do that, he is an **אֵל**, and thereby perishes. Misfortune does not grow out of the ground like weeds; it is rather established in the divine order of the world, as it is established in the order of nature that sparks of fire should ascend. The old critics understood by **בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁף** birds of prey, as being swift as lightning (with which the appellation of beasts of prey may be compared, ch. xxviii. 8, xli. 26); but **רֶשֶׁף** signifies also a flame or blaze (Cant. viii. 6). Children of the flame is an appropriate name for sparks, and flying upwards is naturally peculiar to sparks as to birds of prey; wherefore among modern expositors, Hirz., Ew., Hahn, von Gerl., Ebr., rightly decide in favour of sparks. Schlottmann understands "angels" by children of flame; but the wings, which are given to angels in Scripture, are only a symbol of their freedom of motion. This remarkable interpretation is altogether opposed to the sententious character of ver. 7, which symbolizes a moral truth by an ordinary thing. The *waw* in **וַיִּבְנֵי**, which we have translated "as," is the so-called *waw adæquationis* proper to the Proverbs, and also to emblems, *e.g.* Prov. xxv. 25.

Eliphaz now says what he would do in Job's place. Ew. and Ebr. translate incorrectly, or at least unnecessarily: Nevertheless I will. We translate, according to Ges. § 127, 5: Nevertheless I would; and indeed with an emphatic *I*: Nevertheless I for my part. **לֹא אֶפְרָשׁ** with **אֵל** is *constr. prægnans*, like Deut. xii. 5, *sedulo adire*. **וַיִּבְרָה** is not speech, like **אֶמְרָה**, but cause, *causa*, in a judicial sense. **אֵל** is God as the Mighty One; **אֱלֹהִים** is God in the totality of His variously manifested nature. The fecundity of the earth by rain, and of the fields (**חַצְוָה** = *rura*) by water-springs (cf. Ps. civ. 10), as the works of God, are intentionally made prominent. He who makes the barren places fruitful, can also change suffering into joy. To His power in nature corresponds His power among men (ver. 11). **לֹא אֶשָּׂא** is here only as a variation for **וְלֹא אֶשָּׂא**, as Heiligst.

rightly observes: it is equivalent to *collocaturus*, or *qui in eo est ut collocet*, according to the mode of expression discussed in Ges. § 132, rem. 1, and more fully on Hab. i. 17. The construction of ver. 11*b* is still bolder. שָׁנִי signifies to be high and steep, inaccessible. It is here construed with the *acc.* of motion: those who go in dirty, black clothes because they mourn, shall be high in prosperity, *i.e.* come to stand on an unapproachable height of prosperity.

12 *Who bringeth to nought the devices of the crafty,  
So that their hands cannot accomplish anything;*

13 *Who catcheth the wise in their craftiness;  
And the counsel of the cunning is thrown down.*

14 *By day they run into darkness,  
And grope in the noon-day as in the night.*

15 *He rescueth from the sword, that from their mouth,  
And from the hand of the strong, the needy.*

16 *Hope ariseth for the weak,  
And folly shall close its mouth.*

All these attributes are chosen designedly: God brings down all haughtiness, and takes compassion on those who need it. The noun מְשִׁיבָה, coined by the Chokma, and out of Job and Proverbs found only in Mic. vi. 9, Isa. xxviii. 29, and even there in gnomical connection, is formed from שָׁנִי, *essentia*, and signifies as it were *essentialitas, realitas*: it denotes, in relation to all visible things, the truly existing, the real, the objective; true wisdom (*i.e.* knowledge resting on an objective actual basis), true prosperity, real profiting and accomplishing. It is meant that they accomplish nothing that has actual duration and advantage. Ver. 13*a* cannot be better translated than by Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 19, who here deviates from the LXX. With נִמְחָרָה, God's seizure, which prevents the contemplated achievement, is to be thought of. He pours forth over the worldly wise what the prophets call

the spirit of deep sleep (תַּרְדֵּמָה) and of dizziness (עֵינָיִם). On the other hand, He helps the poor. In מַחֲרֵב מִפִּיהֶם the second מַ is local : from the sword which proceeds from their mouth (comp. Ps. lxiv. 4, lvii. 5, and other passages). Böttch. translates : without sword, *i.e.* instrument of power (comp. ch. ix. 15, xxi. 9) ; but מַ with חֲרֵב leads one to expect that that from which one is rescued is to be described (comp. ver. 20). Ewald corrects מַחֲרֵב, which Olsh. thinks acute : it is, however, unhebraic, according to our present knowledge of the usage of the language ; for the passives of חֲרֵב are used of cities, countries, and peoples, but not of individual men. Olsh., in his hesitancy, arrives at no opinion. But the text is sound and beautiful. עֲלָתָה with pathetic unaccented *ah* (Ges. § 80, rem. 2, *f*), from עֲלָה = עֲלָה, as Ps. xcii. 16 *Chethib*.

- 17 *Behold, happy is the man whom Eloah correcteth ;  
So despise not the chastening of the Almighty !*
- 18 *For He woundeth, and He also bindeth up ;  
He bruiseeth, and His hands make whole.*
- 19 *In six troubles He will rescue thee,  
And in seven no evil shall touch thee.*
- 20 *In famine He will redeem thee from death,  
And in war from the stroke of the sword.*
- 21 *When the tongue scourgeth, thou shalt be hidden ;  
And thou shalt not fear destruction when it cometh.*

The speech of Eliphaz now becomes persuasive as it turns towards the conclusion. Since God humbles him who exalts himself, and since He humbles in order to exalt, it is a happy thing when He corrects (הוֹכִיחַ) us by afflictive dispensations ; and His chastisement (מִסְכָּר) is to be received not with a turbulent spirit, but resignedly, yea joyously : the same thought as Prov. iii. 11-13, Ps. xciv. 12, in both passages borrowed from this ; whereas ver. 18 here, like Hos. vi. 1, Lam. iii. 31 sq., refers to Deut. xxxii. 39. רָפָא, to heal, is here con-

jugated like a  $\pi^{\text{ל}}$  verb (Ges. § 75, rem. 21). Ver. 19 is formed after the manner of the so-called number-proverbs (Prov. vi. 16, xxx. 15, 18), as also the roll of the judgment of the nations in Amos i. ii.: in six troubles, yea in still more than six.  $\pi$  is the extremity that is perhaps to be feared. In ver. 20, the *præt.* is a kind of prophetic *præt.* The scourge of the tongue recalls the similar promise, Ps. xxxi. 21, where, instead of scourge, it is: the disputes of the tongue.  $\pi$ , from  $\pi$ , violence, disaster, is allied in sound with  $\pi$ . Isaiah has this passage of the book of Job in his memory when he writes ch. xxviii. 15. The promises of Eliphaz now continue to rise higher, and sound more delightful and more glorious.

- 22 *At destruction and famine thou shalt laugh,  
And from the beasts of the earth thou hast nothing to fear.*
- 23 *For thou art in league with the stones of the field,  
And the beasts of the field are at peace with thee.*
- 24 *And thou knowest that peace is thy pavilion;  
And thou searchest thy household, and findest nothing wanting.*
- 25 *Thou knowest also that thy seed shall be numerous,  
And thy offspring as the herb of the ground.*
- 26 *Thou shalt come to thy grave in a ripe age,  
As shocks of corn are brought in in their season.*
- 27 *Lo! this we have searched out, so it is:  
Hear it, and give thou heed to it.*

The verb  $\pi$  is construed (ver. 22) with  $\text{ל}$  of that which is despised, as ch. xxxix. 7, 18, xli. 21 [Hebr.].  $\pi$  is the form of *subjective negation* [*vid.* Ges. § 152, 1: Tr.]: only fear thou not = thou hast no occasion. In ver. 23,  $\pi$  is the shortest substantive form for  $\pi$ . The whole of nature will be at peace with thee: the stones of the field, that they

do not injure the fertility of thy fields; the wild beasts of the field, that they do not hurt thee and thy herds. The same promise that Hosea (ch. ii. 20) utters in reference to the last days is here used individually. From this we see how deeply the Chokma had searched into the history of Paradise and the Fall. Since man, the appointed lord of the earth, has been tempted by a reptile, and has fallen by a tree, his relation to nature, and its relation to him, has been reversed: it is an incongruity, which is again as a whole put right (שָׁלוֹם), as the false relation of man to God is put right. In ver. 24, שָׁלוֹם (which might also be *adj.*) is predicate: thou wilt learn (לִרְאוֹתָ, *præt. consec.* with accented *ultima*, as *e.g.* Deut. iv. 39, here with *Tiphcha initiale s. antierius*, which does not indicate the grammatical tone-syllable) that thy tent is peace, *i.e.* in a condition of contentment and peace on all sides. Ver. 24b is to be arranged: And when thou examinest thy household, then thou lackest nothing, goest not astray, *i.e.* thou findest everything, without missing anything, in the place where thou seekest it.

Ver. 25 reminds one of the Salomonic Ps. lxxii. 16. מַלְאָכָא in the Old Testament is found only in Isaiah and the book of Job. The meaning of the noun מַלְאָכָא, which occurs only here and ch. xxx. 2, is clear. Referring to the verb מָלַא, Arabic تَلَمَّ (تَلَمَّمَ), to be shrivelled up, very aged, it signifies the maturity of old age,—an idea which may be gained more easily if we connect מָלַא with מָלַא (to be completed), like קָשָׁה with קָשָׁה (to be hard).<sup>1</sup> In the parallel there is the time of the sheaves, when they are brought up to the high threshing-floor, the latest period of harvest. עֲלָה, of the raising of the sheaves to the threshing-floor, as elsewhere of the raising, *i.e.* the bringing up of the animals to the altar.

<sup>1</sup> We may also compare the Arabic كَهْل (from which comes *cuhulije*, mature manhood, *opp. tufulije*, tender childhood).

נֶדֶשׁ is here a heap of sheaves, כֶּדֶשׁ, as ch. xxi. 32, a sepulchral heap, جَدَث, distinct from אֶלֶפֶה, a bundle, a single sheaf.

The speech of Eliphaz, which we have broken up into nine strophes, is now ended. Eliphaz concludes it by an epimythionic distich, ver. 27, with an emphatic *nota bene*. He speaks at the same time in the name of his companions. These are principles well proved by experience with which he confronts Job. Job needs to lay them to heart: *tu scito tibi*.

All that Eliphaz says, considered in itself, is blameless. He censures Job's vehemence, which was certainly not to be approved. He says that the destroying judgment of God never touches the innocent, but certainly the wicked; and at the same time expresses the same truth as that placed as a motto to the Psalter in Ps. i., and which is even brilliantly confirmed in the issue of the history of Job. If we read in Isa. lvii. 1, comp. Ps. xii. 2, in apparent opposition to this, הַצִּדִּיק אָבֵר, it is not meant that the judgment of destruction comes upon the righteous, but that his generation experiences the judgment of his loss (*ætati suæ perit*). And these are eternal truths, that between the Creator and creature, even an angel, there remains an infinite distance, and that no creature possesses a righteousness which it can maintain before God. Not less true is it, that with God murmuring is death, and that it is appointed to sinful man to pass through sorrow. Moreover, the counsel of Eliphaz is the right counsel: I would turn to God, etc. His beautiful concluding exhortation, so rich in promises, crowns his speech.

It has been observed (*e.g.* by Löwenthal), that if it is allowed that Eliphaz (ch. v. 17 sqq.) expresses a salutary spiritual design of affliction, all coherence in the book is from the first destroyed. But in reality it is an effect producing not only

outward happiness, but also an inward holiness, which Eliphaz ascribes to sorrow. It is therefore to be asked, how it consists with the plan of the book. There is no doctrinal error to be discovered in the speech of Eliphaz, and yet he cannot be considered as a representative of the complete truth of Scripture. Job ought to humble himself under this; but since he does not, we must side with Eliphaz.

He does not represent the complete truth of Scripture: for there are, according to Scripture, three kinds of sufferings, which must be carefully distinguished.<sup>1</sup> The godless one, who has fallen away from God, is visited with suffering from God; for sin and the punishment of sin (comprehended even in the language in עָוֶן and חַטָּאת) are necessarily connected as cause and effect. This suffering of the godless is the effect of the divine justice in punishment; it is chastisement (מַדְּוֹן) under the disposition of wrath (Ps. vi. 2, xxxviii. 2; Jer. x. 24 sqq.), though not yet final wrath; it is punitive suffering (עָוֶן, עֲוֹן, τιμωρία, pœna). On the other hand, the sufferings of the righteous flow from the divine love, to which even all that has the appearance of wrath in this suffering must be subservient, as the means only by which it operates: for although the righteous man is not excepted from the weakness and sinfulness of the human race, he can never become an object of the divine wrath, so long as his inner life is directed towards God, and his outward life is governed by the most earnest striving after sanctification. According to the Old and New Testaments, he stands towards God in the relation of a child to his father (only the New Testament idea includes the mystery of the new birth not revealed in the Old Testament); and consequently all sufferings are

<sup>1</sup> Our old dogmatists (*vid. e.g.* Baier, *Compendium Theologiæ positivæ*, ii. 1, § 15) and pastoral theologians (*e.g.* Danhauer) consider them as separate. Among the oldest expositors of the book of Job with which I am acquainted, Olympiodorus is comparatively the best.



fatherly chastisements, Deut. viii. 5, Prov. iii. 12, Heb. xii. 6, Apoc. iii. 19, comp. Tob. xii. 13 (Vulg.). But this general distinction between the sufferings of the righteous and of the ungodly is not sufficient for the book of Job. The sufferings of the righteous even are themselves manifold. God sends affliction to them more and more to purge away the sin which still has power over them, and rouse them up from the danger of carnal security; to maintain in them the consciousness of sin as well as of grace, and with it the lowliness of penitence; to render the world and its pleasures bitter as gall to them; to draw them from the creature, and bind them to himself by prayer and devotion. This suffering, which has the sin of the godly as its cause, has, however, not God's wrath, but God's love directed towards the preservation and advancement of the godly, as its motive: it is the proper disciplinary suffering (מִסִּיחָה or מִסִּיחָה, Prov. iii. 11; *paideia*, Heb. xii.). It is this of which Paul speaks, 1 Cor. xi. 32. This disciplinary suffering may attain such a high degree as entirely to overwhelm the consciousness of the relation to God by grace; and the sufferer, as frequently in the Psalms, considers himself as one rejected of God, over whom the wrath of God is passing. The deeper the sufferer's consciousness of sin, the more dejected is his mood of sorrow; and still God's thoughts concerning him are thoughts of peace, and not of evil (Jer. xxix. 11). He chastens, not however in wrath, but בְּרַחֲמֵי, with moderation (Jer. x. 24).

Nearly allied to this suffering, but yet, as to its cause and purpose, distinct, is another kind of the suffering of the godly. God ordains suffering for them, in order to prove their fidelity to himself, and their earnestness after sanctification, especially their trust in God, and their patience. He also permits Satan, who impeaches them, to tempt them, to sift them as wheat, in order that he may be confounded, and the divine choice justified,—in order that it may be manifest

that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, are able to separate them from the love of God, and to tear away their faith (אמונה) from God, which has remained steadfast on Him, notwithstanding every apparent manifestation of wrath. The godly will recognise his affliction as such suffering when it comes upon him in the very midst of his fellowship with God, his prayer and watching, and his struggling after sanctification. For this kind of suffering—trial—Scripture employs the expressions יָסָה (Deut. viii. 2, 16) and יָסָה (Prov. xvii. 3), *πειρασμός* (Jas. i. 12; 1 Pet. i. 6 sq., iv. 19; comp. Sir. ii. 1 sqq.). Such suffering, according to a common figure, is for the godly what the smelting-furnace or the fining-pot is to precious metals. A rich reward awaits him who is found proof against the trial, temptation, and conflict, and comes forth from it as pure, refined gold. Suffering for trial is nearly allied to that for chastisement, in so far as the chastisement is at the same time trial; but distinct from it, in so far as every trial is not also chastisement (*i.e.* having as its purpose the purging away of still existing sin).

A third kind of the suffering of the righteous is suffering borne as testimony,—reproach, persecution, and perhaps even martyrdom, which are endured for the sake of fidelity to God and His word. While he is blessed who is found proof against trial, he is blessed in himself who endures this suffering (Matt. v. 11 sq., and other passages); for every other suffering comes upon man for his own sake, this for God's. In this case there is not even the remotest connection between the suffering and the sinfulness of the sufferer. Ps. xliv. is a prayer of Israel in the midst of this form of suffering. *Σταυρός* is the name expressly used for it in the New Testament—suffering for the kingdom of heaven's sake.

Without a knowledge of these different kinds of human suffering, the book of Job cannot be understood. "Whoever

sees with spiritual eyes," says Brentius, "does not judge the moral character of a man by his suffering, but his suffering by his moral character." Just the want of this spiritual discernment and inability to distinguish the different kinds of suffering is the mistake of the friends, and likewise, from the very first, the mistake of Eliphaz. Convinced of the sincere piety of his friend, he came to Job believing that his suffering was a salutary chastisement of God, which would at last turn out for his good. Proceeding upon this assumption, he blames Job for his murmuring, and bids him receive his affliction with a recognition of human sinfulness and the divine purpose for good. Thus the controversy begins. The causal connection with sin, in which Eliphaz places Job's suffering, is after all the mildest. He does not go further than to remind Job that he is a sinner, because he is a man.

But even this causal connection, in which Eliphaz connects Job's sufferings, though in the most moderate way, with previous sin deserving of punishment, is his *πρώτον ψεύδος*. Job's suffering, according to the chief purpose of God, is not chastisement, but trial. Jehovah has decreed it for His servant, not to chasten him, but to prove him. This it is that Eliphaz mistakes; and we also should not know it but for the prologue and the corresponding epilogue. Accordingly, the prologue and epilogue are organic parts of the form of the book. If these are removed, its spirit is destroyed.

But the speech of Eliphaz, moreover, beautiful and true as it is, when considered in itself, is nevertheless heartless, haughty, stiff, and cold. For (1.) it does not contain a word of sympathy, and yet the suffering which he beholds is so terribly great: his first word to his friend after the seven days of painful silence is not one of comfort, but of moralizing. (2.) He must know that Job's disease is not the first and only suffering which has come upon him, and that he has endured his previous afflictions with heroic sub-

mission; but he ignores this, and acts as though sorrow were now first come upon Job. (3.) Instead of recognising therein the reason of Job's despondency, that he thinks that he has fallen from the love of God, and become an object of wrath, he treats him as self-righteous;<sup>1</sup> and to excite his feelings, presents an oracle to him, which contains nothing but what Job might sincerely admit as true. (4.) Instead of considering that Job's despair and murmuring against God is really of a different kind from that of the godless, he classes them together, and instead of gently correcting him, presents to Job the accursed end of the fool, who also murmurs against God, as he has himself seen it. Thus, in consequence of the false application which Eliphaz makes of it, the truth contained in his speech is totally reversed. Thus delicately and profoundly commences the dramatical entanglement. The skill of the poet is proved by the difficulty which the expositor has in detecting that which is false in the speech of Eliphaz. The idea of the book does not float on the surface. It is clothed with flesh and blood. It is submerged in the very action and history.

*Job's First Answer.*—Chap. vi. vii.

*Schema* : 7. 6. 7. 6. 8. 6. 8. 6. | 6. 7. 11. 10. 6. 8.

[Then began Job, and said:]

- 2 *Oh that my vexation were but weighed,  
And they would put my suffering in the balance against it!*
- 3 *Then it would be heavier than the sand of the sea :  
Therefore my words are rash.*
- 4 *The arrows of the Almighty are in me,  
The burning poison whereof drinketh up my spirit ;  
The terrors of Eloah set themselves in array against me.*

<sup>1</sup> Oetinger: "Eliphaz mentioned the oracle to affect seriously the hidden hypocrisy of Job's heart."

Vexation (בַּעֲשָׁה) is what Eliphaz has reproached him with (ch. v. 2). Job wishes that his vexation were placed in one scale and his הִיָּה (*Keri* הִיָּה) in the other, and weighed together (יַחַד). The noun הִיָּה (הִיָּה), from הָיָה (*hiare*), signifies properly *hiatus*, then *vorago*, a yawning gulf, χάσμα, then some dreadful calamity (*vid.* Hupfeld on Ps. v. 10). נָשָׂא, like נָטַל, Isa. xi. 15, to raise the balance, as *pendere*, to let it hang down; *attollant* instead of the passive. This is his desire; and if they but understood the matter, it would then be manifest (בִּרְעָתָהּ, as ch. iii. 13, which see), or: indeed then would it be manifest (יְיָ certainly in this inferential position has an affirmative signification: *vid.* Gen. xxvi. 22, xxix. 32, and comp. 1 Sam. xxv. 34, 2 Sam. ii. 27) that his suffering is heavier than the unmeasurable weight of the sand of the sea. יִכְבֶּד is neuter with reference to הַיָּהִיתִי. לָעַן, with the tone on the *penult.*, which is not to be accounted for by the rhythm as in Ps. xxxvii. 20, cxxxvii. 7, cannot be derived from לָעַן, but only from לָעַן, not however in the signification to suck down, but from לָעַן = לָעַן, Arab. لَعْنٌ or also لَعْنٌ, *temere loqui, inania effutire*,—a signification which suits excellently here.<sup>1</sup> His words are like those of one in delirium. הִמָּתָם is to be explained according to Ps. xxxviii. 3; הִמָּתָם, according to Ps. vii. 15. יַעֲרִכֵנִי is short for עָלֵי מַלְחָמָה, they make war against me, set themselves in battle array against me. Böttcher, without brachylogy: they cause me to arm myself, put one of necessity on the defensive, which does not suit the subject. The terrors of God strike down all defence. The wrath of God is irresistible. The sting

<sup>1</sup> לָעַן, Prov. xx. 25, which is doubly accented, and must be pronounced as oxytone, has also this meaning: the snare of a man who has thoughtlessly uttered what is holy (an interjectional clause = such an one has implicated himself), and after (having made) vows will harbour care (i.e. whether he will be able to fulfil them).

of his suffering, however, is the wrath of God which his spirit drinks as a draught of poison (comp. ch. xxi. 20), and consequently wrings from him, even from his deepest soul, the thought that God is become his enemy: therefore his is an endless suffering, and therefore is it that he speaks so despondingly.

- 5 *Doth the wild ass bray at fresh grass?  
Or loweth an ox over good fodder?*  
6 *Is that which is tasteless eaten unsalted?  
Or is there flavour in the white of an egg?*  
7 *That which my soul refused to touch,  
The same is as my loathsome food.*

The meaning of the first two figures is: He would not complain, if there were really no cause for it; of the two others: It is not to be expected that he should smile at his suffering, and enjoy it as delicate food. עַל-אֲלֵלִי I have translated "over good fodder," for אֲלֵלִי is mixed fodder of different kinds of grain, *farrago*. "Without salt" is virtually adjective to מַלְחָה, insipid, tasteless. What is without salt one does not relish, and there is no flavour in the slime of the yolk of an egg, i.e. the white of an egg (Targ.),<sup>1</sup> or in the slime of purslain (according to *Chalmetho* in the Peschito, Arab. حُمَّاء *fatua* = purslain), which is less probable on account of רֵי (slime, not: broth): there is no flavour so that it can be enjoyed. Thus is it with his sufferings. Those things which he before inwardly detested (dirt and dust of leprosy) are now *sicut fastidiosa cibi mei*, i.e. as loathsome food which he must eat. The first clause, ver. 7a, must be taken as an elliptic relative clause forming the subject: *vid.*

<sup>1</sup> Saadia compares *b. Aboda zara*, 40, a, where it is given as a mark of the purity of the eggs in the roe of fish: חֲלָבָן מִבְּחוּץ וְחֹלְמָן מִבְּפְנִים, when the white is outside and the yellow within.

Ges. § 123, 3, c. Such disagreeable counsel is now like his unclean, disgusting diet. Eliphaz desires him to take them as agreeable. כָּרִי in כָּרִי is taken by Ges., Ew., Hahn, Schlottm., Olsh. (§ 165, b), as constr. from כָּרִי, sickness, filth; but כָּרִי, as plur. from כָּרִי, sick, unclean (especially of female menstruation, Isa. xxx. 22), as Heiligst. among modern commentators explains it, is far more suitable. Hitz. (as anonym. reviewer of Ewald's *Job* in the *liter. Centralblatt*) translates: they (my sufferings) are the morsels of my food; but the explanation of כָּרִי is not correct, nor is it necessary to go to the Arabic for an explanation of כָּרִי. It is also unnecessary, with Böttcher, to read כָּרִי (such is my food *in accordance with my disease*); Job does not here speak of his diet as an invalid.

- 8 *Would that my request were fulfilled,  
And that Eloah would grant my expectation,*  
9 *That Eloah were willing and would crush me,  
Let loose His hand and cut me off:*  
10 *Then my comfort would ever be—  
(I should exult in unsparing pain)—  
That I have not disowned the words of the Holy One.*

His wish refers to the ending of his suffering by death. Hupfeld prefers to read וְתִתְּנֵנִי instead of וְתִתְּנֵנִי (ver. 8b); but death, which he desires, he even indeed expects. This is just the paradox, that not life, but death, is his expectation. "Cut me off," i.e. my soul or my life, my thread of life (ch. xxvii. 8; Isa. xxxviii. 12). The optative כִּי (Ges. § 136, 1) is followed by optative *futt.*, partly of the so-called jussive form, as וְאֵל, *velit* (*Hiph.* from וָאֵל, *velle*), and וְיָרַח, *solvat* (*Hiph.* from וָיָרַח). In the phrase וְהִרְחִיר יָד, the stretching out of the hand is regarded as the loosening of what was hitherto bound. The conclusion begins with וְתִתְּנֵנִי, just like ch. xiii. 5. But it is to be asked whether by consolation speedy death is to be

understood, and the clause with **כִּי** gives the ground of his prayer for the granting of the wish,—or whether he means that this: not having disowned the words of the Holy One (comp. ch. xxiii. 11 sq., and **אֶפְרַיִם** in the mouth of Balaam, the non-Israelitish prophet, Num. xxiv. 4, 16), would be his consolation in the midst of death. With Hupfeld we decide in favour of the latter, with Ps. cxix. 50 in view: this consciousness of innocence is indeed throughout the whole book Job's shield and defence. If, however, **נִחַמְתִּי** (with *Kametz impurum*) points towards **כִּי**, *quod*, etc., the clause **וְאִם־כִּלְיָהּ** is parenthetical. The cohortative is found thus parenthetical with a conjunctive sense also elsewhere (Ps. xl. 6, li. 18). Accordingly: my comfort—I would exult, etc.—would be that I, etc. The meaning of **סָלַךְ**, *tripudiare*, is confirmed by the LXX. *ἡλλόμην*, in connection with the Arabic **سَلَدَ** (of a galloping horse which stamps hard with its fore-feet), according to which the Targ. also translates **וְאִם־כִּלְיָהּ** (I will rejoice).<sup>1</sup> For **לֹא־יִחַל**, comp. Isa. xxx. 14 sq. (break in pieces unsparingly). **לֹא־יִחַל** certainly appears as though it must be referred to God (Ew., Hahn, Schlottm., and others), since **חִלָּהּ** sounds feminine; but one can either pronounce **חִלָּהּ** = **חִיל** as *Milel* (Hitz.), or take **לֹא־יִחַל** adverbially, and not as an elliptical dependent clause (as Ges. § 147, rem. 1), but as virtually an adjective: in pain unsparing.

11 *What is my strength, that I should wait,*

*And my end, that I should be patient?*

12 *Is my strength like the strength of stones?*

*Or is my flesh brazen?*

<sup>1</sup> The primary meaning of **סָלַךְ**, according to the Arabic, is to be hard, then, to tread hard, firm, as in *pulsanda tellus*; whereas the poetry of the synagogue (Pijut) uses **סָלַךְ** in the signification to supplicate, and **סָלַךְ**, litany (not: hymn, as Zunz gives it); and the Mishna-talmudic **סָלַךְ** signifies to singe, burn one's self, and to draw back affrighted.



- 13 *Or am I then not utterly helpless,  
And continuance is driven from me?*

The meaning of the question (ver. 11) is: Is not my strength already so wasted away, and an unfortunate end so certain to me, that a long calm waiting is as impossible as it is useless? *נפש יהי ארוך*, to draw out the soul, is to extend and distribute the intensity of the emotion, to be forbearing, to be patient. The question (ver. 11) is followed by *אם*, usual in double questions: or is my strength stone, etc. *אם*, which is so differently explained by commentators, is after all to be explained best from Num. xvii. 28, the only other passage in which it occurs. Here it is the same as *אם*, and this is the same as *אם*: or is it not so: we shall perish quickly altogether? Thus we explain the passage before us. The interrogative *אם* is also sometimes used elsewhere for *אם*, ch. xx. 4, xli. 1 (Ges. § 153, 3); the additional *אם* stands *per inversionem* in the second instead of the first place: *nonne an = an nonne, annon*: or is it not so: my help is not in me = or am I not utterly helpless? Ewald explains differently (§ 356, a), according to which *אם*, from the formula of an oath, is equivalent to *אם*. The meaning is the same. Continuance, *המשך*, i.e. power of endurance, reasonable prospect is driven away, frightened away from him, is lost for him.

- 14 *To him who is consumed gentleness is due from his friend,  
Otherwise he might forsake the fear of the Almighty.*  
15 *My brothers are become false as a torrent,  
As the bed of torrents which vanish away—*  
16 *They were blackish from ice,  
Snow is hidden in them—*  
17 *In the time, when warmth cometh to them, they are de-  
stroyed.*  
*It becometh hot, they are extinguished from their places.*

Ewald supplies between 14a and 14b two lines which have professedly fallen out ("from a brother sympathy is due to the oppressed of God, in order he may not succumb to excessive grief"). Hitzig strongly characterizes this interpolation as a "pure swindle." There is really nothing wanting; but we need not even take חֶסֶד, with Hitz., in the signification reproach (like Prov. xiv. 34): if reproach cometh to the sufferer from his friend, he forsaketh the fear of God. מִדָּם (from מִדָּם, *liquefieri*) is one who is inwardly melted, the disheartened. Such an one should receive חֶסֶד from his friend, i.e. that he should restore him ἐν πνεύματι πραΰτητος (Gal. vi. 1). The *waw* (ver. 14b) is equivalent to *alioqui* with the future subjunctive (*vid.* Ges. § 127, 5). Harshness might precipitate him into the abyss from which love will keep him back. So Schnurrer: *Afflicto exhibenda est ab amico ipsius humanitas, alioqui hic reverentiam Dei exuit.* Such harshness instead of charity meets him from his brothers, i.e. friends beloved as brothers. In vain he has looked to them for reviving consolation. Theirs is no comfort; it is like the dried-up water of a wady. נַחַל is a mountain or forest brook, which comes down from the height, and in spring is swollen by melting ice and the snow that thaws on the mountain-tops, χειμάρρους, i.e. a torrent swollen by winter water. The melting blocks of ice darken the water of such a wady, and the snow falling together is quickly hidden in its bosom (הִתְעַלְמָם). If they begin to be warmed (*Pual* נִרְבָּה, cognate to צָרַב, Ezek. xxi. 3, *aduri*, and שָׂרַף, *comburare*), suddenly they are reduced to nothing (נִצְתָּה, *extingui*); they vanish away בְּחֹמֶה, when it becomes hot. The suffix is, with Ew., Olsh., and others, to be taken as neuter; not with Hirz., to be referred to a suppressed עֵץ: when the season grows hot. Job bewails the disappointment he has experienced, the "decline" of charity<sup>1</sup> still further, by keeping to the figure of the mountain torrent.

<sup>1</sup> Oettinger says that vers. 15-20 describe those who get "consumption"

- 18 *The paths of their course are turned about,  
They go up in the waste and perish.*  
 19 *The travelling bands of Tema looked for them,  
The caravans of Saba hoped for them ;*  
 20 *They were disappointed on account of their trust,  
They came thus far, and were red with shame.*

As the text is pointed, אֶרְחוֹת, ver. 18, are the paths of the torrents. Hirz., Ew., and Schlottm., however, correct אֶרְחוֹת, caravans, which Hahn even thinks may be understood without correction, since he translates: the caravans of their way are turned about (which is intended to mean: aside from the way that they are pursuing), march into the desert and perish (*i.e.* because the streams on which they reckoned are dried up). So, in reality, all modern commentators understand it, but is it likely that the poet would let the caravans perish in ver. 18, and in vers. 19 sq. still live? With this explanation, vers. 19 sq. drag along tautologically, and the feebler figure follows the stronger. Therefore we explain as follows: the mountain streams, נְחָלִים, flow off in shallow serpentine brooks, and the shallow waters completely evaporate by the heat of the sun. עָלָה בְּתַרְוִי signifies to go up into nothing (comp. Isa. xl. 23), after the analogy of בָּעָשָׁן, to pass away in smoke. Thus *e.g.* also Mercier: *in auras abeunt, in nihilum rediguntur*. What next happens is related as a history, vers. 19 sq., hence the *prætt.* Job compares his friends to the wady swollen by ice and snow water, and even himself to the travelling bands languishing for water. He thirsts for friendly solace, but the seeming comfort which his friends utter is only as the scattered meandering waters in which the mountain brook leaks out. The *sing.* בְּמֶחֱ individualizes; it is unnecessary with Olsh. to read בְּמֶחֱ.

when they are obliged to extend "the breasts of compassion" to their neighbour.

- 21 *For now ye are become nothing ;  
 You saw misfortune, and were affrighted.*  
 22 *Have I then said, Give unto me,  
 And give a present for me from your substance,*  
 23 *And deliver me from the enemy's hand,  
 And redeem me from the hand of the tyrant ?*

In ver. 21, the reading wavers between לֹא and לֵא, with the *Keri* לֹא ; but לֵא, which is consequently the *lectio recepta*, gives no suitable meaning, only in a slight degree appropriate, as this : ye are become it, *i.e.* such a mountain brook ; for הֵייתָם is not to be translated, with Stickel and others, *estis*, but *facti estis*. The Targum, however, translates after the *Chethib* : ye are become as though ye had never been, *i.e.* nothingness. Now, since לֵא, Aramaic לָא, can (as Dan. iv. 32 shows) be used as a substantive (a not = a null), and the thought : ye are become nothing, your friendship proves itself equal to null, suits the imagery just used, we decide in favour of the *Chethib* ; then in the figure the עֲלָה בְּתֵרֵי corresponds most to this, and is also, therefore, not to be explained away. The LXX., Syr., Vulg., translate לֹא instead of לֵא : ye are become it (such deceitful brooks) to me. Ewald proposes to read לֵא בְּעֵתָהּ הֵייתָם (comp. the explanation, Ges. § 137, rem. 3),—a conjecture which puts aside all difficulty ; but the sentence with לֵא commends itself as being bolder and more expressive. All the rest explains itself. It is remarkable that in ver. 21b the reading תִּירָא is also found, instead of תִּירָא : ye dreaded misfortune, and ye were then affrighted. תִּירָא is here, as an exception, *properispomenon*, according to Ges. § 29, 3. בָּתָּח, as Prov. v. 10, Lev. xxvi. 20, what one has obtained by putting forth one's strength, syn. חֵיל, outward strength.

- 24 *Teach me, and I will be silent,  
 And cause me to understand wherein I have failed.*

- 25 *How forcible are words in accordance with truth !  
But what doth reproof from you reprove ?*
- 26 *Do you think to reprove words ?  
The words of one in despair belong to the wind.*
- 27 *Ye would even cast lots for the orphan,  
And traffic about your friend.*

נִמְרָצִי, ver. 25, in the signification of נִמְלָצִי (Ps. cxix. 103), would suit very well : how smooth, delicate, sweet, are, etc. (Hirz., Ew., Schlottm.); but this meaning does not suit ch. xvi. 3. Hupfeld, by comparison with מַר, bitter, translates : *quantumvis acerba* ; but מָה may signify *quidquid*, though not *quantumvis*. Hahn compares the Arabic verb to be sick, and translates : in what respect are right words bad ; but physical disease and ethical badness are not such nearly related ideas. Ebrard : honest words are not taken amiss ; but with an inadmissible application of ch. xvi. 3. Von Gerl. is best : how strong or forcible are, etc. מִרְצֵן is taken as related to מִרְצֵן, in the signification to penetrate ; *Hiph.* to goad ; *Niph.* to be furnished with the property of penetrating,—used here of penetrating speech ; 1 Kings ii. 8, of a curse inevitably carried out ; Mic. ii. 10, of unsparing destruction. Words which keep the straight way of truth, go to the heart ; on the contrary, what avails the reproving from you, i.e. which proceeds from you ? הוֹצֵא, *inf. absol.* as Prov. xxv. 27, and in but a few other passages as subject ; מִקֶּם, as ch. v. 15, the sword going forth out of their mouth. In 26*b* the *waw* introduces a subordinate adverbial clause : while, however, the words of one in despair belong to the wind, that they may be carried away by it, not to the judgment which retains and analyzes them, without considering the mood of which they are the hasty expression. The *futt.* ver. 27 express the extent to which their want of feeling would go, if the circumstances for it only existed ; they are subjunctive, as ch. iii. 13, 16.

גורל, the lot, is to be supplied to תפילי, as 1 Sam. xiv. 42. The verb פרה, however, does not here signify to dig, so that שחת, a pit, should be supplied (Heiligst.), still less : dig out earth, and cast it on any one (Ebrard) ; but has the signification of buying and selling with על of the object, exactly like ch. xl. 30.

- 28 *And now be pleased to observe me keenly,  
I will not indeed deceive you to your face.*  
29 *Try it again, then : let there be no injustice ;  
Try it again, my righteousness still stands.*  
30 *Is there wrong on my tongue ?  
Or shall not my palate discern iniquity ?*

He begs them to observe him more closely ; פנה ב, as Eccl. ii. 11, to observe scrutinizingly. ׀ is the sign of negative asseveration (Ges. § 155, 2, f). He will not indeed shamelessly give them the lie, viz. in respect to the greatness and inexplicableness of his suffering. The challenging שובו we do not translate : retrace your steps, but : begin afresh, to which both the following clauses are better suited. So Schlottm. and von Gerlach. Hahn retains the *Chethib* שובי, in the signification : my answer ; but that is impossible : to answer is השיב, not שוב. The ער drawn to שובו by *Rebia mugrasch* is more suitably joined with צדק-רבה, in which ביה refers neutrally to the matter of which it treats. They are to try from the beginning to find that comfort which will meet the case. Their accusations are עקלה ; his complaints, on the contrary, are fully justified. He does not grant that the outburst of his feeling of pain (ch. iii.) is עקלה : he has not so completely lost his power against temptation, that he would not restrain himself, if he should fall into היות. Thus wickedness, which completely contaminates feeling and utterance, is called (Ps. lii. 4).

Job now endeavours anew to justify his complaints by

turning more away from his friends and more towards God, but without penetrating the darkness in which God, the author of his suffering, is veiled from him.

- Ch. vii. 1 *Has not man a warfare upon earth,  
And his days are like the days of a hireling?*  
2 *Like a servant who longs for the shade,  
And like a hireling who waits for his wages,*  
3 *So am I made to possess months of disappointment,  
And nights of weariness are appointed to me.*

The conclusion is intended to be : thus I wait for death as refreshing and rest after hard labour. He goes, however, beyond this next point of comparison, or rather he remains on this side of it. אֲנִי is not service of a labourer in the field, but active military service, then fatigue, toil in general (Isa. xl. 20 ; Dan. x. 1). Ver. 2 Ewald and others translate incorrectly : as a slave longs, etc. אֲנִי can never introduce a comparative clause, except an infinitive, as *e.g.* Isa. v. 24, which can then under the regimen of this אֲנִי be continued by a *verb. fin.* ; but it never stands directly for אֲנִי, as אֲנִי does in rare instances. In ver. 3, אֲנִי retains its primary signification, nothingness, error, disappointment (ch. xv. 31) : months that one after another disappoint the hope of the sick. By this it seems we ought to imagine the friends as not having come at the very commencement of his disease. Elephantiasis is a disease which often lasts for years, and slowly but inevitably destroys the body. On אֲנִי, *adnumeraverunt* = *adnumeratores sunt*, *vid.* Ges. § 137, 3\*.

- 4 *If I lie down, I think :  
When shall I arise and the evening break away ?  
And I become weary with tossing to and fro until the  
morning dawn.*

- 5 *My flesh is clothed with worms and clods of earth ;  
My skin heals up to fester again.*  
6 *My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle,  
And vanish without hope.*

Most modern commentators take מַיָּד as *Piel* from מָדַד : the night is extended (Renan : *la nuit se prolonge*), which is possible ; comp. Ges. § 52, 2. But the metre suggests another rendering : מַיָּד constr. of מָדַד from מָדַד, to flee away : and when fleeing away of the evening. The night is described by its commencement, the late evening, to make the long interval of the sleeplessness and restlessness of the invalid prominent. In נִדְדִים and מָדַד there is a play of words (Ebrard). רִמָּה, worms, in reference to the putrifying ulcers ; and גִּל (with זַעֲרָא), clod of earth, from the cracked, scaly, earth-coloured skin of one suffering with elephantiasis. The *prætt.* are used of that which is past and still always present, the *futt. consec.* of that which follows in and with the other. The skin heals, רָנַע (which we render with Ges., Ew., *contrahere se*) ; the result is that it becomes moist again. יִפְאֵם, according to Ges. § 67, rem. 4 = יָפַם, Ps. lviii. 8. His days pass swiftly away ; the result is that they come to an end without any hope whatever. אָרַג is like *κερκίς*, *radius*, a weaver's shuttle, by means of which the weft is shot between the threads of the warp as they are drawn up and down. His days pass as swiftly by as the little shuttle passes backwards and forwards in the warp.

Next follows a prayer to God for the termination of his pain, since there is no second life after the present, and consequently also the possibility of requital ceases with death.

- 7 *Remember that my life is a breath,  
That my eye will never again look on prosperity.*  
8 *The eye that looketh upon me seeth me no more ;  
If thine eyes look for me,—I am no more !*



- 9 *The clouds are vanished and passed away,  
So he that goeth down to Sheôl cometh not up.*
- 10 *He returneth no more to his house,  
And his place knoweth him no more.*
- 11 *Therefore I will not curb my mouth ;  
I will speak in the anguish of my spirit ;  
I will complain in the bitterness of my soul.*

We see good, *i.e.* prosperity and joy, only in the present life. It ends with death. שׁוֹב with ל' *infin.* is a synonym of הוֹשִׁיעַ, ch. xx. 9. No eye (עַיִן *femin.*) which now sees me (prop. eye of my seer, as Gen. xvi. 13, comp. Job xx. 7, Ps. xxxi. 12, for רָאִיתִי, Isa. xxix. 15, or רָאִתִּי, Isa. xlvii. 10 ; according to another reading, רָאִתִּי : no eye of seeing, *i.e.* no eye with the power of seeing, from רָאָה, vision) sees me again ; even if thy eyes should be directed towards me to help me, my life is gone, so that I can no more be the subject of help. For from Sheôl there is no return, no resurrection (comp. Ps. ciii. 16 for the expression) ; therefore will I at least give free course to my thoughts and feelings (comp. Ps. lxxvii. 4, Isa. xxxviii. 15, for the expression). The דָּם, ver. 11, is the so-called *dam talionis* ; the parallels cited by Michaelis are to the point, Ezek. xvi. 43, Mal. ii. 9, Ps. lii. 7. Here we first meet with the name of the lower world ; and in the book of Job we learn the ancient Israelitish conception of it more exactly than anywhere else. We have here only to do with the name in connection with the grammatical exposition. שְׁאֵל (usually *gen. fem.*) is now almost universally derived from שָׁעַל = שָׁעַל, to be hollow, to be deepened ; and aptly so, for they imagined the *Sheôl* as under ground, as Num. xvi. 30, 33 alone shows, on which account even here, as from Gen. xxxvii. 35 onwards, יִרְדַּ שְׁאֵלָה is everywhere used. It is, however, open to question whether this derivation is correct : at least passages like Isa. v. 14, Hab. ii. 5, Prov. xxx. 15 sq., show that in the

later usage of the language, <sup>לִבְשׁוֹ</sup> to demand, was thought of in connection with it; derived from which *Sheól* signifies (1) the inevitable and inexorable demand made on everything earthly (an infinitive noun like <sup>לִבְשׁוֹ</sup>, <sup>לִבְשׁוֹ</sup>); (2) conceived of as space, the place of shadowy duration whither everything on earth is demanded; (3) conceived of according to its nature, the divinely appointed fury which gathers in and engulfs everything on the earth. Job knows nothing of a demanding back, a redemption from *Sheól*.

- 12 *Am I a sea or a sea-monster,  
That thou settest a watch over me?*
- 13 *For I said, My bed shall comfort me;  
My couch shall help me to bear my complaint.*
- 14 *Then thou scaredst me with dreams,  
And thou didst wake me up in terror from visions,*
- 15 *So that my soul chose suffocation,  
Death rather than this skeleton.*
- 16 *I loathe it, I would not live away;  
Let me alone, for my days are breath.*

Since a watch on the sea can only be designed to effect the necessary precautions at its coming forth from the shores, it is probable that the poet had the Nile in mind when he used <sup>נִצָּב</sup>, and consequently the crocodile by <sup>תַּנִּינִי</sup>. The Nile is also called <sup>נִי</sup> in Isa. xix. 5, and in Homer *ὠκεανός*, Egyptian *oham* (= *ὠκεανός*), and is even now called (at least by the Bedouins) *bahhr* (<sup>بَحْر</sup>). The illustrations of the book, says

von Gerlach correctly, are chiefly Egyptian. On the contrary, Hahn thinks the illustration is unsuitable of the Nile, because it is not watched on account of its danger, but its utility; and Schlottman thinks it even small and contemptible without assigning a reason. The figure is, however, appropriate. As watches are set to keep the Nile in channels as

soon as it breaks forth, and as men are set to watch that they may seize the crocodile immediately he moves here or there; so Job says all his movements are checked at the very commencement, and as soon as he desires to be more cheerful he feels the pang of some fresh pain. In ver. 13, בַּאֲחֵרֶיךָ is partitive, as Num. xi. 17; Mercier correctly: *non-nihil querelam meam levabit*. If he hopes for such repose, it forthwith comes to nought, since he starts up affrighted from his slumber. Hideous dreams often disturb the sleep of those suffering with elephantiasis, says Avicenna (in Stickel, S. 170). Then he desires death; he wishes that his difficulty of breathing would increase to suffocation, the usual end of elephantiasis. בְּחַיִּי is absolute (without being obliged to point it בְּחַיִּיךָ with Schlottm.), as e.g. בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ, Isa. x. 6 (Ewald, § 160, c). He prefers death to these his bones, i.e. this miserable skeleton or framework of bone to which he is wasted away. He despises, i.e. his life, ch. ix. 21. Amid such suffering he would not live for ever. הָיִל, like רָחַם, ver. 7.

- 17 *What is man that Thou magnifiest him,  
And that Thou turnest Thy heart toward him,*  
18 *And visitest him every morning,  
Triest him every moment?*  
19 *How long dost Thou not look away from me,  
Nor lettest me alone till I swallow down my spittle?*

The questions in ver. 17 sq. are in some degree a parody on Ps. viii. 5, comp. cxliv. 3, Lam. iii. 23. There it is said that God exalts puny man to a kingly and divine position among His creatures, and distinguishes him continually with new tokens of His favour; here, that instead of ignoring him, He makes too much of him, by selecting him, perishable as he is, as the object of ever new and ceaseless sufferings. כַּמָּוֶל, *quamdiu*, ver. 19, is construed with the *præt.* instead of the *fut.*: how long will it continue that Thou turnest not

away Thy look of anger from me? as the synonymous עַד־מָתַי, *quousque*, is sometimes construed with the *præt.* instead of the *fut.*, e.g. Ps. lxxx. 5. "Until I swallow my spittle" is a proverbial expression for the minimum of time.

20 *Have I sinned—what could I do to Thee?!*

*O Observer of men,*

*Why dost Thou make me a mark to Thee,*

*And am I become a burden to Thee?*

21 *And why dost Thou not forgive my transgression,*

*And put away my iniquity?*

*For now I will lay myself in the dust,*

*And if Thou seekest for me, I am no more.*

"I have sinned" is hypothetical (Ges. § 155, 4, a): granted that I have sinned. According to Ewald and Olsh., מַה אֲפָעֵל־לְךָ defines it more particularly: I have sinned by what I have done to Thee, in my behaviour towards Thee; but how tame and meaningless such an addition would be! It is an inferential question: what could I do to Thee? *i.e.* what harm, or also, since the *fut.* may be regulated by the *præt.*: what injury have I thereby done to Thee? The thought that human sin, however, can detract nothing from the blessedness and glory of God, underlies this. With a measure of sinful bitterness, Job calls God נֹצֵר הָאָדָם, the strict and constant observer of men, *per convicium fere*, as Gesenius not untruly observes, nevertheless without a breach of *decorum divinum* (Renan: *O Espion de l'homme*), since the appellation, in itself worthy of God (Isa. xxvii. 3), is used here only somewhat unbecomingly. מִטָּפֵץ is not the target for shooting at, which is rather מִטָּרֶה (ch. xvi. 12, Lam. iii. 12), but the object on which one rushes with hostile violence (פָּנֵץ). Why, says Job, hast Thou made me the mark of hostile attack, and why am I become a burden to Thee? It is not so in our text; but according to Jewish tradition, עָלַי, which

we now have, is only a כּוּפָּרִים חֲסֵן, *correctio scribarum*,<sup>1</sup> for עֲלִיד, which was removed as bordering on blasphemy: why am I become a burden to Thee, so that Thou shouldest seek to get rid of me? This reading I should not consider as the original, in spite of the tradition, if it were not confirmed by the LXX., εἰμὶ δὲ ἐπὶ σοὶ φερόμενος.

Here Job's second speech ends; it consists of two parts, which the division of chapters has correctly marked. The first part is addressed to the friends (nowhere specially to Eliphaz), because Job at once considers the address of Eliphaz as at the same time an expression of the thoughts and disposition of the two others who remain silent. In the second part he turns direct to God with his complaints, desponding inquiries, and longing for the alleviation of his sufferings before his approaching end. The correct estimate of this second speech of Job depends upon the right understanding of that of Eliphaz. It is not to be supposed that Job in this speech makes too much of his dignity and merit, as that he intends expressly to defend his innocence, or even enter into the controversy (Ew., Löwenth.); for Eliphaz does not at present go so far as to explain his suffering as the suffering commonly inflicted as punishment. When Job (ch. vi. 10) incidentally says that he does not disown the words of the Holy One, it does not deny that his sufferings may be chastisement: on the contrary, Job even allows the possibility that he may have sinned; but since his habitual state is fidelity to God, this assumption is not sufficient to account for his suffering, and he does not see why God should so unmercifully visit such sinfulness instead of pardoning it (ch. vii. 20, 21).

It is not to be objected, that he who is fully conscious of sin cannot consider the strictest divine punishment even of

<sup>1</sup> Vid. the *Commentary on Habakkuk*, S. 206-208; comp. Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, S. 308 ff.

the smallest sin unjust. The suffering of one whose habitual state is pleasing to God, and who is conscious of the divine favour, can never be explained from, and measured according to, his infirmities: the infirmities of one who trusts in God, or the believer, and the severity of the divine justice in the punishment of sin, have no connection with one another. Consequently, when Eliphaz bids Job regard his affliction as chastisement, Job is certainly in the wrong to dispute with God concerning the magnitude of it: he would rather patiently yield, if his faith could apprehend the salutary design of God in his affliction; but after his affliction once seems to him to spring from wrath and enmity, and not from the divine purpose of mercy, after the phantom of a hostile God is come between him and the brightness of the divine countenance, he cannot avoid falling into complaint of unmercifulness. For this the speech of Eliphaz is in itself not to blame: he had most feelingly described to him God's merciful purpose in this chastisement, but he is to blame for not having taken the right tone.

The speech of Job is directed against the unsympathetic and reproving tone which the friends, after their long silence, have assumed immediately upon his first manifestation of anguish. He justifies to them his complaint (ch. iii.) as the natural and just outburst of his intense suffering, desires speedy death as the highest joy with which God could reward his piety, complains of his disappointment in his friends, from whom he had expected affectionate solace, but by whom he sees he is now forsaken, and earnestly exhorts them to acknowledge the justice of his complaint (ch. vi.). But can they? Yes, they might and should. For Job thinks he is no longer an object of divine favour: an inward conflict, which is still more terrible than hell, is added to his outward suffering. For the damned must give glory to God, because they recognise their suffering as just punishment: Job, how-

ever, in his suffering sees the wrath of God, and still is at the same time conscious of his innocence. The faith which, in the midst of his exhaustion of body and soul, still knows and feels God to be merciful, and can call him "my God," like Asaph in Ps. lxxiii.,—this faith is well-nigh overwhelmed in Job by the thought that God is his enemy, his pains the arrows of God. The assumption is false, but on this assumption Job's complaints (ch. iii.) are relatively just, including, what he himself says, that they are mistaken, thoughtless words of one in despair. But that despair is sin, and therefore also those curses and despairing inquiries!

Is not Eliphaz, therefore, in the right? His whole treatment is wrong. Instead of distinguishing between the complaint of his suffering and the complaint of God in Job's outburst of anguish, he puts them together, without recognising the complaint of his suffering to be the natural and unblameable result of its extraordinary magnitude, and as a sympathizing friend falling in with it. But with regard to the complaints of God, Eliphaz, acting as though careful for his spiritual welfare, ought not to have met them with his reproofs, especially as the words of one heavily afflicted deserve indulgence and delicate treatment; but he should have combated their false assumption. First, he should have said to Job, "Thy complaints of thy suffering are just, for thy suffering is incomparably great." In the next place, "Thy cursing thy birth, and thy complaint of God who has given thee thy life, might seem just if it were true that God has rejected thee; but that is not true: even in suffering He designs thy good; the greater the suffering, the greater the glory." By this means Eliphaz should have calmed Job's despondency, so as to destroy his false assumption; but he begins wrongly, and consequently what he says at last so truly and beautifully respecting the glorious issue of a patient endurance of chastisement, makes no impression on Job. He

has not fanned the faintly burning wick, but his speech is a cold and violent breath which is calculated entirely to extinguish it.

After Job has defended the justice of his complaints against the insensibility of the friends, he gives way anew to lamentation. Starting from the wearisomeness of human life in general, he describes the greatness of his own suffering, which has received no such recognition on the part of the friends: it is a restless, torturing death without hope (ch. vii. 1-6). Then he turns to God: O remember that there is no second life after death, and that I am soon gone for ever; therefore I will utter my woe without restraint (vii. 7-11). Thus far (from ch. vi. 1 onwards) I find in Job's speech no trace of blasphemous or sinful despair. When he says (ch. vi. 8-12), How I would rejoice if God, whose word I have never disowned, would grant me my request, and end my life, for I can no longer bear my suffering,—I cannot with Ewald see in it despair rising to madness, which (ch. vii. 10) even increases to frantic joy. For Job's disease was indeed really in the eyes of men as hopeless as he describes it. In an incurable disease, however, imploring God to hasten death, and rejoicing at the thought of approaching dissolution, is not a sin, and is not to be called despair, inasmuch as one does not call giving up all hope of recovery despair.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the book of Job is an oriental book, and therefore some allowance must be made for the intensity and strength of conception of the oriental nature: then that it is a poetical book, and that frenzy and madness may not be also understood by the intensified expression in which poetry, which idealizes the real, clothes pain and joy: finally, that it is an Old Testament book, and that in the Old Testament the fundamental nature of man is indeed sanctified, but not yet subdued; the spirit shines forth as a light in a dark place, but the day, the ever constant con-



sciousness of favour and life, has not yet dawned. The desire of a speedy termination of life (ch. vi. 8-12) is in ch. vii. 7-11 softened down even to a request for an alleviation of suffering, founded on this, that death terminates life for ever. In the Talmud (*b. Bathra*, 16, *a*) it is observed, on this passage, that Job denies the resurrection of the dead (מכאן שכפר איוב בתחיית המתים); but Job knows nothing of a resurrection of the dead, and what one knows not, one cannot deny. He knows only that after death, the end of the present life, there is no second life in this world, only a being in *Sheôl*, which is only an apparent existence = no existence, in which all praise of God is silent, because He no longer reveals himself there as to the living in this world (Ps. vi. 6, xxx. 10, lxxxviii. 11-13, cxv. 17). From this chaotic conception of the other side of the grave, against which even the psalmists still struggle, the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead had not been set forth at the time of Job, and of the author of the book of Job. The restoration of Israel buried in exile (Ezek. xxxvii.) first gave the impulse to it; and the resurrection of the Prince of Life, who was laid in the grave, set the seal upon it. The resurrection of Jesus Christ was first of all the actual overthrow of Hades.

*Mortis seu inferni*, observes Brentius, in accordance with Scripture, *ea conditio est, ut natura sua quoscunque comprehenderit tantisper teneat nec dimittat, dum Christus, filius Dei, morte ad infernum descenderit, h.e. perierit; per hunc enim devicta morte et inferno liberantur quotquot fide renovati sunt.* This great change in the destiny of the dead was incomplete, and the better hope which became brighter and brighter as the advent of death's Conqueror drew near was not yet in existence. For if after death, or what is the same thing, after the descent into *Sheôl*, there was only a non-existence for Job, it is evident that on the one hand he can imagine a life after death only as a return to the present world (such a

return does, however, not take place), on the other hand that no divine revelation said anything to him of a future life which should infinitely compensate for a return to the present world. And since he knows nothing of a future existence, it can consequently not be said that he denies it: he knows nothing of it, and even his dogmatizing friends have nothing to tell him about it. We shall see by and by, how the more his friends torment him, the more he is urged on to the longing for a future life; but the word of revelation, which could alone change desire into hope, is wanting. The more tragic and heart-rending Job's desire to be freed by death from his unbearable suffering is, the more touching and importunate is his prayer that God may consider that now soon he can no longer be an object of His mercy. Just the same request is found frequently in the Psalms, *e.g.* Ps. lxxxix. 48, comp. ciii. 14-16: it involves nothing that is opposed to the Old Testament fear of God. Thus far we can trace nothing of frenzy and madness, and of despair only in so far as Job has given up the hope (שׁוֹמֵר) of his restoration,—not however of real despair, in which a man impatiently and forcibly snaps asunder the bond of trust which unites him to God. If the poet had anywhere made Job to go to such a length in despair, he would have made Satan to triumph over him.

Now, however, the last two strophes follow in which Job is hurried forward to the use of sinful language, ch. vii. 12-16: Am I a sea or a sea-monster, etc.; and ch. vii. 17-21: What is man, that thou accountest him so great, etc. We should nevertheless be mistaken if we thought there were sin here in the expressions by which Job describes God's hostility against himself. We may compare *e.g.* Lam. iii. 9, 10: "He hath enclosed my ways with hewn stone, He hath made my paths crooked; He is to me as a bear lying in wait, a lion in the thicket." It is, moreover, not Job's peculiar sin that he thinks God has changed to an enemy against him; that is the

view which comes from his vision being beclouded by the conflict through which he is passing, as is frequently the case in the Psalms. His sin does not even consist in the inquiries, *How long?* and *Wherefore?* The Psalms in that case would abound in sin. But the sin is that he dwells upon these doubting questions, and thus attributes apparent mercilessness and injustice to God. And the friends constantly urge him on still deeper in this sin, the more persistently they attribute his suffering to his own unrighteousness. Jeremiah (in ch. iii. of the Lamentations), after similar complaints, adds: Then I repeated this to my heart, and took courage from it: the mercies of Jehovah, they have no end; His compassions do not cease, etc. Many of the Psalms that begin sorrowfully, end in the same way; faith at length breaks through the clouds of doubt. But it should be remembered that the change of spiritual condition which, *e.g.* in Ps. vi., is condensed to the narrow limits of a lyric composition of eleven verses, is here in Job worked out with dramatical detail as a passage of his life's history: his faith, once so heroic, only smoulders under ashes; the friends, instead of fanning it to a flame, bury it still deeper, until at last it is set free from its bondage by Jehovah himself, who appears in the whirlwind.

*Bildad's First Speech.*—Chap. viii.

*Schema:* 6. 7. 6. 10. 8. 6.<sup>1</sup>

[Then began Bildad the Shuhite, and said:]

2 *How long wilt thou utter such things,*

*And the words of thy mouth are a boisterous wind?*

<sup>1</sup> We will give an example here of our and Ewald's computation of the strophes. "In the speech of Bildad, ch. viii.," says Ewald, *Jahrb.* ix. 35, "the first part may go to ver. 10, and be divided into three strophes of three lines each." This is right; but that the three strophes consist of three lines, *i.e.* according to Ewald's use of the word, three (*Masoretic*)

- 3 Will God reverse what is right,  
Or the Almighty reverse what is just?  
4 If thy children have sinned against Him,  
He gave them over to the hand of their wickedness.

Bildad<sup>1</sup> begins harshly and self-confidently with *quousque tandem*, עַד־מָתַי instead of the usual מָתַי עַד־מָתַי. מָתַי, not: this, but: of this kind, of such kind, as ch. xii. 3, xvi. 2. רֵיחַ כְּבִיר is poetical, equivalent to רֵיחַ נְדִיחָה, ch. i. 19; רֵיחַ is *gen. comm.* in the signification wind as well as spirit, although more frequently *fem.* than *masc.* He means that Job's speeches are like the wind in their nothingness, and like a boisterous wind in their vehemence. Bildad sees the justice of God, the Absolute One, which ought to be universally acknowledged, impugned in them. In order not to say directly that Job's

verses, is accidental. There are three strophes, of which the first consists of six lines = stichs, the second of seven, the third again of six. "Just so then," Ewald proceeds, "the second part, vers. 11-19, is easily broken up into like three strophes," viz. vers. 11-13, 14-16, 17-19. But strophes must first of all be known as being groups of stichs forming a complete sense (*Sinngruppen*). They are, according to their idea, groups of measured compass, as members of a symmetrical whole. Can we, however, take vers. 14-16 together as such a complete group? In his edition of Job of 1854, Ewald places a semicolon after ver. 16; and rightly, for vers. 16-19 belong inseparably together. Taking them thus, we have in the second part of the speech three groups. In the first, vers. 11-15, the godless are likened to the reed; and his house in prosperity to a spider's web, since its perishableness, symbolized by the reed, is proved (אִשָּׁר, ver. 14). In the second, vers. 16-19, follows the figure of the climbing plant which ver. 19 (וְצִמְחָה) seems to indicate. In the third, vers. 20-22, the figure is given up, and the strophe is entirely *epimythionic*. Of these three groups, the first consists of ten, the second of eight, and the third of six lines = stichs. The schema is therefore as we have given it above: 6. 7. 6. 10. 8. 6. We are only justified in calling these groups strophes by the predominance of the hexastich, which occurs at the beginning, middle, and close of the speech.

<sup>1</sup> Nothing can be said respecting the signification of the name בִּלְדָּד even as a probable meaning, unless perhaps = בִּלְדָּד, *sine mammis*, i.e. brought up without his mother's milk.

children had died such a sudden death on account of their sin, he speaks conditionally. If they have sinned, death is just the punishment of their sin. God has not arbitrarily swept them away, but has justly given them over to the destroying hand of their wickedness,—a reference to the prologue which belongs inseparably to the whole.

- 5 *If thou seekest unto God,  
And makest supplication to the Almighty,*  
6 *If thou art pure and upright ;  
Surely ! He will care for thee,  
And restore the habitation of thy righteousness ;*  
7 *And if thy beginning was small,  
Thy end shall be exceeding great.*

There is still hope for Job (אִתָּהּ, in opposition to his children), if, turning humbly to God, he shows that, although not suffering undeservedly, he is nevertheless pure and upright in his inmost mind. Ver. 6a is so intended; not as Mercier and others explain: *si in posterum puritati et justitiæ studueris*. שָׁחַר אֶל־אֵל, to turn one's self to God earnestly seeking, constr. *prægnans*, like אֶל־אֵל רָרַשׁ, ch. v. 8. Then begins the conclusion with בִּרְעֻתָּהּ, like ch. xiii. 19. "The habitation of thy righteousness" is Job's household cleansed and justified from sin. God will restore that; שָׁלֵם might also signify, give peace to, but restore is far more appropriate. Completely falling back on שָׁלֵם, the *Piel* signifies to recompense, of like being returned for like, and to restore, of a complete covering of the loss sustained. God will not only restore, but increase beyond measure, what Job was and had. The *verb. masc.* after אִתָּהּ here is remarkable. But we need not, with Olsh., read יִשְׁמְרָה: we may suppose, with Ewald, according to § 174, e, that אִתָּהּ is purposely treated as *masc.* It would be a mistake to refer to Prov. xxiii. 32, xxix. 21, in support of it.

- 8 *For inquire only of former ages,  
And attend to the research of their fathers—*  
9 *For we are of yesterday, without experience,  
Because our days upon earth are a shadow—*  
10 *Shall they not teach thee, speak to thee,  
And bring forth words from their heart?*

This challenge calls Deut. xxxii. 7 to mind. לִבְנֵי is to be supplied to בָּנֵי; the conjecture of Olshausen, וּבְנֵי, is good, but unnecessary. אֲנִי is after the Aramaic form of writing, comp. ch. xv. 7, where this and the ordinary form are combined. The "research of their fathers," i.e. which the fathers of former generations have bequeathed to them, is the collective result of their research, the profound wisdom of the ancients gathered from experience. Our ephemeral and shadowy life is not sufficient for passing judgment on the dealings of God; we must call history and tradition to our aid. We are אֲנִי (per aphæresin, the same as אֲנִי), yesterday = of yesterday; it is not necessary to read, with Olshausen, אֲנִי. There is no occasion for us to suppose that ver. 9 is an antithesis to the long duration of the life of primeval man. לִב (ver. 10) is not the antithesis of mouth; but has the pregnant signification of a feeling, i.e. intelligent heart, as we find אִישׁ לֵב, a man of heart, i.e. understanding, ch. xxxiv. 10, 34. יִצְיָא, *promunt*, calls to mind Matt. xiii. 52. Now follow familiar sayings of the ancients, not directly quoted, but the wisdom of the fathers, which Bildad endeavours to reproduce.

- 11 *Doth papyrus grow up without mire?  
Doth the reed shoot up without water?*  
12 *If it is still in luxuriant verdure, when it is not cut off,  
Then before all other grass it withereth.*  
13 *So is the way of all forgetters of God,*

- And the hope of the ungodly perisheth,*  
 14 *Because his hope is cut off,*  
*And his trust is a spider's house :*  
 15 *He leaneth upon his house and it standeth not,*  
*He holdeth fast to it and it endureth not.*

Bildad likens the deceitful ground on which the prosperity of the godless stands to the dry ground on which, only for a time, the papyrus or reed finds water, and grows up rapidly : shooting up quickly, it withers as quickly ; as the papyrus plant,<sup>1</sup> if it has no perpetual water, though the finest of grasses, withers off when most luxuriantly green, before it attains maturity. ספ, which, excepting here, is found only in connection with Egypt (Ex. ii. 3, Isa. xviii. 2; and Isa. xxxv. 7, with the general ספ as specific name for reed), is the proper papyrus plant (*Cypērus pap̄yrus*, L.) : this name for it is suitably derived in the Hebrew from ספ, to suck up (comp. Lucan, iv. 136 : *conseritur bibulā Memphytis cymba papyro*) ; but is at the same time Egyptian, since Coptic *kam*, *cham*, signifies the reed, and 'gôm, 'gôme, a book (like *liber*, from the bark of a tree).<sup>2</sup> ספ, occurring only in the book of Job and in the history of Joseph, as Jerome (*Opp. ed. Vallarsi*, iv. 291) learned from the Egyptians, signifies in their language, *omne quod in palude virens nascitur* : the word is trans-

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Champollion-Figeac, *Aegypten*, German translation, pp. 47 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the *Book of the Dead* (Tottenbuch), ch. 162 : " Chapter on the creation of warmth at the back of the head of the deceased. Words over a young cow finished in pure gold. Put them on the neck of the dead, and paint them also on a new papyrus," etc. Papyrus is here *cama* : the word is determined by papyrus-roll, fastening and writing, and its first consonant corresponds to the Coptic aspirated *g*. Moreover, we cannot omit to mention that this *cama* = *gôme* also signifies a garment, as in a prayer : " O my mother Isis, come and veil me in thy *cama*." Perhaps both ideas are represented in *volumen*, *involucrum* ; it is, however, also possible that *gôme* is to be etymologically separated from *kam*, *cham* = ספ.

ferred by the LXX. into their translation in the form *ἄχει* (*ἄχει*), and became really incorporated into the Alexandrian Greek, as is evident from Isa. xix. 7 (חור, LXX. καὶ τὸ ἄχει τὸ χλωρόν) and Sir. xl. 16 (*ἄχει ἐπὶ παντός ὕδατος καὶ χείλους ποταμοῦ πρὸ παντός χόρτου ἐκτιλήσεται*); the Coptic translates *pi-akhi*, and moreover *ake*, *oke* signify in Coptic *calamus*, *juncus*.<sup>1</sup> ⲡⲕⲓⲁ describes its condition: in a condition in which it is not ready for being gathered. By ⲡⲕⲓⲁ, *quippe*, *quoniam*, this end of the man who forgets God, and of the ⲡⲕⲓⲁ, i.e. the secretly wicked, is more particularly described. His hope ⲙⲓⲣⲓ, from ⲙⲓⲣⲓ, or from ⲙⲓⲣ, *med. o*,<sup>2</sup> in neuter signification *succiditur*. One would indeed expect a figure corresponding to the spider's web rather; and accordingly Hahn, after Reiske, translates: whose hope is a gourd,—an absurd figure, and linguistically impossible, since the gourd or cucumber is ⲙⲓⲣⲓ, which has its cognates in Arabic and Syriac. Saadia<sup>3</sup> translates: whose hope is the thread of the sun. The "thread of the sun" is what we call the *fliegender Sommer* or *Altweibersommer* [Engl. gossamer, fine cob-web which flies about in the air]: certainly a suitable figure, but unsupportable by any parallel in language.<sup>4</sup> We must therefore

<sup>1</sup> The tradition of Jerome, that ⲡⲕⲓⲁ originally signifies *viride*, is supported by the corresponding use of the verb in the signification to be green. So in the *Papyr. Anastas.* No. 3 (in Brugsch, *Aeg. Geographie*, S. 20, No. 115): *naif hesbu achach em sim*, his fields are green with herbs; and in a passage in Young, *Hieroglyphics*, ii. 69: *achechut uoi as em senem't*, the beautiful field is green with senem. The second radical is doubled in *achech*, as in *uot-uet*, which certainly signifies *viriditas*. The substantive is also found represented by three leaf-stalks on one basis; its radical form is *ah*, plural, weaker or stronger aspirated, *ahu* or *akhu*, greenness: comp. Salvolini, *Campagne de Rhamsès le Grand*, p. 117; and Brugsch, above, S. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Both are possible; for even from ⲙⲓⲣⲓ, the mode of writing, ⲙⲓⲣⲓ, is not without numerous examples, as Dan. xi. 12, Ps. xciv. 21, cvii. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Ewald-Dukes' *Beiträge zur Gesch. der ältesten Auslegung*, i. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Saadia's interpretation cannot be supported from the Arabic, for the Arabs call the "*Altweibersommer*" the deceitful thread (*el-chaitt el-*



suppose that יָקוּם, *succiditur*, first gave rise to the figure which follows: as easily as a spider's web is cut through, without offering any resistance, by the lightest touch, or a breath of wind, so that on which he depends and trusts is cut asunder. The name for spider's web, בֵּית עֲכָבִישׁ,<sup>1</sup> leads to the description of the prosperity of the ungodly by בֵּית (ver. 15): His house, the spider's house, is not firm to him. Another figure follows: the wicked in his prosperity is like a climbing plant, which grows luxuriantly for a time, but suddenly perishes.

- 16 *He swells with sap in the sunshine,  
And his branch spreads itself over his garden.*  
17 *His roots intertwine over heaps of stone,  
He looks upon a house of stones.*  
18 *If He casts him away from his place,  
It shall deny him: I have not seen thee.*  
19 *Behold, thus endeth his blissful course,  
And others spring forth from the dust.*

The subject throughout is not the creeping-plant directly, but the ungodly, who is likened to it. Accordingly the ex-

bâtîl), or "sunlime or spittle" (lu'âb es-schems), or خَيْتُور (a word which Ewald, *Jahrb.* ix. 38, derives from خَيْت = יָקוּם, a word which

does not exist, and عَوْر, chaff, a word which is not Arabic), from خَتَرَ, to roam about, to be dispersed, to perish, vanish. From this radical signification, *chaita'ûr*, like many similar old Arabic words with a fulness of figurative and related meaning, is become an expression for a number of different things, which may be referred to the notion of roaming about and dispersion. Among others, as the Turkish *Kamus* says, "That thing which on extremely hot days, in the form of a spider's web, looks as though single threads came down from the atmosphere, which is caused by the thickness of the air," etc. The form brought forward by Ew., written with ت or ث, is, moreover, a fabrication of our lexicons (Fl.).

<sup>1</sup> The spider is called עֲכָבִישׁ, for עֲכָבִישׁ, Arabic 'ancabuth, for which they say 'accabuth in *Saida*, on ancient Phœnician ground, as *atta* (thou) for *anta* (communicated by Wetzstein).

pression of the thought is in part figurative and in part literal, *בֵּית אֲבָנִים יָחִוּהָ* (ver. 17*b*). As the creeper has stones before it, and by its interwindings, as it were, so rules them that it may call them its own (v. Gerlach: the exuberant growth twines itself about the walls, and looks proudly down upon the stony structure); so the ungodly regards his fortune as a solid structure, which he has quickly caused to spring up, and which seems to him imperishable. Ewald translates: he separates one stone from another; *בֵּית*, according to § 217, *g*, he considers equivalent to *בֵּינִי*, and signifies apart from one another; but although *חָוָה* = *חָוָה*, according to its radical idea, may signify to split, pierce through, still *בֵּית*, when used as a preposition, can signify nothing else but, within. Others, *e.g.* Rosenmüller, translate: he marks a place of stones, *i.e.* meets with a layer of stones, against which he strikes himself; for this also *בֵּית* will not do. He who casts away (ver. 18) is not the house of stone, but God. He who has been hitherto prosperous, becomes now as strange to the place in which he flourished so luxuriantly, as if it had never seen him. Behold, that is the delight of his way (course of life), *i.e.* so fashioned, so perishable is it, so it ends. From the ground above which he sprouts forth, others grow up whose fate, when they have no better ground of confidence than he, is the same. After he has placed before Job both the blessed gain of him who trusts, and the sudden destruction of him who forgets, God, as the result of the whole, Bildad recapitulates:

- 20 *Behold! God despiseth not the perfect man,  
And taketh not evil-doers by the hand.*
- 21 *While He shall fill thy mouth with laughing,  
And thy lips with rejoicing,*
- 22 *They who hate thee shall be clothed with shame,  
And the tent of the ungodly is no more.*

“To take by the hand,” *i.e.* ready to help as His own, as Isa.

xli. 13, xlii. 6. Instead of עַל (ver. 21), there is no great difficulty in reading עוֹל: again (as *e.g.* Ps. xlii. 6) He will fill; but even עַל is supportable; it signifies, like ch. i. 18, Ps. cxli. 10, while. On the form עֲלֵה, *vid.* Ges. § 75, 21, *b*. This close of Bildad's speech sounds quite like the Psalms (comp. Ps. cxxvi. 2 with ver. 21; Ps. xxxv. 26, cix. 29, cxxxii. 18, with ver. 22). Bildad does all he can to win Job over. He calls the ungodly עֲלֵה, to show that he tries to think and expect the best of Job.

We have seen that Job in his second speech charges God with the appearance of injustice and want of compassion. The friends act as friends, by not allowing this to pass without admonition. After Job has exhausted himself with his complaints, Bildad enters into the discussion in the above speech. He defends the justice of God against Job's unbecoming words. His assertion that God does not swerve from the right, is so true that it would be blasphemy to maintain against him that God sometimes perverts the right. And Bildad seems also to make the right use of this truth when he promises a glorious issue to his suffering, as a substantial proof that God does not deal unjustly towards him; for Job's suffering does actually come to such an issue, and this issue in its accomplishment destroys the false appearance that God had been unjust or unmerciful towards him. Bildad expresses his main point still more prudently, and more in accordance with the case before him, when he says, "Behold! God does not act hostilely towards the godly, neither does He make common cause with the evil-doer" (ver. 20),—a confession which we must allow is on both sides the most absolute truth. By the most telling figures he portrays the perishableness of the prosperity of those who forget God, and paints in glowing colours on this dark background the future which awaits Job. What is there in this speech of Bildad to censure, and how is it that it does not produce the desired cheering effect on Job?

It is true that nothing that God sends to man proceeds from injustice, but it is not true that everything that He sends to him comes from His justice. As God does not ordain suffering for the hardened sinner in order to *improve* him, because He is *merciful*, so He does not ordain suffering for the truly godly in order to *punish* him, because He is *just*. What we call God's attributes are only separate phases of His indivisible holy being,—*ad extra*, separate modes of His operation in which they all share,—of which, when in operation, one does not act in opposition to another; they are not, however, all engaged upon the same object at one time. One cannot say that God's love manifests itself in action in hell, nor His anger in heaven; nor His justice in the afflictions of the godly, and His mercy in the sufferings of the godless.

Herein is Bildad's mistake, that he thinks his commonplace utterance is sufficient to explain all the mysteries of human life. We see from his judgment of Job's children how unjust he becomes, since he regards the matter as the working out of divine justice. He certainly speaks hypothetically, but in such a way that he might as well have said directly, that their sudden death was the punishment of their sin. If he had found Job dead, he would have considered him as a sinner, whom God had carried off in His anger. Even now he has no pleasure in promising Job help and blessing; accordingly from his point of view he expresses himself very conditionally: If thou art pure and upright. We see from this that his belief in Job's uprightness is shaken, for how could the All-just One visit Job with such severe suffering, if he had not deserved it! Nevertheless אִם כִּן יֵשֶׁר אַתָּה (ver. 6) shows that Bildad thinks it possible that Job's heart may be pure and upright, and consequently his present affliction may not be peremptory punishment, but only disciplinary chastisement. Job must—such is Bildad's counsel—give God glory, and acknowledge that he deserves nothing better;

and thus humbling himself beneath the just hand of God, he will be again made righteous, and exalted.

Job cannot, however, comprehend his suffering as an act of divine justice. His own fidelity is a fact, his consciousness of which cannot be shaken : it is therefore impossible for him to deny it, for the sake of affirming the justice of God ; for truth is not to be supported by falsehood. Hence Bildad's glorious promises afford Job no comfort. Apart from their being awkwardly introduced, they depend upon an assumption, the truth of which Job cannot admit without being untrue to himself. Consequently Bildad, though with the best intention, only urges Job still further forward and deeper into the conflict.

But does, then, the confession of sin on the part of constantly sinful man admit of his regarding the suffering thus appointed to him not merely not as punishment, but also not as chastisement ? If a sufferer acknowledges the excessive hideousness of sin, how can he, when a friend bids him regard his affliction as a wholesome chastisement designed to mortify sin more and more,—how can he suffer himself to fall into such impatience as we see in the case of Job ? The utterances of Job are, in fact, so wild, inconsiderate, and unworthy of God, and the first speeches of Eliphaz and Bildad on the contrary so winning and appropriate, that if Job's affliction ought really to be regarded from the standpoint of chastisement, their tone could not be more to the purpose, nor exhortation and comfort more beautifully blended. Even when one knows the point of the book, one will still be constantly liable to be misled by the speeches of the friends ; it requires the closest attention to detect what is false in them. The poet's mastery of his subject, and the skill with which he exercises it, manifests itself in his allowing the opposition of the friends to Job, though existing in the germ from the very beginning, to become first of all in the course of the controversy so harsh that they look upon Job as a sinner under-

going punishment from God, while in opposition to them he affirms his innocence, and challenges a decision from God.

The poet, however, allows Bildad to make one declaration, from which we clearly see that his address, beautiful as it is, rests on a false basis, and loses its effect. Bildad explains the sudden death of Job's children as a divine judgment. He could not have sent a more wounding dart into Job's already broken heart; for is it possible to tell a man anything more heart-rending than that his father, his mother, or his children have died as the direct punishment of their sins? One would not say so, even if it should seem to be an obvious fact, and least of all to a father already sorely tried and brought almost to the grave with sorrow. Bildad, however, does not rely upon facts, he reasons only *à priori*. He does not know that Job's children were godless; the only ground of his judgment is the syllogism: Whoever dies a fearful, sudden death must be a great sinner; God has brought Job's children to such a death; ergo, etc. Bildad is zealously affected for God, but without understanding. He is blind to the truth of experience, in order not to be drawn away from the truth of his premiss. He does not like to acknowledge anything that furnishes a contradiction to it. It is this same rationalism of superstition or credulity which has originated the false doctrine of the *decretum absolutum*. With the same icy and unfeeling rigorism with which Calvinism refers the divine rule, and all that happens upon earth, to the one principle of absolute divine will and pleasure, in spite of all the contradictions of Scripture and experience, Bildad refers everything to the principle of the divine justice, and, indeed, divine justice in a judicial sense.

There is also another idea of justice beside this judicial one. Justice, צדקה or צדק, is in general God's dealings as ruled by His holiness. Now there is not only a holy will of God concerning man, which says, Be ye holy, for I am holy;

but also a purpose for the redemption of unholy man springing from the holy love of God to man. Accordingly justice is either the agreement of God's dealings with the will of His holiness manifest in the demands of the law, apart from redemption, or the agreement of His dealings with the will of His love as graciously manifested in the gospel ; in short, either retributive or redemptive. If one, as Bildad, in the first sense says, God never acts unjustly, and glaringly maintains it as universally applicable, the mystery of the divine dispensations is not made clear thereby, but destroyed. Thus also Job's suffering is no longer a mystery : Job suffers what he deserves ; and if it cannot be demonstrated, it is to be assumed in contradiction to all experience. This view of his affliction does not suffice to pacify Job, in spite of the glorious promises by which it is set off. His conscience bears him witness that he has not merited such incomparably heavy affliction ; and if we indeed suppose, what we must suppose, that Job was in favour with God when this suffering came upon him, then the thought that God deals with him according to his works, perhaps according to his unacknowledged sins, must be altogether rejected.

God does not punish His own ; and when He chastises them, it is not an act of His retributive justice, but of His disciplinary love. This motive of love, indeed, belongs to chastisement in common with trial ; and the believer who clearly discerns this love will be able to look upon even the severest affliction as chastisement without being led astray, because he knows that sin has still great power in him ; and the medicine, if it is designed to heal him, must be bitter. If, therefore, Bildad had represented Job's affliction as the chastisement of divine love, which would humble him in order the more to exalt him, then Job would have humbled himself, although Bildad might not be altogether in the right. But Bildad, still further than Eliphaz from weakening the erro-

neous supposition of a hostile God which had taken possession of Job's mind, represents God's justice, to which he attributes the death of his children, instead of His love, as the hand under which Job is to humble himself. Thereby the comfort which Job's friend offers becomes to him a torture, and his trial is made still greater ; for his conscience does not accuse him of any sins for which he should now have an angry instead of a gracious God.

But we cannot even here withhold the confession that the composition of such a drama would not be possible under the New Testament. The sight of the suffering of Christ and the future crown has a power in calming the mind, which makes such an outburst of sorrow as that of Job impossible even under the strongest temptation. "If the flesh should murmur and cry out, as Christ even cried out and was feeble," says Luther in one of his consolatory letters (Rambach, *Kleine Schriften Luthers*, S. 627), "the spirit nevertheless is ready and willing, and with sighings that cannot be uttered will cry : Abba, Father, that is : Thy rod is hard, but Thou art still Father ; I know that of a truth." And since the consciousness of sin is as deep as the consciousness of grace, the Christian will not consider any suffering so severe but that he may have deserved severer on account of his sins, even though in the midst of his cross he be unable clearly to recognise the divine love. Even such uncharitable, cold-hearted consolation as that of Eliphaz and Bildad, which bids him regard the divine trial as divine chastisement, cannot exasperate him, since he is conscious of the need for even severer divine chastisement ; he need not therefore allow the uncharitableness of the friends to pass without loving counter-exhortations.

Hengstenberg observes, in the *Excursus* to his *Commentary on the Psalms*, that the righteousness on which the plea to be heard is based in the Psalms, like Ps. xvii., xviii. 21 sqq.,



xliv. 18-23, is indeed a righteousness of conduct resting on righteousness by faith, and also this again is only to be considered as the righteousness of endeavour; that moreover their strong tone does not sound altogether becoming, according to our consciousness. We should expect each time, as it happens sometimes urgently (*e.g.* Ps. cxliii. 2), the other side,—that human infirmity which still clings to the righteous should be made prominent, and divine forgiveness for it implored, instead of the plea for deliverance being based on the incongruity of the affliction with the sufferer's righteousness of life known to God. We cannot altogether adopt such psalms and passages of the Psalms as expressive of our Christian feeling; and we are scarcely able to read them in public without hesitation when we attempt it. Whence is this? Hengstenberg replies, "The Old Testament wanted the most effectual means for producing the knowledge of sin—the contemplation of the sufferings of Christ. The New Testament, moreover, possesses a more powerful agency of the Spirit, which does not search more into the depths of the divine nature than it lays open the depths of sin. Hence in Christian songs the sense of sin, as it is more independent of outward occasions than formerly, so it is also more openly disclosed and more delicate in itself; its ground is felt to lie deeper, and also the particular manifestations. It was good that under the Old Covenant the cords of sinful conviction were not strung too tightly, as the full consolation was still not to be found. The gulph closed up again when the sufferings were gone."<sup>1</sup> Such is the actual connection. And this development of the work of redemption in the history of mankind is repeated in the individual experience of every believer. As the individual, the further he progresses in the divine life, becomes the more deeply conscious of the natural

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Hengstenberg's *Commentary on the Psalms*, iii., Appendix, p. lxiii. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. 1854.

depravity of man, and acquires a keener and still keener perception of its most subtle working ; so in the New Testament, with the disclosure of actual salvation, a deeper insight into sin is also given. When the infinite depth and extent of the kingdom of light is unveiled, the veil is for the first time removed from the abyss of the kingdom of darkness. Had the latter been revealed without the former in the dispensation before Christ, the Old Testament would have been not only what it actually was in connection with the then painful consciousness of sin and death,—a school of severe discipline preparatory to the New Testament, a school of ardent longing for redemption,—but would have become an abyss of despair.

*Job's Second Answer.*—Chap. ix. x.

*Schema:* 6. 6. 6. 10. 10. 9. 8. 9. | 9 (ch. ix. 34-x. 2). 11. 10. 12. 11.

[Then Job began, and said:]

2 *Yea, indeed, I know it is thus,*

*And how should a man be just with God!*

3 *Should he wish to contend with God,*

*He could not answer Him one of a thousand.*

4 *The wise in heart and mighty in strength,*

*Who hath defied Him and remained unhurt?*

Job does not (ver. 2) refer to what Eliphaz said (ch. iv. 17), which is similar, though still not exactly the same ; but “indeed I know it is so” must be supposed to be an assent to that which Bildad had said immediately before. The chief thought of Bildad’s speech was, that God does not pervert what is right. Certainly (נִפְּתָן, *scilicet, nimirum*, like ch. xii. 2),—says Job, as he ironically confirms this maxim of Bildad’s,—it is so : what God does is always right, because God does it ; how could man maintain that he is in the right in opposition to God ! If God should be willing to enter into controversy with man, he would not be able to give Him

information on one of a thousand subjects that might be brought into discussion; he would be so confounded, so disarmed, by reason of the infinite distance of the feeble creature from his Creator. The attributes (ver. 4a) belong not to man (Olshausen), but to God, as ch. xxxvi. 5, Is. xxxi. 2. God is wise of heart (לֵב = *vous*) in putting one question after another, and mighty in strength in bringing to nought every attempt man may make to maintain his own right; to defy Him (הִקְשָׁה, to harden, i.e. עֵרָה, the neck), therefore, always tends to the discomfiture of him who dares to bid Him defiance.

- 5 *Who removeth mountains without their knowing,  
That He hath overturned them in His wrath;*  
6 *Who causeth the earth to shake out of its place,  
And its pillars to tremble;*  
7 *Who commandeth the sun, and it riseth not,  
And seaeth up the stars.*

וְלֹא יָדָע (ver. 5a) may also be translated: without one's perceiving it or knowing why; but it is more natural to take the mountains as the subject. אֲשֶׁר, *quod*, that (not "as," Ewald, § 333, a), after יָדָע, as Ezek. xx. 26, Eccl. viii. 12. Even the lofty mountains are quite unconscious of the change which He effects on them in a moment. Before they are aware that it is being done, it is over, as the *præter.* implies; the destructive power of His anger is irresistible, and effects its purpose suddenly. He causes the earth to start up from its place (comp. Isa. xiii. 13) which it occupies in space (ch. xxvi. 7); and by being thus set in motion by Him, its pillars tremble, i.e. its internal foundations (Ps. civ. 5), which are removed from human perception (ch. xxxviii. 6). It is not the highest mountains, which are rather called the pillars, as it were the supports, of heaven (ch. xxvi. 11), that are meant. By the same almighty will He disposes of the sun and stars. The sun is here called חֶדֶם (as in Judg. xiv. 18 חִקְסָה with

unaccented *ah*, and as Isa. xix. 18 '*Ir ha-Heres* is a play upon עִיר הַתְּרוֹס ('*Hlioupolis*), perhaps from the same root as קִרְיָן, one of the poetical names of gold. At His command the sun rises not, and He seals up the stars, *i.e.* conceals them behind thick clouds, so that the day becomes dark, and the night is not made bright. One may with Schultens think of the Flood, or with Warburton of the Egyptian darkness, and the standing still of the sun at the word of Joshua; but these are only single historical instances of a fact here affirmed as a universal experience of the divine power.

- 8 *Who alone spreadeth out the heavens,  
And walketh upon the heights of the sea;*  
9 *Who made the Bear, Orion, and the Pleiades,  
And the chambers of the south;*  
10 *Who doeth great things past finding out,  
And wondrous things without number.*

Ewald, Hirzel, and others, understand נִפְתָּח (ver. 8) according to Ps. xviii. 10: He letteth down the clouds of heaven, and walketh on the heights of the sea of clouds, *i.e.* high above the towering thunder-clouds. But parallel passages, such as Isa. xl. 22, Ps. civ. 2, and especially Isa. xlv. 24, show that ver. 8a is to be understood as referring to the creation of the firmament of heaven; and consequently נִפְתָּח is to be taken in the sense of *expandere*, and is a form of expression naturally occurring in connection with the mention of the waters which are separated by means of the רִקְיעַ. The question arises, whether עַל here means the sea of waters above the firmament or upon the earth. According to the idea of the ancients, the waters which descend as rain have their habitation far away in the infinite expanse of the sky; the ocean of the sky (Egyptian *Nun-pa*), through which the sun-god *Ra* sails every day, is there. It is possible that "the heights of the sea" here, and perhaps also "the roots of the sea" (ch. xxxvi. 30),

may mean this ocean of the sky, as Hahn and Schlottmann suppose. But it is not necessary to adopt such an explanation, and it is moreover hazardous, since this conception of the celestial *θάλασσα* is not found elsewhere (apart from Apoc. iv. 6, xv. 2, xxii. 1). Why may not *יְהִיבָּ*, which is used of the heights of the clouds (Isa. xiv. 14), be used also of the waves of the sea which mount up towards heaven (Ps. cvii. 26)? God walks over them as man walks on level ground (LXX. *περιπατῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης ὡς ἐπ' ἐδάφους*); they rise or lie calmly beneath His feet according to His almighty will (comp. Hab. iii. 15).

Job next describes God as the Creator of the stars, by introducing a constellation of the northern (the Bear), one of the southern (Orion), and one of the eastern sky (the Pleiades). *שֵׁן*, contracted from *שֵׁנָה*, Arabic *نَعش*, a bier,

is the constellation of seven stars (*septentrio* or *septentriones*) in the northern sky. The Greater and the Lesser Bear form a square, which the Arabs regarded as a bier; the three other stars, *benâth na'sch*, i.e. daughters of the bier (comp. ch. xxxviii. 32), seem to be the mourners. *בְּסֵל* is Orion chained to the sky, which the ancients regarded as a powerful giant, and also as an insolent, foolish fellow<sup>1</sup> (K. O. Müller, *Kleine deutsche Schriften*, ii. 125). *בִּיטָה* is the Pleiades, a constellation consisting of seven large and other smaller stars, Arabic *نُزَيَّا*, which, like the Hebrew (comp.

*كُومَة*, *cumulus*), signifies the heap, cluster (*vid.* ch. xxxviii. 31),

and is compared by the Persian poets to a bouquet formed of jewels. It is the constellation of seven stars, whose rising

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic *جَاهِل* is similar, which combines the significations, an ignorant, foolhardy, and passionate man (*vid.* Fleischer, *Ali's hundred Sprüche*, S. 115 f.).

and setting determined the commencement and end of their voyages (πλειάς, probably = constellation of navigation), and is to be distinguished from the northern *septentriones*. חֲרָרֵי חֵץ are, according to the Targ., the chambers of the constellations on the south side of the heavens, as also most expositors explain them (Mercier : *sidera quæ sunt in altero hemisphærio versus alterum polum antarcticum*), according to which חֵץ, or written defectively חֲץ, would therefore be equivalent to כוכבי הַמָּן ; or perhaps, in a more general meaning, the regions of the southern sky (*penetralia*), which are veiled, or altogether lost to view (Hirzel). In ver 10, Job says, almost *verbatim*, what Eliphaz had said (ch. v. 9). Job agrees with the friends in the recognition of the power of God, and intentionally describes those phases of it which display its terrible majesty. But while the friends deduce from this doctrine the duty of a humble deportment on the part of the sufferer, Job uses it to support the cheerless truth that human right can never be maintained in opposition to the absolute God.

- 11 Behold, He goeth by me and I see not,  
And passeth by and I perceive Him not.
- 12 Behold, He taketh away, who will hold Him back?  
Who will say to Him : What doest Thou ?
- 13 Eloah restraineth not His anger,  
The helpers of Rahab stoop under Him—
- 14 How much less should I address Him,  
Should I choose the right words in answer to Him ;
- 15 Because, though I were right, I could not answer,—  
To Him as my Judge I must make supplication.

God works among men, as He works in nature, with a supreme control over all, invisibly, irresistibly, and is not responsible to any being (Isa. xlv. 9). He does not turn or restrain His anger without having accomplished His purpose.

This is a proposition which, thus broadly expressed, is only partially true, as is evident from Ps. lxxviii. 38. The helpers of *Rahab* must bow themselves under Him. It is not feasible to understand this in a general sense, as meaning those who are ready with boastful arrogance to yield succour to any against God. The form of expression which follows in ver. 14, "much less I," supports the assumption that עֲזָרֵי רַהַב refers to some well-known extraordinary example of wicked enterprise which had been frustrated, notwithstanding the gigantic strength by which it was supported; yet שָׁחֲחוּ may be translated by the present tense, since a familiar fact is used as synonymous with the expression of an universal truth. Elsewhere *Rahab* as a proper name denotes Egypt (Ps. lxxxvii. 4), but it cannot be so understood here, because direct references to events in the history of Israel are contrary to the character of the book, which, with remarkable consistency, avoids everything that is at all Israelitish. But how has Egypt obtained the name of *Rahab*? It is evident from Isa. xxx. 7 that it bears this name with reference to its deeds of prowess; but from Ps. lxxxix. 11, Isa. li. 9, it is evident that *Rahab* properly denotes a sea-monster, which has become the symbol of Egypt, like *tannîn* and *leviathan* elsewhere. This signification of the word is also supported by ch. xxvi. 12, where the LXX. actually translate κῆτος, as here with remarkable freedom, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκάμψθησαν κήτη τὰ ὑπ' οὐρανόν. It is not clear whether these "sea-monsters" denote rebels cast down into the sea beneath the sky, or chained upon the sky; but at any rate the consciousness of a distinct mythological meaning in עֲזָרֵי רַהַב is expressed by this translation (as also in the still freer translation of Jerome, *et sub quo curvantur qui portant orbem*); probably a myth connected with such names of the constellations as Κῆτος and Πλοῖσις (Ewald, Hirz., Schlottm.). The poesy of the book of Job even in other places does not spurn mythological

allusions; and the phrase before us reminds one of the Hindu myth of *Indras'* victory over the dark demon *Vritras*, who tries to delay the descent of rain, and over his helpers. In *Vritras*, as in *וְרִיב*, there is the idea of hostile resistance.

Job compares himself, the feeble one, to these mythical titanic powers in ver. 14. *יָי אֵל* (properly: even that), or even *אֵל* alone (ch. iv. 19), signifies, according as the connection introduces a climax or anti-climax, either *quanto magis* or *quanto minus*, as here: how much less can I, the feeble one, dispute with Him! *אֵלַי*, ver. 15, is best taken, as in ch. v. 5, in the signification *quoniam*. 'The *part. Poel* *כְּשֶׁפֶט* we should more correctly translate "my disputant" than "my judge;" it is *Poel* which Ewald appropriately styles the conjugation of attack: *שֹׁפֵט*, *judicando vel litigando aliquem petere*; comp. Ges. § 55, 1. The *part. Kal* denotes a judge, the *part. Poel* one who is accuser and judge at the same time. On such *Poel*-forms from strong roots, *vid.* on Ps. cix. 10, where *wedōrschu* is to be read, and therefore it is written *וְדָרְשִׁי* in correct Codices.

- 16 *If when I called He really answered,  
I could not believe that He would hearken to me ;*  
17 *He would rather crush me in a tempest,  
And only multiply my wounds without cause ;*  
18 *He would not suffer me to take my breath,  
But would fill me with bitter things.*  
19 *If it is a question of the strength of the strong—: " Be-  
hold here !"*  
*And if of right—: " Who will challenge me ?"*  
20 *Were I in the right, my mouth must condemn me ;  
Were I innocent, He would declare me guilty.*

The answer of God when called upon, *i.e.* summoned, is represented in ver. 16a as an actual result (*præt.* followed by *fut. consec.*), therefore ver. 16b cannot be intended to express: I could not believe that He answers me, but: I



could not believe that He, the answerer, would hearken to me; His infinite exaltation would not permit such condescension. The אשר which follows, ver. 17a, signifies either *quippe qui* or *quoniam*; both shades of meaning are after all blended, as in ver. 15. The question arises here whether הוּא signifies *conterere*, or as cognate form with הִיאֵר, *inhiare*,—a question also of importance in the exposition of the *Protevangeliū*. There are in all only three passages in which it occurs: here, Gen. iii. 15, and Ps. cxxxix. 11. In Ps. cxxxix. 11 the meaning *conterere* is unsuitable, but even the signification *inhiare* can only be adopted for want of a better: perhaps it may be explained by comparison with אָעָר, in the sense of *obvelare*, or as a denominative from הִשָּׁר (the verb of which, הִשָּׁר, is kindred to הִשָּׁר, *flare*) in the signification *obtenebrare*. In Gen. iii. 15, if regarded superficially, the meaning *inhiare* and *conterere* are alike suitable, but the meaning *inhiare* deprives that utterance of God of its prophetic character, which has been recognised from the beginning; and the meaning *conterere*, *contundere*, is strongly supported by the translations. We decide in favour of this meaning also in the present passage, with the ancient translations (LXX. ἐκτρίψῃ, Targ. מִדְּרִיב, *comminuens*). Moreover, it is the meaning most generally supported by a comparison with the dialects, whereas the signification *inhiare* can only be sustained by comparison with הִיאֵר and the Arabic *sāfa* (to sniff, track by scent, to smell); besides, “to assail angrily” (Hirz., Ewald) is an inadmissible contortion of *inhiare*, which signifies in a hostile sense “to seize abruptly” (Schlottm.), properly to snatch, to desire to seize.

Translate therefore: He would crush me in a tempest and multiply (*multiplicaret*), etc., would not let me take breath (*respirare*), but (וְיִמְלֵךְ, Ges. § 155, 1, *e. a.*) fill me (וְיִמְלֵךְ, with *Pathach* with *Rebia mugrasch*) with bitter things (וְיִמְלֵךְ, with *Dag. dirimens*, which gives the word a more pathetic expres-

sion). The meaning of ver. 19 is that God stifles the attempt to maintain one's right in the very beginning by His being superior to the creature in strength, and not entering into a dispute with him concerning the right. הִנֵּה (for הִנֵּנִי as אֵינִי, ch. xv. 23, for אֵינִי): see, here I am, ready for the contest, is the word of God, similar to *quis citare possit me* (in Jer. xlix. 19, l. 44), which sounds as an echo of this passage. The creature must always be in the wrong,—a thought true in itself, in connection with which Job forgets that God's right in opposition to the creature is also always the true objective right. וְ, with suffix, accented to indicate its logical connection, as ch. xv. 6: my own mouth.<sup>1</sup> In חִירֶק the *Chirek* of the *Hiphil* is shortened to a *Sheva*, as 1 Sam. xvii. 25; *vid.* Ges. § 53, rem. 4. The subject is God, not "my mouth" (Schlottom.): supposing that I were innocent, He would put me down as one morally wrong and to be rejected.

- 21 *I am innocent, I know not myself,  
My life is offensive to me.*  
22 *It is all the same—therefore I maintain—:  
The innocent and wicked He destroyeth.*  
23 *If the scourge slay suddenly,  
He laugheth at the melting away of the innocent.*  
24 *Countries are given into the hand of the wicked;  
The countenance of their rulers He veileth—  
Is it not so, who else doeth it?*

Ver. 21 is usually considered to be an affirmation of innocence on the part of Job, though without effect, and even at the peril of his own destruction: "I am innocent, I boldly say it even with scorn of my life" (Schnurr., Hirz., Ewald, Schlottom.). But although וְאֵינִי נֹשֵׁא אֶת נַפְשִׁי may mean: I care

<sup>1</sup> Olshausen's conjecture, וְ, lessens the difficulty in Isa. xxxiv. 16, but here it destroys the strong expression of the violence done to the moral consciousness.

nothing for my soul, *i.e.* my life (comp. Gen. xxxix. 6), its first meaning would be : I know not my soul, *i.e.* myself ; and this sense is also quite in accordance with the context. He is innocent, but the contradiction between his lot and his innocence seems to show that his self-consciousness is deceptive, and makes him a mystery to himself, leads him astray respecting himself ; and having thus become a stranger to himself, he abhors this life of seeming contradictions, for which he desires nothing less than its long continuance (*vid.* ch. vii. 16). The **הֵיא אַחַת הֵיא** which follows we do not explain : “it is all the same to me whether I live or not,” but : it is all one whether man is innocent or not. He himself is a proof of this ; therefore he maintains, etc. It is, however, also possible that this expression, which is similar in meaning to Eccles. ix. 2 (there is one event, **מִקְרָה אֶחָד**, to the righteous and to the wicked), and is well translated in the Targ. by **חַדָּא מְכִילָא הֵיא** (there is one measure of retribution, **מְכִילָא** = **מִדָּה**, **μέτρον**, Matt. vii. 2), refers to what follows, and that “therefore I maintain” is parenthetical (like **אִמְרָתִי**, Ps. cxix. 57 ; **לִי אִמֵּר**, Isa. xlv. 24), and we have translated it accordingly. There is certainly a kind of suspense, and **עַל־כֵּן** introduces an assertion of Job, which is founded upon the fact of the continuance of his own misfortune,—an assertion which he advances in direct contradiction to the friends, and which is expressly censured by Elihu.

In vers. 23 sq., by some striking examples, he completes the description of that which seems to be supported by the conflict he is called to endure. **שֹׁט**, a scourge, signifies a judgment which passes over a nation (Isa. xxviii. 15). It sweeps off the guiltless as well, and therefore Job concludes that God delights in **מִסָּה**, **πειρασμός**, trial (compare above, p. 7, note), or perhaps more correctly the melting away (from **מָסָה**, as ch. vi. 14) of the guiltless, *i.e.* their dissolution in anguish and dismay, their wearing away and despondency. Jerome

rightly remarks that in the whole book Job says *nihil asperius* than what he says in ver. 23. Another example in favour of his disconsolate אַחַת הָיָא is that whole lands are given into the hand of the wicked: the monarch is an evil man, and the countenance of their judges He (God) covers, so that they do not distinguish between right and wrong, nor decide in favour of the former rather than of the latter. God himself is the final cause of the whole: if not, i.e. if it is not so, who can it then be that causes it? אֵל (four times in the book of Job instead of the usual form אֱלֹהִים) is, according to the current opinion, placed *per hyperbaton* in the conditional instead of the interrogative clause; for אֵל אֵל are certainly not, with Hirzel, to be taken together. There is, however, not a proper *hyperbaton*, but אֵל here gives intensity to the question; though not directly as ch. xvii. 15 (Ges. § 153, 2), but only indirectly, by giving intensity to that which introduces the question, as ch. xxiv. 25 and Gen. xxvii. 37; translate therefore: if it really is not so (comp. the Homeric expression εἰ δ' ἄγε). It is indisputable that God, and no one else, is the final cause of this misery, apparently so full of contradiction, which meets us in the history of mankind, and which Job now experiences in himself.

- 25 *My days were swifter than a runner,  
They fled away without seeing prosperity,*  
26 *They shot by as skips of reeds,  
As an eagle which dasheth upon its prey.*  
27 *If my thought is: I will forget my complaint,  
I will give up my dark looks and look cheerful;*  
28 *I shudder at all my pains,  
I feel that Thou dost not pronounce me innocent.*

Such, as described in the preceding strophe, is the lot of the innocent in general, and such (this is the connection) is also Job's lot: his swiftly passing life comes to an end

amidst suffering, as that of an evil-doer whom God cuts off in judgment. In the midst of his present sufferings he has entirely forgotten his former prosperity; it is no happiness to him, because the very enjoyment of it makes the loss of it more grievous to bear. The days of prosperity are gone, have passed swiftly away without *טובה*, i.e. without *lasting* prosperity. They have been swifter *טַיִר*. By reference to ch. vii. 6, this might be considered as a figure borrowed from the weaver's loom, since in the Coptic the threads of the weft (*fila subteminis*) which are wound round the shuttle are called "runners" (*vid. Ges. Thesaurus*); but Rosenmüller has correctly observed that, in order to describe the fleetness of his life, Job brings together that which is swiftest on land (the runners or couriers), in water (fast-sailing ships), and in the air (the swooping eagle). *עַם*, ver. 26a, signifies, in comparison with, *æque ac*. But we possess only a rather uncertain tradition as to the kind of vessels meant by *אֲנִיּוֹת אֲבָה*. Jerome translates, after the Targ.: *naves poma portantes*, by which one may understand the small vessels, according to Edrisi, common on the Dead Sea, in which corn and different kinds of fruits were carried from Zoar to Jericho and to other regions of the Jordan (Stickel, S. 267); but if *אֲבָה* were connected with *אָב*, we might rather expect *אֲבָה*, after the form *אֲשָׁה* (from *אִשׁ*), instead of *אֲבָה*. Others derive the word from *אֲבָה*, *avere*: ships of desire, i.e. full-rigged and ready for sea (Gecatilia in *Ges. Thes. suppl.* p. 62), or struggling towards the goal (Kimchi), or steering towards (Zamora), and consequently hastening to (Symmachus, *σπευδούσας*), the harbour; but independently of the explanation not being suited to the description, it should then be accented *ébéh*, after the form *נָדָה*, *נָצָה*, instead of *ébéh*. The explanation, ships of hostility (Syr.<sup>1</sup>), i.e. ships belong-

<sup>1</sup> Luther also perhaps understood pirate ships, when he translated, "*wie die starcken Schiff.*"

ing to pirates or freebooters, privateers, which would suit the subject well, is still less admissible with the present pointing of the text, as it must then be אִבָּה (אִיבָּה), with which the Egyptian *uba*, against, and adverse (*contrarius*), may be compared. According to Abulwalid (Parchon, Raschi), אִבָּה is the name of a large river near the scene of the book of Job; which may be understood as either the Babylonian name for river אִבִּי, or the Abyssinian name of the Nile, *abái*; and אִבָּה

may be compared with לִבְנָה in relation to the Arabic, *lubna*. But a far more satisfactory explanation is the one now generally received, according to the comparison with the Arabic <sup>أَبَا</sup>أَبَا, a reed (whence *abaa-t-un*, a reed, a so-called *n. unitatis*):

ships made from reeds, like בָּלִי נִמָּה, Isa. xviii. 2, vessels of papyrus, *βapίδες παπύριαι*. In such small ships, with Egyptian tackling, they used to travel as far as Taprobane. These canoes were made to fold together, *plicatiles*, so that they could be carried past the cataracts; Heliodorus describes them as ὀξύδρομώτατα.<sup>1</sup>

The third figure is the eagle, which swoops down upon its prey; מִרְסָה, like Chaldee מִרְסָה, by which the Targ. translates מִרְסָה, Hab. i. 8; Grätz' conjecture of מִרְסָה (which is intended to mean flutters) is superfluous. Just as unnecessary is it, with Olshausen, to change אִם אֶמְרִי into אִם אֶמְרִי: "if my saying (thinking)" is equivalent to, "as often as I say (think)." פָּנִים is here (as in the German phrase, *ein Gesicht machen*)

<sup>1</sup> There is no Egyptian word which can be compared to אִבָּה, whereas *han* (*hani*) or *an* (*ana*) in Egyptian, like the Hebrew אֲנִיָּה, means a ship (*vid.* Chabas, *Le Papyrus magique Harris*, p. 246, No. 826, cf. pp. 33, 47); it is written with the sign for *set* = downwards, since they fastened a stone at the front of the vessel, as was even known to Herodotus, in order to accelerate its speed in descending the river. From this one might conjecture for the passage before us אֲנִיָּה אֶבֶן = swift sailers.

an ill-humoured, distorted, wry face. When Job desires to give up this look of suffering and be cheerful (הִבְלִי, like ch. x. 20, *hilaritatem præ se ferre, vultum hilarem induere*), the certainty that he is not favoured of God, and consequently that he cannot be delivered from his sufferings, all his anguish in spite of his struggles against it comes ever afresh before his mind. It is scarcely necessary to remark that תַּקְנִי is addressed to God, not to Bildad. It is important to notice that Job does not speak of God without at the same time looking up to Him as in prayer. Although he feels rejected of God, he still remains true to God. In the following strophe he continues to complain of God, but without denying Him.

- 29 *If I must be wicked, why do I exert myself in vain?*  
 30 *If I should wash myself with snow water,  
 And make my hands clean with lye,*  
 31 *Then Thou wouldst plunge me into the pit,  
 And my clothes would abhor me.*  
 • 32 *For He is not a man as I, that I should answer Him,  
 That we should go together to judgment.*  
 33 *There is not an arbitrator between us  
 Who should lay his hand upon us both.*

The clause with strongly accented "I" affirms that in relation to God he is from the first, and unchangeably, a wicked, i.e. guilty, man (Ps. cix. 7) (עָשָׂה), to be a wicked man, means either to act as such (ch. x. 15), or to appear as such, be accounted as such, as here and ch. x. 7; *Hiph.*, ver. 20, to condemn). Why, therefore, should he vainly (הִבְלִי, *acc. adv.*, like breath, useless) exert himself by crying for help, and basing his plaint on his innocence? In ver. 30a the *Chethib* is כִּשֵׁי, the *Keri* כִּשֵׁי, as the reverse in Isa. xxv. 10; *mo* itself appears in the signification water (Egyptian *muau*), in the proper names *Moab* and *Moshe* (according to Jablonsky, *ex aqua servatus*); in כִּשֵׁי, however, the *mo* may be under-

stood according to Ges. § 103, 2. This is the meaning—no cleansing, even though he should use snow and בֹר (a vegetable alkali), *i.e.* not even the best-grounded self-justification can avail him, for God would still bring it to pass, that his clearly proved innocence should change to the most horrible impurity. Ewald, Rödiger, and others translate incorrectly: my clothes would make me disgusting. The idea is tame. The *Piel* הָעֵב signifies elsewhere in the book (ch. xix. 19, xxx. 10) to abhor, not to make abhorrent; and the causative meaning is indeed questionable, for הָעֵב (Isa. xlix. 7) signifies loathing, as מְכַסֶּה (ch. xxiii. 18) covering, and Ezek. xvi. 25 certainly borders on the signification “to make detestable,” but הָעֵב may also be in the primary meaning, *abominari*, the strongest expression for that contempt of the beauty bestowed by God which manifests itself by prostitution. Translate: My clothes would abhor me; which does not mean: I should be disgusted with myself (Hirzel); Job is rather represented as naked; him, the naked one, God would—says he—so plunge into the pit that his clothes would conceive a horror of him, *i.e.* start back in terror at the idea of being put on and defiled by such a horrible creature (Schlottm., Oehler). For God is not his equal, standing on the same level with him: He, the Absolute Being, is accuser and judge in one person; there is between them no arbitrator who (or: that he) should lay, etc. Mercier correctly explains: *impositio manus est potestatis signum*; the meaning therefore is: *qui utrumque nostrum velut manu imposita coerceat*.

34 *Let Him take away His rod from me,  
And let His terrors not stupify me.*

35 *Then I would speak and not fear Him,  
For not thus do I stand with myself.*

Ch. x. 1 *My soul is full of disgust with my life,  
Therefore I will freely utter my complaint;*

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*I will speak in the bitterness of my soul.  
 2 I will say to Eloah : Condemn me not ;  
 Let me know wherefore Thou contendest with me !*

The two Optatives, vers. 34 sq., as is frequently the case with the Imper., are followed by the Cohortative as the conclusion (אֲדַבֵּר, therefore will I speak ; whereas וְאֲדַבֵּר might be equivalent to, in order that I may speak) of a conditional antecedent clause. שֶׁבֶט is here the rod with which God smites Job ; comp. ch. xiii. 21. If God would only remove his pain from him for a brief space, so that he might recover himself for self-defence, and if He would not stifle his words as they come freely forth from his lips by confronting him with His overwhelming majesty, then he would fearlessly express himself ; for “not thus am I in myself,” i.e. I am not conscious of such a moral condition as compels me to remain dumb before Him. However, we must inquire whether, according to the context, this special reference and shade of meaning is to be given to לֹא־בִּי. There is a use of כֵּן = nothing, when accompanied by a gesture expressive of contemptuous rejection, Num. xiii. 33 (בְּמַרְכָּן, Isa. li. 6, as nothing) ;<sup>1</sup> and a use of לֹא־בִּי = not only so = not so small, so useless, 2 Sam. xxiii. 5, accompanied by a gesture expressive of the denial of such contempt, according to which the present passage may probably be explained : I am in myself, i.e. according to the testimony of my conscience, not so, i.e. not so morally worthless and devoid of right.

His self-consciousness makes him desire that the possibility of answering for himself might be granted him ; and since he is weary of life, and has renounced all claim for its continuance,

<sup>1</sup> In both these passages (to which Böttcher adds Ps. cxxvii. 2, “so = without anything further”), כֵּן has been considered to be the sing. of כִּנָּה, gnats ; but this sing. is an error, as כִּנָּה, formerly considered to be the sing. of כִּנָּה. The respective sing. are כִּנָּה, כִּנָּה.

he will at least give his complaints free course, and pray the Author of his sufferings that He would not permit him to die the death of the wicked, contrary to the testimony of his own conscience. נִקְטָה is equivalent to נִקְטָה, Ezek. vi. 9, after the usual manner of the contraction of double *Ayin* verbs (Gen. xi. 6, 7; Isa. xix. 3; Judg. v. 5; Ezek. xli. 7; *vid.* Ges. § 67, rem. 11); it may nevertheless be derived directly from נִקְטָה, for this secondary verb formed from the *Niph.* נִקְטָה is supported by the Aramaic. In like manner, in Gen. xvii. 11 perhaps a secondary verb נִקְטָה, and certainly in Gen. ix. 19 and Isa. xxxiii. 3 a secondary verb נִקְטָה (1 Sam. xiii. 11), formed from the *Niph.* נִקְטָה (Gen. x. 18), is to be supposed; for the contraction of the *Niphal* form נִקְטָה into נִקְטָה is impossible; and the supposition which has been advanced, of a root נִקְטָה = נִקְטָה in the signification *diffundere, dissipare* is unnecessary. His soul is disgusted (*fastidio affecta est, or fastidit*) with his life, therefore he will give free course to his plaint (comp. ch. vii. 11). עָלַי is not *super* or *de me*, but, as ch. xxx. 16, *in me*; it belongs to the Ego, as an expression of spontaneity: I in myself, since the Ego is the subject, ὑποκείμενον, of his individuality (*Psychol.* pp. 179 sq.). The inner man is meant, which has the Ego over or in itself; from this the complaint shall issue forth as a stream without restraint; not, however, a mere gloomy lamentation over his pain, but a supplicatory complaint directed to God respecting the peculiar pang of his suffering, viz. this stroke which seems to come upon him from his Judge (יְיָ, *seq. acc.*, as Isa. xxvii. 8), without his being conscious of that for which he is accounted guilty.

- 3 *Doth it please Thee when Thou oppressest,  
That Thou rejectest the work of Thy hands,  
While Thou shinest upon the counsel of the wicked?*  
4 *Hast Thou eyes of flesh,*

- Or seest Thou as a mortal seeth?*  
 5 *Are Thy days as the days of a mortal,*  
*Or Thy years as man's days,*  
 6 *That Thou seekest after my iniquity,*  
*And searchest after my sin?*  
 7 *Although Thou knowest that I am not a wicked man,*  
*And there is none that can deliver out of Thy hand.*

There are three questions by which Job seeks to exhaust every possible way of accounting for his sufferings as coming from God. These attempts at explanation, however, are at once destroyed, because they proceed upon conceptions which are unworthy of God, and opposed to His nature. *Firstly*, Whether it gives Him pleasure (צִיב, agreeable, as ch. xiii. 9) when He oppresses, when He despises, *i.e.* keeps down forcibly or casts from Him as hateful (דֹּנֵן, as Ps. lxxxix. 39, Isa. liv. 6) the work of His hand; while, on the contrary, He permits light to shine from above upon the design of the wicked, *i.e.* favours it? Man is called the יְדֵי of the divine hands, as though he were elaborated by them, because at his origin (Gen. ii. 7), the continuation of which is the development in the womb (Ps. cxxxix. 15), he came into existence in a remarkable manner by the directly personal, careful, and, so to speak, skilful working of God. That it is the morally innocent which is here described, may be seen not only from the contrast (ver. 3c), but also from the fact that he only can be spoken of as oppressed and rejected. Moreover, "the work of Thy hands" involves a negative reply to the question. Such an unloving mood of self-satisfaction is contrary to the bounty and beneficence of that love to which man owes his existence. *Secondly*, Whether God has eyes of flesh, *i.e.* of sense, which regard only the outward appearance, without an insight into the inner nature, or whether He sees as mortals see, *i.e.* judges, *κατὰ*

τὴν σάρκα (John viii. 15) ? Mercier correctly : *num ex facie judicas, ut affectibus ducaris more hominum*. This question also supplies its own negative ; it is based upon the thought that God looketh on the heart (1 Sam. xvi. 7). *Thirdly*, Whether His life is like to the brevity of man's life, so that He is not able to wait until a man's sin manifests itself, but must institute such a painful course of investigation with him, in order to extort from him as quickly as possible a confession of it ? Suffering appears here to be a means of inquisition, which is followed by the final judgment when the guilt is proved. What is added in ver. 7 puts this supposition aside also as inconceivable. Such a mode of proceeding may be conceived of in a mortal ruler, who, on account of his short-sightedness, seeks to bring about by severe measures that which was at first only conjecture, and who, from the apprehension that he may not witness that vengeance in which he delights, hastens forward the criminal process as much as possible, in order that his victim may not escape him. God, however, to whom belongs absolute knowledge and absolute power, would act thus, although, etc. <sup>by</sup>, although, notwithstanding (proceeding from the signification, besides, *insuper*), as ch. xvi. 17 (Isa. liii. 9), xxxiv. 6. God knows even from the first that he (Job) will not appear as a guilty person (<sup>ver</sup>, as in ch. ix. 29) ; and however that may be, He is at all events sure of him, for nothing escapes the hand of God.

That operation of the divine love which is first echoed in "the labour of Thy hands," is taken up in the following strophe, and, as Job contemplates it, his present lot seems to him quite incomprehensible.

8 *Thy hands have formed and perfected me  
Altogether round about, and Thou hast now swallowed  
me up !*

- 9 *Consider now, that Thou hast perfected me as clay,  
And wilt Thou turn me again into dust ?*
- 10 *Hast Thou not poured me out as milk,  
And curdled me as curd ?*
- 11 *With skin and flesh hast Thou clothed me,  
And Thou hast intertwined me with bones and sinews ;*
- 12 *Life and favour Thou hast shown me,  
And Thy care hath guarded my breath.*

The development of the embryo was regarded by the Israelitish Chokma as one of the greatest mysteries (Eccles. xi. 5 ; 2 Macc. vii. 22 sq.). There are two poetical passages which treat explicitly of this mysterious existence : this strophe of the book of Job, and the Psalm by David, cxxxix. 13–16 (*Psychol.* p. 248). The assertion of Scheuchzer, Hoffmann, and Oetinger, that these passages of Scripture “include, and indeed go beyond, all recent *systemata generationis*,” attributes to Scripture a design of imparting instruction,—a purpose which is foreign to it. Scripture nowhere attempts an analysis of the workings of nature, but only traces them back to their final cause. According to the view of Scripture, a creative act similar to the creation of Adam is repeated at the origin of each individual ; and the continuation of development according to natural laws is not less the working of God than the creative planting of the very beginning. Thy hands, says Job, have formed (עָצַב, to cut, carve, fashion ; cognate are חָצַב, קָצַב, without the accompanying notion of toil, which makes this word specially appropriate, as describing the fashioning of the complicated nature of man) and perfected me. We do not translate : made ; for עָשָׂה stands in the same relation to בָּרָא and יָצַר as *perficere* to *creare* and *ingere* (Gen. ii. 2 ; Isa. xliii. 7). יָדָי refers to the members of the body collectively, and כָּלְכָלִי to the whole form. The perfecting as clay implies three things : the earthiness

of the substance, the origin of man without his knowledge and co-operation, and the moulding of the shapeless substance by divine power and wisdom. The primal origin of man, *de limo terræ* (ch. xxxiii. 6; Ps. cxxxix. 15), is repeated in the womb. The figures which follow (ver. 10) describe this origin, which being obscure is all the more mysterious, and glorifies the power of God the more. The *sperma* is likened to milk; the חֲמִץ (used elsewhere of smelting), which Seb. Schmid rightly explains *rem colliquatam fundere et immittere in formam aliquam*, refers to the *nisus formativus* which dwells in it. The embryo which is formed from the *sperma* is likened to חֹמֶץ, which means in all the Semitic dialects cheese (curd). "As whey" (Ewald, Hahn) is not suitable; whey does not curdle; in making cheese it is allowed to run off from the curdled milk. "As cream" (Schlottn.) is not less incorrect; cream is not *lac coagulatum*, which the word signifies. The embryo forming itself from the *sperma* is like milk which is curdled and beaten into shape.

The *consecutio temporum*, moreover, must be observed here. It is, for example, incorrect to translate, with Ewald: Dost Thou not let me flow away like milk, etc. Job looks back to the beginning of his life; the four clauses, vers. 10, 11, under the control of the first two verbs (ver. 8), which influence the whole strophe, are also retrospective in meaning. The *futt.* are consequently like synchronous *imperff.*; as, then, ver. 12 returns to *perff.*, ver. 11 describes the development of the embryo to the full-grown infant, on which Grotius remarks: *Hic ordo est in genitura: primum pellicula fit, deinde in ea caro, duriora paulatim accedunt*, and by ver. 12, the manifestations of divine goodness, not only in the womb, but from the beginning of life and onwards, are intended. The expression "Life and favour (this combination does not occur elsewhere) hast Thou done to me" is zeugmatic: He has given him life, and sustained that life amidst constant

proofs of favour; His care has guarded the spirit (רוח), by which his frame becomes a living and self-conscious being. This grateful retrospect is interspersed with painful reflections, in which Job gives utterance to his feeling of the contrast between the manifestation of the divine goodness which he had hitherto experienced and his present condition. As in ver. 8b., וְהִבֵּלְעֵנִי, which Hirzel wrongly translates: and wilt now destroy me; it is rather: and hast now swallowed me up, *i.e.* drawn me down into destruction, as it were brought me to nought; or even, if in the *fut. consec.*, as is frequently the case, the consecutive and not the aorist signification preponderates: and now swallowest me up; and in ver. 9 (where, though not clear from the syntax, it is clear from the substance that תְּשִׁיבֵנִי is not to be understood as an imperfect, like the *futt.* in vers. 10 sq.): wilt Thou cause me to become dust again? The same tone is continued in the following strophe. Thus graciously has he been brought into being, and his life sustained, in order that he may come to such a terrible end.

- 13 *And such Thou hast hidden in Thy heart,  
I perceive that this was in Thy mind:*
- 14 *If I should sin, Thou wouldst take note of it,  
And not acquit me of my iniquity.*
- 15 *If I should act wickedly, woe unto me!  
And were I righteous, I should not lift up my head,  
Being full of shame and conscious of my misery.*
- 16 *And were I to raise it, Thou wouldst hunt me as a lion,  
And ever display on me Thy wondrous power,*
- 17 *Thou wouldst ever bring fresh witnesses against me,  
And increase Thy wrath against me,  
I should be compelled to withstand continuously advancing  
troops and a host.*

This manifestation of divine goodness which Job has

experienced from the earliest existence seems to him, as he compares his present lot of suffering with it, to have served as a veil to a hidden purpose of a totally opposite character. That purpose—to make this life, which has been so graciously called into existence and guarded thus far, the object of the severest and most condemning visitation—is now manifest. Both *אֵלֶּה* and *זֶה* refer to what is to follow; *זֶה* used of the thought conceived, the purpose cherished, as ch. xxiii. 14, xxvii. 11. All that follows receives a future colouring from this principal clause, “This is what Thou hadst designed to do,” which rules the strophe. Thus ver. 14a is to be rendered: If I had sinned, Thou wouldst have kept me in remembrance, properly *custodies me*, which is here equivalent to *custoditurus eras me*. *שָׁמַר*, with the acc. of the person, according to Ps. cxxx. 3 (where it is followed by the acc. of the sin), is to be understood: to keep any one in remembrance, i.e. to mark him as sinful (Hirzel). This appears more appropriate than *rigide observaturus eras me* (Schlottm.). *וְשָׁמַרְתִּי*, according to Ges. § 121, 4, might be taken for *וְשָׁמַרְתָּ לִּי* (viz. *חַפְזִי*); but this is unnecessary, and we have merely translated it thus for the sake of clearness. His infirmities must not be passed by unpunished; and if he should act wickedly (*רָשָׁע*, of malignant sin, in distinction from *חַטָּא*), woe unto him (comp. *οἰαί μοι*, 1 Cor. ix. 16). According to the construction referred to above, *וְיָדַעְתִּי* is *præt. hypotheticum* (Ges. § 155, 4, a); and the conclusion follows without *ut* *apodosis*: If I had acted rightly, I should not have raised my head, being full of shame and conscious of my misery. The adjectives are not in apposition to *רָשִׁי* (Böttcher), but describe the condition into which he would be brought, instead of being able (according to the ethical principle, Gen. iv. 7) to raise his head cheerfully. *רָאָה* constr. of *רָאָה*, as *שָׁכַח* of *שָׁכַח*. It is needless, with Pisc., Hirz., Böttch., and Ewald, to alter it to *רָאָה*, since *רָאָה* is a verbal adjective like *יָפָה*, *נָכָה*, *קָשָׁה*. Moreover, *וְיָדַעְתִּי*



cannot be imperative (Rosenm., De Wette); for although imperatives, joined by *waw* to sentences of a different construction, do occur (Ps. lxxvii. 2; 2 Sam. xxi. 3), such an exclamation would destroy the connection and tone of the strophe in the present case.

Ver. 16. יִנָּאֵה is hypothetical, like וְזָדַקְתִּי, but put in the future form, because referring to a voluntary act (Ewald, § 357, *b*): and if it (the head) would (nevertheless) exalt itself (נָאֵה, to raise proudly or in joyous self-consciousness), then (without *waw apod.*, which is found in other passages, e.g. ch. xxii. 28) Thou wouldst hunt me like a *shachal* (vid. ch. iv. 10),—Job likens God to the lion (as Hos. v. 14, xiii. 7), and himself to the prey which the lion pursues,—Thou wouldst ever anew show Thyself wonderful at my expense (תִּשְׁכַּח, voluntative form, followed by a future with which it is connected adverbially, Ges. § 142, 3, *b*; תִּתְפַּלֵּא, with *á* in the last syllable, although not in pause, as Num. xix. 12; Ewald, § 141, *c*), i.e. wonderful in power, and inventive by ever new forms of suffering, by which I should be compelled to repent this haughtiness. The witnesses (עֵדִים) that God continually brings forth afresh against him are his sufferings (vid. ch. xvi. 8), which, while he is conscious of his innocence, declare him to be a sinner; for Job, like the friends, cannot think of suffering and sin otherwise than as connected one with the other: suffering is partly the result of sin, and partly it sets the mark of sin on the man who is no sinner. תִּרְבַּ (fut. apoc. Hiph. Ges. § 75, rem. 15) is also the voluntative form: Thou wouldst multiply, increase Thy malignity against me. עַם, *contra*, as also in other passages with words denoting strife and war, ch. xiii. 19, xxiii. 6, xxxi. 13; or where the context implies hostility, Ps. lv. 19, xciv. 16. The last line is a clause by itself consisting of nouns. הַלִּיפּוֹת וְצָבָא is considered by all modern expositors as *hendiadys*, as Mercier translates: *inpetor variis et sibi succedentibus malorum agminibus*; and צָבָא is mostly

taken collectively. Changes and hosts = hosts continuously dispersing themselves, and always coming on afresh to the attack. But is not this form of expression unnatural? By חליפת Job means the advancing troops, and by צבא the main body of the army, from which they are reinforced; the former stands first, because the thought figuratively expressed in חורש and חרב is continued (comp. ch. xix. 12): the enmity of God is manifested against him by ever fresh sufferings, which are added to the one chief affliction. Böttcher calls attention to the fact that all the lines from ver. 14 end in *i*, a rhythm formed by the inflection, which is also continued in ver. 18. This repetition of the pronominal suffix gives intensity to the impression that these manifestations of the divine wrath have special reference to himself individually.

18 *And wherefore hast Thou brought me forth out of the womb?*

*I should have expired, that no eye had seen me,*

19 *I should have been as though I had never been,  
Carried from the womb to the grave.*

20 *Are not my days few? then cease  
And turn from me, that I may become a little cheerful,*

21 *Before I go to return no more  
Into the land of darkness and of the shadow of death,*

22 *The land of deep darkness like to midnight,  
Of the shadow of death and of confusion,  
And which is bright like midnight.*

The question Wherefore? ver. 18a, is followed by *futt.* as *modi conditionales* (Ges. § 127, 5) of that which would and should have happened, if God had not permitted him to be born alive: I should have expired, prop. I ought to expire, conceiving himself as put back to the time of birth (comp. ch. iii. 13, where the *præt.* more objectively expressed what would then have happened). These *modi condit.* are continued in ver. 19:

I should have been (*sc.* in the womb) as though I had not been (comp. the short elliptical<sup>1</sup> expression, Obad. ver. 16), *i.e.* as one who had scarcely entered upon existence, and that only of the earliest (as at conception); I should have been carried (וְהִנֵּל, as ch. xxi. 32) from the womb (without seeing the light as one born alive) to the grave. This detestation of his existence passes into the wish, ver. 20, that God would be pleased at least somewhat to relieve him ere he is swallowed up by the night of Hades. We must neither with the Targ. translate: are not my days few, and vanishing away? nor with Oetinger: will not my fewness of days cease? Both are contrary to the correct accentuation. Olshausen thinks it remarkable that there is not a weaker pausal accent to יָמַי; but such a one is really indirectly there, for *Munach* is here equivalent to *Dechi*, from which it is formed (*vid.* the rule in *Comm. über den Psalter*, ii.<sup>o</sup> 504). Accordingly, Seb. Schmid correctly translates: *nonne parum dies mei? ideo cessa*. The *Keri* substitutes the precative form of expression for the optative: cease then, turn away from me then (*imper. consec.* with *waw* of the result, Ewald, § 235, a); comp. the precative conclusion to the speech, ch. vii. 16, but there is no real reason for changing the optative form of the text. הִשִּׁית (voluntative for הִשֵּׁת, ch. ix. 33) may be supplemented by יָדוּ, עֵינָיו, פָּנָיו, or לָבוּ (ch. vii. 17) (not, however, with Hirz., שִׁבְמוֹ, after ch. ix. 34, which is too far-fetched for the usage of the language, or with Böttch., מִחֲנוּהוּ, *copias suas*); שִׁית can however, like שִׁים, ch. iv. 20, signify to turn one's self to, *se disponere* = to attend to, consequently מִן שִׁית, to turn the attention from, as מִן שָׁעָה, ch. vii. 19, Ps. xxxix. 14 (where, as here, וְאֵבֶלְיָנָה follows).

He desires a momentary alleviation of his sufferings and

<sup>1</sup> כֵּלָא is there = כֵּלָאִשׁר לֹא, like לֵלָא, Isa. lxxv. 1 = לֹאִשׁר לֹא [*vid.* Ges. § 123, 3], and כִּי is used as a conjunction as little as כִּי (*vid.* on Ps. cxxviii. 14).

ease before his descent to Hades, which seems so near at hand. He calls Hades the land of darkness and of the shadow of death. עֲלֵמָה, which occurs for the first time in the Old Testament in Ps. xxiii. 4, is made into a compound from עֲלֵמָה, and is the proper word for the obscurity of the region of the dead, and is accordingly repeated later on. Further, he calls it the land of encircling darkness (עֲפָתָה, defective for עֲפֹתָה, from עָף, *caligare*, and with *He parag.* intensive for עֲפֹתָה, in Amos iv. 13, who also uses הַבְּלִי, ch. v. 9, in common with Job), like midnight darkness. אֶפֶל cannot mean merely the grey of twilight, it is the entire absence of sunlight, ch. iii. 6, xxviii. 3, Ps. xci. 6; comp. Ex. x. 22, where the Egyptian darkness is called חֹשֶׁךְ אֶפֶלָה. Böttch. correctly compares אֶפֶל and נֶפֶל: *mersa ad imum h.e. profunda nox* (the advancing night). Still further he calls it (the land) of the shadow of death, and devoid of order (פְּרִדִּים, ἀπ. λεγ. in the Old Testament, but a common word in the later Hebrew), i.e. where everything is so encompassed by the shadow of death that it seems a chaos, without any visible or distinct outline. It is difficult to determine whether הוֹפֵעַ is to be referred to אֶרֶץ: and which lights (*fut. consec.* as the accent on the *penult.* indicates, the syntax like ch. iii. 21, 23, Isa. lvii. 3); or is to be taken as neuter: and it shines there (= and where it shines) like midnight darkness. Since הוֹפֵעַ (from הָפַע = הָפַע, to rise, shine forth; *vid.* on Ps. xcv. 4), as also הָאֵר, does not occur elsewhere as neuter, we prefer, with Hirzel, to refer it to אֶרֶץ, as being more certain. Moreover, אֶפֶל is here evidently the intensest darkness, *ipsum medullitium umbræ mortis ejusque intensissimum*, as Oetinger expresses it. That which is there called light, i.e. the faintest degree of darkness, is like the midnight of this world; "not light, but darkness visible," as Milton says of hell.

In this speech (ch. ix. x.) Job for the first time discusses the principle on which the attack of the friends is founded.

It is primarily directed against Bildad, but applies also to Eliphaz, for the two hold the same opinion. Therefore, because in the first part of the speech Job does not expressly address him or all the friends, it cannot, with Ewald, be said that it bears the characteristics of a soliloquy. To ch. ix. 28 Job inclines towards the friends; and when he afterwards addresses God, all that he says to God is affected by the manner in which the friends have advanced against him.

The maxim of the friends is: God does not pervert right, *i.e.* He deals justly in all that He does. They conclude from this, that no man, no sufferer, dare justify himself: it is his duty to humble himself under the just hand of God. Job assents to all this, but his assent is mere sarcasm at what they say. He admits that everything that God does is right, and must be acknowledged as right; not, however, because it is right in itself, but because it is the act of the absolute God, against whom no protest uttered by the creature, though with the clearest conviction of innocence, can avail. Job separates goodness from God, and regards that which is part of His very being as a product of His arbitrary will. What God says and does must be true and right, even if it be not true and right in itself. The God represented by the friends is a God of absolute justice; the God of Job is a God of absolute power. The former deals according to the objective rule of right; the latter according to a freedom which, because removed from all moral restraint, is pure caprice.

How is it that Job entertains such a cheerless view of the matter? The friends, by the strong view which they have taken up, urge him into another extreme. On their part, they imagine that in the justice of God they have a principle which is sufficient to account for all the misfortunes of mankind, and Job's in particular. They maintain, with respect to mankind in general (Eliphaz by an example from his own

observation, and Bildad by calling to his aid the wisdom of the ancients), that the ungodly, though prosperous for a time, come to a fearful end; with respect to Job, that his affliction is a just chastisement from God, although designed for his good. Against the one assertion Job's own experience of life rebels; against the other his consciousness rises up with indignation. Job's observation is really as correct as that of the friends; for the history of the past and of the present furnishes as many illustrations of judgments which have suddenly come upon the godless in the height of their prosperity, as of general visitations in which the innocent have suffered with the guilty, by whom these judgments have been incurred. But with regard to his misfortune, Job cannot and ought not to look at it from the standpoint of the divine justice. For the proposition, which we will give in the words of Brentius, *quidquid post fidei justificationem pio acciderit, innocenti accidit*, is applicable to our present subject.

If, then, Job's suffering were not so severe, and his faith so powerfully shaken, he would comfort himself with the thought that the divine ways are unsearchable; since, on the one hand, he cannot deny the many traces of the justice of the divine government in the world (he does not deny them even here), and on the other hand, is perplexed by the equally numerous incongruities of human destiny with the divine justice. (This thought is rendered more consolatory to us by the revelation which we possess of the future life; although even in the later Old Testament times the last judgment is referred to as the adjustment of all these incongruities; *vid.* the conclusion of Ecclesiastes.) His own lot might have remained always inexplicable to him, without his being obliged on that account to lose the consciousness of the divine love, and that faith like Asaph's, which, as Luther says, struggles towards God through wrath and disfavour, as through thorns, yea, even through spears and swords.

Job is passing through conflict and temptation. He does not perceive the divine motive and purpose of his suffering, nor has he that firm and unshaken faith which will keep him from mistaken views of God, although His dispensations are an enigma to him; but, as his first speech (ch. iii.) shows, he is tormented by thoughts which form part of the conflict of temptation. The image of the gracious God is hidden from him, he feels only the working of the divine wrath, and asks, Wherefore doth God give light to the suffering ones?—a question which must not greatly surprise us, for, as Luther says, “There has never been any one so holy that he has not been tormented with this *quare, quare*, Wherefore? wherefore should it be so?” And when the friends, who know as little as Job himself about the right solution of this mystery, censure him for his inquiry, and think that in the propositions: man has no righteousness which he can maintain before God, and God does not pervert the right, they have found the key to the mystery, the conflict becomes fiercer for Job, because the justice of God furnishes him with no satisfactory explanation of his own lot, or of the afflictions of mankind generally. The justice of God, which the friends consider to be sufficient to explain everything that befalls man, Job can only regard as the right of the Supreme Being; and while it appears to the friends that every act of God is controlled by His justice, it seems to Job that whatever God does *must* be right, by virtue of His absolute power.

This principle, devoid of consolation, drives Job to the utterances so unworthy of him, that, in spite of his conviction of his innocence, he must appear guilty before God; because he must be speechless before His terrible majesty,—that if, however, God would only for once so meet him that he could fearlessly address Him, he would know well enough how to defend himself (ch. ix.). After these utterances of his feel-

ing, from which all consciousness of the divine love is absent, he puts forth the touching prayer: Condemn me not without letting me know why Thou dost attack me! (ch. x. 1-7.) As he looks back, he is obliged to praise God, as his Creator and Preserver, for what He has hitherto done for him (ch. x. 8-12); but as he thinks of his present condition, he sees that from the very beginning God designed to vent His wrath upon him, to mark his infirmities, and to deprive him of all joy in the consciousness of his innocence (ch. x. 13-17). He is therefore compelled to regard God as his enemy, and this thought overpowers the remembrance of the divine goodness. If, however, God were his enemy, he might well ask, Wherefore then have I come into being? And while he writhes as a worm crushed beneath the almighty power of God, he prays that God would let him alone for a season ere he passes away into the land of darkness, whence there is no return (x. 18-22).

Brentius remarks that this speech of Job contains *inferni blasphemias*, and explains them thus: *non enim in tanto judicii horrore Deum patrem, sed carnificem sentit*; but also adds, that in passages like ch. x. 8-12 faith raises its head even in the midst of judgment; for when he praises the mercies of God, he does so *spiritu fidei*, and these he would not acknowledge were there not a *fidei scintilla* still remaining. This is true. The groundwork of Job's faith remains even in the fiercest conflict of temptation, and is continually manifest; we should be unable to understand the book unless we could see this *fidei scintilla*, the extinction of which would be the accomplishment of Satan's design against him, glimmering everywhere through the speeches of Job. The unworthy thoughts he entertains of God, which Brentius calls *inferni blasphemias*, are nowhere indulged to such a length that Job charges God with being his enemy, although he fancies Him to be an enraged foe. In spite of the imagined enmity of



God against him, Job nowhere goes so far as to declare enmity on his part against God, so far as בָּרַךְ אֱלֹהִים. He does not turn away from God, but inclines to Him in prayer. His soul is filled with adoration of God, and with reverence of His power and majesty; he can clearly discern God's marvellous works in nature and among men, and His creative power and gracious providence, the workings of which he has himself experienced. But that mystery, which the friends have made still more mysterious, has cast a dark cloud over his vision, so that he can no longer behold the loving countenance of God. His faith is unable to disperse this cloud, and so he sees but one side of the divine character—His Almightyness. Since he consequently looks upon God as the Almighty and the Wrathful One, his feeling alternately manifests itself under two equally tragical phases. At one time he exalts himself in his consciousness of the justice of his cause, to sink back again before the majesty of God, to whom he must nevertheless succumb; at another time his feeling of self-confidence is overpowered by the severity of his suffering, and he betakes himself to importunate supplication.

It is true that Job, so long as he regards his sufferings as a dispensation of divine judgment, is as unjust towards God as he believes God to be unjust towards him; but if we bear in mind that this state of conflict and temptation does not preclude the idea of a temporal withdrawal of faith, and that, as Baumgarten (*Pentat.* i. 209) aptly expresses it, the profound secret of prayer is this, that man can prevail with the Divine Being, then we shall understand that this dark cloud need only be removed, and Job again stands before the God of love as His saint.

*Zophar's First Speech.*—Chap. xi.*Schema* : 11. 6. 6. 6. 11.

[Then began Zophar the Naamathite, and said:]

2 *Shall the torrent of words remain unanswered,*

*And shall the prater be in the right?*

3 *Shall thy vain talking silence the people,*

*So that thou mockest without any one putting thee to shame,*

4 *And sayest: my doctrine is pure,*

*And I am guiltless in Thine eyes?*

5 *But oh that Eloah would speak,*

*And open His lips against thee,*

6 *And make known to thee the secrets of wisdom,*

*That she is twofold in her nature—*

*Know then that Eloah forgetteth much of thy guilt.*

When Job has concluded his long speech, Zophar, the third and most impetuous of the friends, begins. His name, if it is to be explained according to the Arabic Esautish name *el-assfar*,<sup>1</sup> signifies the yellow one (*flavedo*), and the name of the place whence he comes, pleasantness (*amœnitas*). The very beginning of his speech is impassioned. He calls Job's speech רַב דְּבָרִים, a multitude of words (besides here, Prov. x. 19, Eccles. v. 2), and asks whether he is to remain unanswered; לֹא יַעֲנֶה, *responsum non feret*, from יַעֲנֶה, not in the sense of being humbled, but: to be answered (of the suppliant: to be heard = to receive an answer). He calls Job אִישׁ שִׁפְתַּיִם, a prater (distinct from אִישׁ דְּבָרִים, a ready speaker, Ex. iv. 10), who is not in the right, whom one must not allow to have the last word. The questions, ver. 2, are followed by another which is not denoted by the sign of a question, but is only known by the accent: Shall not thy בְּרָדִים, meaningless speeches (from בָּרַד = בָּטָא, βαττολογεῖν),

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Abulfeda's *Historia anteislamica* ed. Fleischer, p. 168.

put men (מְחִים, like other archaisms, e.g. חָבֵל, always without the article) to silence, so that thou darest mock without any one making thee ashamed, i.e. leading thee on *ad absurdum*? Thou darest mock *God* (Hirzel); better Rosenmüller: *nos et Deum*. The mockery here meant is that which Zophar has heard in Job's long speech; mockery at his opponents, in the belief that he is right because they remain silent. The *futt. consec.*, vers. 3 sq., describe the conduct of Job which results from this absence of contradiction. Zophar, in ver. 4, does not take up Job's own words, but means, that one had better have nothing more to do with Job, as he would some day say and think so and so, he would consider his doctrine blameless, and himself in relation to God pure. לָקֵחַ occurs only here in this book; it is a word peculiar to the book of Proverbs (also only Deut. xxxii. 2, Isa. xxix. 24), and properly signifies the act of appropriating, then that which is presented for appropriation, i.e. for learning: the doctrine (similar to שְׁמִיעָה, the hearing, ἀκοή, and then the discourse); we see from the words "my doctrine is pure," which Zophar puts into the mouth of Job, that the controversy becomes more and more a controversy respecting known principles.

Ver. 5. With וְאֵלֹהִים, *verum enim vero*, Zophar introduces his wish that God himself would instruct Job; this would most thoroughly refute his utterances. מִי יֵיךְ is followed by the *infin.*, then by *futt.*, *vid.* Ges. § 136, 1; כִּפְּלָיִים (only here and Isa. xl. 2) denotes not only that which is twice as great, but generally that which far surpasses something else. The subject of the clause beginning with מִי is הָאֵל understood, i.e. divine wisdom: that she is the double with respect to (כִּי, as e.g. 1 Kings x. 23) reality (תְּשִׁיבָה, as ch. v. 12, vi. 13, *essentia, substantia*), i.e. in comparison with Job's specious wisdom and philosophism. Instead of saying: then thou wouldst perceive, Zophar, realizing in his mind that which he has just wished, says imperiously וְיָדָע (an *imper. consec.*, or, as Ewald, § 347, a,

calls it, *imper. futuri*, similar to Gen. xx. 7, 2 Sam. xxi. 3): thou must then perceive that God has dealt far more leniently with thee than thou hast deserved. The causative *הָשִׁיב* (in Old Testament only this passage, and ch. xxxix. 17) denotes here *oblivioni dare*, and the *כֵּן* of *כֵּן הָשִׁיב* is partitive.

- 7 *Canst thou find out the nature of Eloah,  
And penetrate to the foundation of the existence of the  
Almighty?*  
8 *It is as the heights of heaven—what wilt thou do?  
Deeper than Hades—what canst thou know?*  
9 *The measure thereof is longer than the earth,  
And broader than the sea.*

The majority of modern commentators erroneously translate *חָקַר* searching = comprehension, and *תְּכַלִּית* perfection, a meaning which this word never has. The former, indeed, signifies first in an active sense: finding out by search; and then also objectively: the object sought after: "the hidden ground" (Ewald), the depth (here and ch. xxxviii. 16; also, according to Ew., ch. viii. 8, of the deep innermost thought). The latter denotes penetrating to the extreme, and then the extreme, *πέρας*, itself (ch. xxvi. 10, xxviii. 3). In other words: the nature that underlies that which is visible as an object of search is called *חָקַר*; and the extreme of a thing, i.e. the end, without which the beginning and middle cannot be understood, is called *תְּכַלִּית*. The nature of God may be sought after, but cannot be found out; and the end of God is unattainable, for He is both: the Perfect One, *absolutus*; and the Endless One, *infinitus*.

Vers. 8, 9. The feminine form of expression has reference to the divine wisdom (*Chokma*, ver. 6), and amplifies what is there said of its transcendent reality. Its absoluteness is described by four dimensions, like the absoluteness of the love which devised the plan for man's redemption (Eph. iii.

18). The pronoun הִיא, with reference to this subject of the sentence, must be supplied. She is as "the heights of heaven" (comp. on *subst. pro adj.* ch. xxii. 12); what wilt or canst thou do in order to scale that which is high as heaven? In ver. 9a we have translated according to the reading מְדִיָּה with *He mappic*. This feminine construction is a contraction for מְדִיָּתָה, as ch. v. 13, עֲרֻמָּה for עֲרֻמָּתָה; Zech. iv. 2, גִּלְתָּה for גִּלְתָּתָה, and more syncopated forms of a like kind (*vid. Comm. über den Psalter*, i. 225, ii. 172). The reading recorded by the Masora

is, however, מְדִיָּה with *He raph.*, according to which the word seems to be the accusative used adverbially; nevertheless the separation of this *acc. relativus* from its *regens* by the insertion of a word between them (comp. ch. xv. 10) would make a difficulty here where הִיא is wanting, and consequently מְדִיָּה seems to signify *mensura ejus* whichever way it may be written (since *ah raphé* is also sometimes a softened form of the suffix, ch. xxxi. 22; Ewald, § 21, f). The wisdom of God is in its height altogether inaccessible, in its depth fathomless and beyond research, in its length unbounded, in its breadth incomprehensible, stretching out far beyond all human thought.

10 *When He passes by and arrests*

*And calls to judgment, who will oppose Him?*

11 *For He knoweth the men devoid of principle,*

*And seeth wickedness without observing it.*

12 *But before an empty head gaineth understanding,*

*An ass's foal would become a man.*

In יִהְיֶה God is conceived as one who manifests himself by passing to and fro in the powers of nature (in the whirlwind, Isa. xxi. 1). Should He meet with one who is guilty, and seize and bring him to judgment, who then (*waw apod.*) will turn Him back, i.e. restrain Him? הִקְוִיל is used of bringing to

judgment, with reference to the ancient form of trial which was in public, and in which the carrying out of the sentence was partly incumbent on the people (1 Kings xxi. 9 ; Ezek. xvi. 40, xxiii. 46). One might almost imagine that Zophar looks upon himself and the other two friends as forming such an "assembly:" they cannot justify him in opposition to God, since He accounts him guilty. God's mode of trial is summary, because infallible: He knows altogether מַחֲי שְׂוֹא, people who hypocritically disguise their moral nothingness (on this idea, *vid.* on Ps. xxvi. 4); and sees (looks through) אֵן (from the root *án*, to breathe), otherwise grief, with which one pants, in a moral sense worthlessness, without any trace whatever of worth or substance. He knows and sees this moral wretchedness at once, and need not first of all reflect upon it: *non opus habet*, as Abenezra has correctly explained, *ut diu consideret* (comp. the like thought, ch. xxxiv. 23).

Ver. 12 has been variously misinterpreted. Gesenius in his *Handwörterbuch*<sup>1</sup> translates: but man is empty and void of understanding; but this is contrary to the accentuation, according to which אִישׁ נָבוֹב together form the subject. Olshausen translates better: an empty man, on the other hand, is without heart; but the *fut.* cannot be exactly so used, and if we consider that *Piel* has never properly a privative meaning, though sometimes a privative idea (as e.g. פָּקַל, *operam consumere in lapidos, scil. ejiciendos*), we must regard a privative *Niphal* as likewise inadmissible. Stickel translates peculiarly: the man devoid of understanding is enraged against God; but this is opposed to the manifest correlation of נָבוֹב and יָלֵב, which does not indicate the antithesis of an empty and sulky person (Böttcher): the former rather signifies empty, and the latter to acquire heart or marrow (Heidenheim, לֵב, יָקַנָה), so that לֵב fills up the hollow space. Hirzel's rendering partly

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. Lexicon, Engl. edition, s.v. לָבַב Niphal.—Tr.*

bears out the requirement of this correlation : man has understanding like a hollow pate ; but this explanation, like that of Gesenius, violates the accentuation, and produces an affected witticism. The explanation which regards ver. 12 as descriptive of the wholesome effect of the discipline of the divine judgments (comp. Isa. xxvi. 9) is far better ; it does not violate the accent, and moreover is more in accordance with the future form : the empty one becomes discerning thereby, the rough, humane (thus recently Ewald, Heiligst., Schlottm.) ; but according to this explanation, ver. 12 is not connected with what immediately precedes, nor is the peculiarity of the expression fully brought out. Hupfeld opens up another way of interpreting the passage when he remarks, *nil dicto facilius et simplicius* ; he understands 12*a* according to 12*b* : But man is furnished with an empty heart, *i.e.* receives at his birth an empty undiscerning heart, and man is born as a wild ass's colt, *i.e.* as stupid and obstinate. This thought is satisfactorily connected with the preceding ; but here also נָבוֹ is taken as predicate in violation of the accentuation, nor is justice done to the correlation above referred to, and the whole sentence is referred to the portion of man at his birth, in opposition to the impression conveyed by the use of the *fut.* Oehler appears to us to have recognised the right sense : But an empty man is as little endowed with sense, as that a wild ass should ever be born as man—be, so to speak, born again and become a man.<sup>1</sup>

The *waw* in וַיֵּר is just like ch. v. 7, xii. 11, and brings into

<sup>1</sup> Wetzstein explains : " But a man that barks like a dog (*i.e.* rages shamelessly) can become sensible, and a young wild ass (*i.e.* the wildest and roughest creature) be born again as a man (*i.e.* become gentle and civilised)," from נָבוֹ = נָבָה, since נָבָה is the commoner word for "barking" in the Syrian towns and villages, and נָבוֹ, on the other hand, is used among those who dwelt in tents. But we must then point it נָבוֹב, and the antithesis יָלָבֵב is more favourable to the Hebrew meaning, "hollowed out, empty."

close connection the things that are to be compared, as in the form of emblematic proverbs (*vid.* Herzog's *Real Encyklopädie*, xiv. 696): the one will happen not earlier than, and as little as, the other. The *Niphal* נִגַּל, which in Prov. xvii. 17 signifies to become manifest, here borders on the notion of *regenerari*; a regeneration would be necessary if the wild ass should become human,—a regeneration which is inconceivable. It is by nature refractory, and especially when young (נָעַר from עָר, *fut. i* in the signification *vagari, huc illuc discurrere*, of a young, restless, wild, frisking animal). Just so, says Zophar, the vacuum in an empty man is incapable of being filled up,—a side hit at Job, which rebounds on Zophar himself; for the dogma of the friends, which forms the sole contents of their hollowness, can indeed not fill with brightness and peace a heart that is passing through conflict. The peculiarity of the expression is no longer unintelligible; Zophar is the most impassioned of the three friends.

- 13 *But if thou wilt direct thy heart,  
And spread out thy hands to Him—*  
14 *If there is evil in thy hand, put it far away,  
And let not wickedness dwell in thy tents—*  
15 *Then indeed canst thou lift up thy face without spot,  
And shalt be firm without fearing.*

The phrase הִבֵּן לִבִּי signifies neither to raise the heart (Ewald), nor to establish it (Hirz.), but to direct it, *i.e.* give it the right direction (Ps. lxxviii. 8) towards God, 1 Sam. vii. 3, 2 Chron. xx. 33; it has an independent meaning, so that there is no need to supply אֶל־אֵל, nor take וּפָרַשְׁתָּ to be for לְפָנָיו (after the construction in 2 Chron. xxx. 19). To spread out the hands in prayer is פָּרַשׁ (פָּרַשׁ) בְּפָנָיו; פָּרַשׁ is seldom used instead of the more artistic כַּפַּיִם, *palmas, h.e. manus supinas*. The conditional antecedent clause is immediately followed, ver. 14, by a similarly conditional parenthetical clause, which



inserts the indispensable condition of acceptable prayer; the conclusion might begin with הִרְחִיקְהוּ: when thou sendest forth thy heart and spreadest out thy hands to Him, if there is wickedness in thy hand, put it far away; but the antecedent requires a promise for its conclusion, and the more so since the *præt.* and *fut.* which follow מִן, ver. 13, have the force of *futt. exact.*: *si disposueris et extenderis*, to which the conclusion: put it far away, is not suited, which rather expresses a preliminary condition of acceptable prayer. The conclusion then begins with אֲנִי, then indeed, like ch. viii. 6, xiii. 19, comp. vi. 3, with אֲנִי עַתָּה, now indeed; the causal signification of אֲנִי has in both instances passed into the confirmatory (comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 44, Ps. cxviii. 10–12, cxxviii. 2, and on Gen. xxvi. 22): then verily wilt thou be able to raise thy countenance (without being forced to make any more bitter complaints, as ch. x. 15 sq.), without spot, *i.e.* not: without bodily infirmity, but: without spot of punishable guilt, *sceleris et pænæ* (Rosenmüller). בִּן here signifies without (Targ. בִּין), properly: far from, as ch. xxi. 9, 2 Sam. i. 22, Prov. xx. 3. Faultless will he then be able to look up and be firm (פָּצַח from פָּצַח, according to Ges. § 71), *quasi ex ære fusus* (1 Kings vii. 16), one whom God can no longer get the better of.

- 16 *For thou shalt forget thy grief,  
Shalt remember it as waters that have flowed by.*
- 17 *And thy path of life shall be brighter than mid-day;  
If it be dark, it shall become as morning.*
- 18 *And thou shalt take courage, for now there is hope;  
And thou shalt search, thou shalt lie down in safety.*
- 19 *And thou liest down without any one making thee afraid;  
And many shall caress thy cheeks.*
- 20 *But the eyes of the wicked languish,  
And refuge vanisheth from them,  
And their hope is the breathing forth of the soul.*

The grief that has been surmounted will then leave no trace in the memory, like water that flows by (not : water that flows away, as Olshausen explains it, which would be differently expressed; comp. ch. xx. 28 with 2 Sam. xiv. 14). It is not necessary to change **אֶתֶּה בִּי** into **בִּי עֲתָה** (Hirzel); **אֶתֶּה**, as in ver. 13, strengthens the force of the application of this conclusion of his speech. Life (**חַיָּה**, from **חָלַךְ** to glide away, slip, *i.e.* pass away unnoticed,<sup>1</sup> as *αἰών*, both life-time, Ps. xxxix. 6, and the world, Ps. xlix. 2, here in the former sense), at the end of which thou thoughtest thou wert already, and which seemed to thee to run on into dismal darkness, shall be restored to thee (**יָקוּם** with *Munach* on the *ult.* as ch. xxxi. 14, not on the *penult.*) brighter than noon-day (**כִּן**, more than, *i.e.* here : brighter than, as *e.g.* Mic. vii. 4, more thorny than); and be it ever so dark, it shall become like morning. Such must be the interpretation of **הַעֲפָה**. It cannot be a substantive, for it has the accent on the *penult.*; as a substantive it must have been pointed **הַעֲפָה** (after the form **הַעֲדָה**, **הַקִּיפָה**, and the like). It is one of the few examples of the paragogic strengthened voluntative in the third pers., like Ps. xx. 4, Isa. v. 19<sup>2</sup> (Ges. § 48, 3); the cohortative form of the future is used with or without **אֶם** (*vid.* on Ps. lxxiii. 16) in hypothetical antecedent clauses (Ges. § 128, 1). Translate therefore : should it become dark (accordingly correctly accented with *Rebia mugrasch*), from **עָרָה**, to envelope one's self, to darken

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Hupfeld on Ps. xvii. 14, and on the other hand Böttcher, *infer.* § 275 s., who, taking **חָלַךְ** in the sense of rooting into, translates : "the mildew springs up more brilliant than mid-day." But whatever judgment one may form of the primary idea of **חָלַךְ**, this meaning of **חָלַךְ** is too imaginary.

<sup>2</sup> In other instances, as **חָרָה**, Prov. i. 20, viii. 3, and **וְהַעֲפָה**, Ezek. xxiii. 20, the *ah* is not the cohortative form, but either paragogic without special meaning or (so that the *fut.* has a double feminine form) a feminine termination, as is evident in ch. xxii. 21, where the *ah* is combined with the inflection.

(whence עֲפֹתָהּ, ch. x. 22), not : shouldst thou become dark (Schlottm.). The feminine forms are instead of the neuter, like תִּמְטֵיר, it rains, Amos iv. 7 ; הִשְׁבָּה, it becomes dark, Mic. iii. 6 (Ges. § 137, 2).

The *fut.* is followed by *perf. consecutiva* in ver. 18 : And thou shalt take confidence, for there is ground for hope for thee ; הֵן, with the force of real and lasting existence. חִפְּזָה is also *perf. consec.*, and is rightly accented as such. If it were to be interpreted *et si erubueris pudore tranquille cubabis*, it would require the accent on the *penult.*, since it would be a *perf. hypotheticum*. But although the seeming antithesis of חִפְּזָה and לִבְטָחָה (comp. ch. vi. 20) appears to favour this interpretation, it is nevertheless inadmissible, since it introduces a sadness into the promise : granted that thou shouldst be put to shame at this or that prospect ; whereas, if חִפְּזָה be taken in the sense of *scrutari*, as it is used by our poet (ch. iii. 21, xxxix. 29) (not with Böttch., who comp. Eccles. v. 11, in the signification *fodere* = to labour in the field, in which meaning it is not common), the tone of sadness is removed, and the accentuation is duly observed : and thou shalt search about (*i.e.* examine the state of thy household, which is expressed by וַיִּפְקְדֵהָ in ch. v. 24), thou shalt lay thyself down in peace (*i.e.* because thou findest everything in a prosperous condition, and hast no anxiety). This feeling of security against every harm that may befall one's person or property, gained from trust in God, is expressed (ver. 19a) under the figure of the peaceful situation of a herd when removed from danger,—a figure which is borrowed from Lev. xxvi. 6, and is frequently repeated in the prophets (Isa. xvii. 2 ; Zeph. iii. 13). The promises of Zophar culminate in a future exaltation which shall command reverence and inspire trust : *et mulcebunt faciem tuam multi*. הִלָּף, to approach any one in humble entreaty, generally used in reference to God ; less frequently, as here and Ps. xlv. 13, Prov. xix. 6, in reference

to men in high positions. The end of the wicked, on the other hand, is told in ver. 20. Zophar here makes use of the choicest expressions of the style of the prophetic psalms: *כָּלָה*, otherwise frequently used of those who pine away with longing, here and ch. xvii. 5 of eyes that languish with unsatisfied longing; *מִנְהָם* (Aram. *מִנְהָן*), poetic for *מֵהֶם*; *נַפְשׁוֹ*, after the phrase *נָפַח נַפְשׁוֹ*, he breathes forth his soul (Jer. xv. 9, comp. Job xxxi. 39). The meaning is not that death is their only hope, but that every expectation remains unfulfilled; giving up the ghost is that whither all their disappointed hopes tend.

That Zophar, in the mind of the poet, is the youngest of the three speakers, may be concluded from his introducing him last of all, although he is the most impetuous. Zophar manifests a still greater inability than the other two to bring Job to a right state of mind. His standpoint is the same as that of the others; like them, he regards the retributive justice of God as the principle on which alone the divine government in the world is exercised, and to which every act of this government is to be attributed, and it may indeed be assumed to be at work even when the relation of circumstances is mysterious and impenetrably dark to us. This limited view which the friends take of the matter readily accounts for the brevity of their speeches in comparison with Job's. This one *locus communis* is their only theme, which they reiterate constantly in some new and modified form; while the mind of Job is an exhaustless fountain of thought, suggested by the direct experiences of the past. Before the present dispensation of suffering came upon Job, he enjoyed the peace of true godliness, and all his thoughts and feelings were under the control of a consciousness, made certain by his experience, that God makes himself known to those who fear Him. Now, however, his nature, hitherto kept in subjection by divine grace, is let loose in him; the powers of doubt, mis-

trust, impatience, and despondency have risen up ; his inner life is fallen into the anarchy of conflict ; his mind, hitherto peaceful and well-disciplined, is become a wild chaotic confusion ; and hence his speeches, in comparison with those of the friends, are as roaring cataracts to small confined streams. But in this chaos lie the elements of a new creation ; the harsh pertinacity with which the friends maintain their one dogma only tends to give an impulse to it. The new truth, the solution of the mystery, springs from this spiritual battle Job has to fight, from which, although not scathless, he still shall come forth as conqueror.

When, therefore, Zophar regards the speeches of Job, which are the involuntary expression of the severity of his conflict, as a torrent of words, he shows that from the haughty elevation of his narrow dogma he does not understand this form of experience ; and when he reproaches Job by saying, Whoever can babble so much shows that he is not in the right, he makes use of a maxim which is true enough in itself, but its application to Job proceeds from the most uncharitable misconstruction of his suffering friend. As he looks upon Job, who, in the midst of his fierce conflict, struggles after comfort, but thrusts away all false consolation, he regards him as a cavilling opponent because he cuts the knot instead of untying it. He is so blinded by the idea that he is in possession of the key to the mystery, that he malignantly reproaches Job with being an incorrigible "empty-pate." As though there could be hollowness where there is a heart that seethes like metal in the refiner's crucible ; and as though the dogma of the friends, which forms the sole contents of their hollowness, could possibly impart light and peace to a heart so sorely troubled !

Is the dogma of the friends, then, so pure a doctrine (לֵקֶחַ) as that which, according to Zophar's words, Job claims for himself ? On Zophar's side it is maintained that

God always acts in accordance with justice, and Job maintains that God does not always so act. The maxim of the friends is false in the exclusiveness with which they maintain it; the conclusion to which they are urged gives evidence of the fallacy of the premises: they must condemn Job, and consequently become unjust, in order to rescue the justice of God. Job's maxim, on the other hand, is true; but it is so unconnected as it stands, that it may be turned over any moment and changed into a falsehood. For that God does not act everywhere as the Just One is a truth, but that He sometimes acts unjustly is blasphemy. Between these two Job hangs in suspense. For the steadfast consciousness of his innocence proves to him that God does not always act as the Just One; shall he therefore suppose that God deals unjustly with him? From this blasphemous inversion of his maxim, Job seeks refuge in the absolute power of God, which makes that just which is unjust according to the clearest *human* consciousness. This is the feeble thread on which Job's piety hangs. Should this be cut, it would be all over with him. The friends do their best to cut it in twain. Zophar's speech is like a sword-thrust at it.

For while Eliphaz and Bildad with cautious gentleness describe suffering more as chastisement than as punishment, Zophar proceeds more boldly, and demands of Job that he should humble himself, as one who has incurred punishment from God. Of sin on Job's part which may have called down the divine judgment, Zophar knows as little as Job himself. But he wishes that God would grant Job some insight into His infinite wisdom, since he refuses to humble himself. Then he would confess his folly, and see that God not only does not punish him unjustly, but even allows much of his guilt to go unpunished. Job is therefore to turn penitently to God, and to put away that evil which is the cause of his suffering, in order that he may be heard. Then

shall his hopeless condition become bright with hope; whereas, on the other hand, the downfall of the wicked is beyond recovery. Ewald aptly remarks that thus even the promissory concluding words of the speeches of the friends are always more and more equivocal. "Eliphaz just adds a slight caution, Bildad introduces the contrast in a few words, and Zophar adds but a word; all these seem to be as the forerunners of a multitude of similar harsh threatenings, ch. xv. xviii. xx."

What impression will this harsh treatment of Zophar's produce on Job? Job is to humble himself as a sinner who is undergoing the punishment of his sin, though the measure of it is far below the degree of his guilt; and while he does not deny his sinful weaknesses, he is nevertheless convinced that he is righteous, and having as such experienced the favour of God, cannot become an object of punishment. Brentius discriminatingly observes here: *Videntur et Sophar et reliqui amici Hiob prorsus ignorare quid sit aut efficiat Evangelion et fides in promissionem Dei; sic argumentantur contra Hiobem, quasi nullus unquam possit coram Deo fide justificari.* The language is rather too much in accordance with the light of the New Testament; but it is true that the friends know nothing whatever of the condition of a truly righteous man, over whom the law with its curse, or the retributive justice of God, has no power. The interpretation of affliction in accordance with the recognition of this principle is strange to them; and this is just the issue which is developed by the drama in the case of Job—the idea which comes to light in the working out of the plot. Even Job does not perceive the solution of the mystery, but, in the midst of the conflict, is in a state of ignorance which excites compassion; the ignorance of the friends arising from their shallowness of understanding, on the contrary, creates aversion. When Zophar, therefore, wishes that God would grant Job some insight into His infinite wisdom, it is indeed true that Job

is greatly in need of it; but it is self-deceiving pride which leads Zophar to imagine that he has no need of it himself. For this Wisdom which has decreed the suffering of Job is hidden from him also; and yet he does not treat the suffering of his friend as a divine mystery. He explains it as the working of the retributive justice of God; but since he endeavours thus to explain the mystery, he injures his cause, and if possible injures also the slender thread by which Job's faith hangs. For should Job regard his sufferings as a *just* divine retribution, he could then no longer believe on God as the Just One.

*Job's Third Answer.*—Chap. xii.—xiv.

*Schema* : 5. 8. 8. 6. 6. 10. 8. | 4. 8. 10. 10. 6. 6. 6. 7. | 6. 7. 7. 7. 10. 7. 6.

[Then Job began, and said:]

Ch. xii. 2 *Truly then ye are the people,*

*And wisdom shall die with you!*

3 *I also have a heart as well as you;*

*I do not stand behind you;*

*And to whom should not such things be known?*

The admission, which is strengthened by אֲמֵנָה בִּי, truly then (distinct from אֲמֵנָה בִּי, for truly, ch. xxxvi. 4, similar to הִנֵּה בִּי, behold indeed, Ps. cxxviii. 4), is intended as irony: ye are not merely single individuals, but the people = race of men (עַם, as Isa. xl. 7, xlii. 5), so that all human understanding is confined to you, and there is none other to be found; and when once you die, it will seem to have died out. The LXX. correctly renders: *μη ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ ἀνθρωποι μόνοι* (according to the reading of the *Cod. Alex.*); he also has a heart like them, he is therefore not empty, נָבוֹ, ch. xi. 12. Heart is, like ch. xxxiv. 10, comp. נֶלֶב, ch. xi. 12, equivalent to *νοῦς*, *διάνοια*; Ewald's translation, "I also have a head even as



you" ("brains" would better accord with the connection), is a western form of expression, and modern and unbiblical (*vid.* Division "Heart and Head," *Psychol.* iv. § 12). He is not second to them; **נָסַל** כֵּן, like ch. xiii. 2, properly to slip from, to be below any one; **כֵּן** is not the comparative (Ewald). Oetinger's translation is not bad: I cannot slink away at your presence. Who has not a knowledge of such things as those which they, by setting themselves up as defenders of God, have presented to him! **וְהָיָה אִתִּי** is equivalent to **וְדַעְתִּי**, *σύννοια*, Isa. lix. 12.

- 4 *I must be a mockery to my own friend,  
I who called on Eloah and He heard me;  
A mockery—the just, the godly man.*
- 5 *Contempt belongs to misfortune, according to the ideas of  
the prosperous;  
It awaits those who are ready to slip.*
- 6 *The tents of the destroyers remain in peace,  
And those that defy God are prosperous,  
Who taketh Eloah into his hand.*

The synallage of **לְרַעֲיוֹ** for **לְרַעֲיִי** is not nearly so difficult as many others: a laughing-stock to his own friend; comp. Isa. ii. 8, they worship the work of their (his) own hands (**יְדֵיהֶם**). "One who called on Eloah (**לְאֱלֹהִים**), for which **לְאֱלֹהִים** is found in MSS. at ch. xxxvi. 2) and He heard him" is in apposition to the subject; likewise **צַדִּיק תָּמִים**, which is to be explained according to Prov. xi. 5, **צַדִּיק** (**צַדִּיק**, **צַדִּיק**, **צַדִּיק**, to be hard, firm, stiff, straight), is one who in his conduct rules himself strictly according to the will of God; **תָּמִים**, one whose thoughts are in all respects and without disguise what they should be, —in one word: pure. Most old translators (Targ., Vulg., Luther) give **לְרַעֲיוֹ** the signification, a torch. Thus *e.g.* Levi b. Gerson explains: "According to the view of the prosperous and carnally secure, he who is ready for falterings of the feet,

*i.e.* likely to fall, is like a lighted torch which burns away and destroys whatever comes in contact with it, and therefore one keeps aloof from him; but it is also more than this: he is an object of contempt in their eyes." Job might not inappropriately say, that in the eyes of the prosperous he is like a despised, cast-away torch (comp. the similar figure, Isa. xiv. 19, like a branch that is rejected with contempt); and ver. 5*b* would be suitably connected with this if לְמוֹעֵד could be derived from a substantive מֹעֵד, *vacillatio*, but neither the usage of the language nor the *scriptio plena* (after which Jerome translates *tempus statutum*, and consequently has in mind the מוֹעֲדִים, times of festal pilgrimages, which are also called רִגְלִים in later times), nor the vowel pointing (instead of which מֹעֵד would be expected), is favourable to this. מוֹעֲדֵי רֵגֶל signifies *vacillantes pede*, those whose prosperity is shaken, and who are in danger of destruction that is near at hand. We therefore, like Abenezra and modern expositors, who are here happily agreed, take לְמוֹעֵד as composed of ל and מוֹעֵד, a word common to the books of Job (ch. xxx. 24, xxxi. 29) and Proverbs (ch. xxiv. 22), which is compared by the Jewish lexicographers, according both to form and meaning, to מוֹעֵד (ch. xxi. 20) and מוֹעֵד, and perhaps signifies originally dissolution (comp. מוֹדָה), decease (Syr. *f'jodo*, escape; Arab. *faid* or *fid*, dying), fall, then generally calamity, misfortune: contempt (be-fits) misfortune, according to the thoughts (or thinking), idea of the prosperous. The pointing wavers between לְמוֹעֲדֵי and the more authorized לְמוֹעֲדֵי, with which Parchon compares the nouns מוֹעֲדֵי and מוֹעֲדֵי; the ה, like ה in the latter word, has *Dag. lene*, since the punctuation is in this respect not quite consistent, or follows laws at present unknown (comp. Ges. § 21, rem. 2). Ver. 5*b* is now suitably connected: ready (with reference to בָּהֶם) for those who stumble, *i.e.* contempt certainly awaits such, it is ready and waiting for them, נָכוֹן, *ετοιμος*, like Ex. xxxiv. 2.

While the unfortunate, in spite of his innocence, has thus only to expect contempt, the tents, *i.e.* dwellings and possessions, of the oppressor and the marauder remain in prosperity; *יָשְׁלִי* for *יָשֵׁל*, an intensive form used not only in pause (Ps. xxxvi. 8; comp. Deut. xxxii. 37) and with greater distinctives (Num. xxiv. 6; Ps. cxxii. 6), but also in passages where it receives no such accent (Ps. xxxvi. 9, lvii. 2, lxxiii. 2). On *אֱהָלִים*, instead of *אֶהָלִים*, *vid.* Ges. § 93, 6, 3. The verbal clause (ver. 6a) is followed by a substantival clause (6b). *בְּטָחוֹת* is an abstract plural from *בָּטַח*, perfectly secure; therefore: the most care-less security is the portion of those who provoke God (LXX. *παροργίζουσι*);<sup>1</sup> and this is continued in an individualizing form: him who causes Eloah to go into his hand. Seb. Schmid explains this passage in the main correctly: *qui Deum in manu fert h.e. qui manum aut potentiam suam pro Deo habet et licitum sibi putat quodlibet*; comp. Hab. i. 11: "this his strength becomes God to him," *i.e.* he deifies his own power, and puts it in the place of God. But *יָבִיא* signifies, in this connection with *לָיְדוֹ* (not *בִּיְדוֹ*), neither to carry, nor to lead (Gesenius, who compares Ps. lxxiv. 5, where, however, it signifies to cause to go into = to strike into); it must be translated: he who causes Eloah to enter into his hand; from which translation it is clear that not the deification of the hand, but of that which is taken into the hand, is meant. This which is taken into the hand is not, however, an idol (Abenezra), but the sword; therefore: he who thinks after the manner of Lamech,<sup>2</sup> as he takes the iron weapon of attack and defence into his hand, that he needs no other God.

<sup>1</sup> Luther takes *בְּטָחוֹת* as the adverb *מְרִנִּי*: *und toben wider Gott thürstiglich* (*vid.* Vilmar, *Pastoraltheolog. Blätter*, 1861, S. 110-112), according to the Vulg., *et audacter provocant Deum*.

<sup>2</sup> [Comp. *Pentateuch*, vol. i. p. 119, Clark's Foreign Theological Library.—TR.]

- 7 *But ask now even the beasts—they shall teach it thee ;  
And the birds of heaven—they shall declare it to thee :*
- 8 *Or look thoughtfully to the ground—it shall teach it thee ;  
And the fish of the sea shall tell it thee.*
- 9 *Who would not recognise in all this  
That the hand of Jehovah hath wrought this,*
- 10 *In whose hand is the soul of every living thing,  
And the breath of all mankind ? !*

The meaning of the whole strophe is perverted if נַמִּי (ver. 9) is, with Ewald, referred to "the destiny of severe suffering and pain," and if that which precedes is accordingly referred to the testimony of creation to God as its author. Since, as a glance at what follows shows, Job further on praises God as the governor of the universe, it may be expected that the reference is here to God as the creator and preserver of the world, which seems to be the meaning of the words. Job himself expresses the purpose of this hymn of confession, vers. 2 sq., xiii. 1 sq. : he will show the friends that the majesty of God, before which he ought, according to their demands, to humble himself in penitence, is not less known to him than to them ; and with נִאֲמַר, *verum enim vero*, he passes over to this subject when he begins his third answer with the following thought : The perception in which you pride yourselves I also possess ; true, I am an object of scornful contempt to you, who are as little able to understand the suffering of the godly as the prosperity of the godless, nevertheless what you know I also know : ask now, etc. Bildad had appealed to the sayings of the ancients, which have the long experience of the past in their favour, to support the justice of the divine government ; Job here appeals to the absoluteness of the divine rule over creation. In form, this strophe is the counterpart of ch. viii. 8-10 in the speech of Bildad, and somewhat also of ch. xi.

7-9 in that of Zophar. The working of God, which infinitely transcends human power and knowledge, is the sermon which is continuously preached by all created things; they all proclaim the omnipotence and wisdom of the Creator.

The plural בְּהֵמוֹת is followed by the verb that refers to it, in the singular, in favour of which Gen. xlix. 22 is the favourite example among old expositors (Ges. § 146, 3). On the other hand, the verb might follow the collective עֵץ in the plural, according to Ges. § 146, 1. The plural, however, is used only in ver. 8b, because there the verb precedes instead of following its subject. According to the rule Ges. § 128, 2, the jussive form of the fut. follows the imperative. In the midst of this enumeration of created things, שִׁיחַ, as a substantive, seems to signify the plants—and especially as شَيْح even now, in the neighbourhood of Job's ancient habitation, is the name of a well-known plant of the steppe—under whose shade a meagre vegetation is preserved even in the hot season (*vid.* on ch. xxx. 4 sqq.). But (1) שִׁיחַ as subst. is *gen. masc.* (Gen. ii. 5); (2) instead of שִׁיחַ, in order to describe a plant that is found on the ground, or one rooted in the ground, it must be עֵלֶה־הָאָרֶץ or בָּאָרֶץ; (3) the mention of plants between the birds and fishes would be strange. It may therefore be taken as the imperative: speak to the earth (LXX., Targ., Vulg., and most others); or, which I prefer, since the Aramaic construction קָח לִי, *narravit ei*, does not occur elsewhere in Hebrew (although perhaps *implicite*, Prov. vi. 22, חֲשִׁיחַ = חֲשִׁיחַ לךְ, *fabulabitur*, or *confabulabitur tibi*), as a pregnant expression: think, *i.e.* look meditatively to the earth (Ewald), since שִׁיחַ (שִׁיחַ), like הִנֵּה, combines the significations of quiet or articulate meditation on a subject. The exhortation directs attention not to the earth in itself, but to the small living things which move about on the ground, comprehended in the collective name רֶמֶשׂ, syn. שֹׁרֵץ (creeping things), in the record of creation. All these creatures, though

without reason and speech, still utter a language which is heard by every intelligent man. Renan, after Ewald, translates erroneously: *qui ne sait parmi tous ces êtres*. They do not even possess knowledge, but they offer instruction, and are a means of knowledge; אֵל with אֵל, like Gen. xv. 8, xlii. 33, and freq.<sup>1</sup> All the creatures named declare that the hand of Jehovah has made "this," whatever we see around us, τὸ βλεπόμενον, Heb. xi. 3. In the same manner in Isa. lxvi. 2, Jer. xiv. 22, הָאֵלֶּה is used of the world around us. In the hand of God, i.e. in His power, because His workmanship, are the souls of all living things, and the spirit (that which came direct from God) of all men; every order of life, high and low, owes its origin and continuance to Him. אִישׁ is the individual, and in this connection, in which אִישׁ and אִישׁ (= אִישׁ) are certainly not unintentionally thus separated, the individual man. Creation is the school of knowledge, and man is the learner. And this knowledge forces itself upon one's attention: *quis non cognoverit?* The *perf.* has this subjunctive force also elsewhere in interrogative clauses, e.g. Ps. xi. 3 (*vid.* on Gen. xxi. 7). That the name of God, JEHOVAH, for once escapes the poet here, is to be explained from the phrase "the hand of Jehovah hath made this," being a somewhat proverbial expression (comp. Isa. xli. 20, lxvi. 2).

Job now refers to the sayings of the fathers, the authority of which, as being handed down from past generations, Bildad had maintained in his opposition to Job.

- 11 *Shall not the ear try sayings,*  
*As the palate tasteth food?*
- 12 *Among the ancients is wisdom,*  
*And long life is understanding.*
- 13 *With Him is wisdom and strength;*  
*Counsel and understanding are His.*

<sup>1</sup> Yet comp. on ch. xxxv. 15.

The meaning of ver. 11 is, that the sayings (פִּלְפִּי, ch. viii. 10, comp. v. 27) of the ancients are not to be accepted without being proved; the *waw* in פִּלְפִּי is *waw adaequationis*, as ch. v. 7, xi. 12, therefore equivalent to *quemadmodum*; it places together for comparison things that are analogous: The ear, which is used here like αἰσθητήριον (Heb. v. 14), has the task of searching out and testing weighty sayings, as the palate by tasting has to find out delicious and suitable food; this is indicated by הָ, the *dat. commodi*. So far Job recognises the authority of these traditional sayings. At any rate, he adds (ver. 12): wisdom is to be expected from the hoary-headed, and length of life is understanding, *i.e.* it accompanies length of life. "Length of days" may thus be taken as the subject (Ewald, Olsh.); but אֵל may also, with the old translations and expositors, be carried forward from the preceding clause: ἐν δὲ πολλῶν βίῳ ἐπιστήμη (LXX.). We prefer, as the most natural: long life is a school of understanding. But—such is the antithesis in ver. 13 which belongs to this strophe—the highest possessor of wisdom, as of might, is God. Ewald inserts two self-made couplets before ver. 12, which in his opinion are required both by the connection and "the structure of the strophe;" we see as little need for this interpolation here as before, ch. vi. 14b. וְעַיִן and הָ, which are placed first for the sake of emphasis, manifestly introduce an antithesis; and it is evident from the antithesis, that the One who is placed in contrast to the many men of experience is God. Wisdom is found among the ancients, although their sayings are not to be always implicitly accepted; but wisdom belongs to God as an attribute of His nature, and indeed absolutely, *i.e.* on every side, and without measure, as the piling up of synonymous expressions implies: חֲכָמָה, which perceives the reason of the nature, and the reality of the existence, of things; עֵצָה, which is never perplexed as to the best way of attaining its purpose; יִתְבָּרָה,

which can penetrate to the bottom of what is true and false, sound and corrupt (comp. 1 Kings iii. 9); and also *נְבוֹנָה*, which is able to carry out the plans, purposes, and decisions of this wisdom against all hindrance and opposition.

In the strophe which follows, from his own observation and from traditional knowledge (ch. xiii. 1), Job describes the working of God, as the unsearchably wise and the irresistibly mighty One, both among men and in nature.

- 14 *Behold, He breaketh down and it cannot be built again,  
He shutteth up, and it cannot be opened.*  
15 *Behold, He restraineth the waters and they dry up,  
And He letteth them out and they overturn the earth.*  
16 *With Him is might and existence,  
The erring and the deceiver are His.*

God is almighty, and everything in opposition to Him powerless. If He break down (any structure whatever), it can never be rebuilt; should He close upon any one (i.e. the dungeon, as perhaps a cistern covered with a stone, Lam. iii. 53, comp. Jer. xxxviii. 6; *לֵךְ* with reference to the depth of the dungeon, instead of the usual *בָּעֵר*), it (that which is closed from above) cannot be opened again. In like manner, when He desires to punish a land, He disposes the elements according to His will and pleasure, by bringing upon it drought or flood. *עָצָר*, *coercet*, according to the correct Masoretic mode of writing *עָצָר* with dagesh in the Ssade, in order clearly to distinguish in the pronunciation between the forms *j'a-ssor* and *jaa'ssor* (*עָצָר*);<sup>1</sup> *יִבְשֵׁי* (for which Abulwalid writes *יִבְשֵׁי*) is a defective form of writing according to Ges. § 69, 3, 3; the form *יִיבְשֵׁי* with the similarly pointed *fut. consec.*, 1 Sam. xxv. 12, form a pair (*יָגַד*) noted by the Masora. By *יִיבְשֵׁי*, which is ascribed to God, is here to be understood that which

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* my notice of Bär's *Psalter-Ausgabe*, *Luth. Zeitschr.* 1863, 3; and comp. Keil on Lev. iv. 13 (*Pentat.* vol. ii. p. 307, Clark's transl.).



really exists, the real, the objective, knowledge resting on an objective actual basis, in contrast with what only appears to be; so that consequently the idea of vers. 16a and 13a is somewhat veiled; for the primary notion of חֲכָמָה is thickness, solidity, purity, like πυκνότης.<sup>1</sup> This strophe closes like the preceding, which favours our division. The line with עֲמֵל is followed by one with לֵל, which affirms that, in the supremacy of His rule and the wisdom of His counsels, God makes evil in every form subservient to His designs.

- 17 *He leadeth away counsellors stripped of their robes,  
And maketh judges fools.*
- 18 *The authority of kings He looseth,  
And bindeth their loins with bands.*
- 19 *He leadeth away priests stripped of their robes,  
And overthroweth those who are firmly established.*
- 20 *He removeth the speech of the eloquent,  
And taketh away the judgment of the aged.*
- 21 *He poureth contempt upon princes,  
And maketh loose the girdle of the mighty.*

In vers. 17, 19, שׁוּלֵל is added to מוֹלִיךְ as a conditional accusative; the old expositors vary in the rendering of this word; at any rate it does not mean: chained (Targ. on ver. 17), from שָׁלַל (שָׁרַל), which is reduplicated in the word שִׁשְׁלֶכֶת, a chain, a word used in later Hebrew than the language of the Old Testament (שָׁרָשָׁרָה is the Old Testament word); nor is it: taken as booty, made captive (LXX. αἰχμαλώτους; Targ. on ver. 19, בְּבוֹיָא, in the quality of spoil) = מְשׁוּלָל; but

<sup>1</sup> The primary notion of חֲכָמָה, חֲכָמָה, is, to be thick, firm, solid, as the prim. notion of سَخَفٌ (to be foolish, silly) is to be thin, loose, not holding together (as a bad texture). The same fundamental notions are represented in the expression of moral qualities (in distinction from intellectual) by رَسَخٌ, رَشَعَ, and رَسَخٌ, رَشَعَ, رَسَخٌ, رَشَعَ.

it is a neuter adjective closely allied to the idea of the verb, *exutus*, not however *mente* (deprived of sense), but *vestibus*; not merely barefooted (Hirz., Oehler, with LXX., Mic. i. 8, ἀνπόδερως), which is the meaning of מְחֻלְּל, but: stripped of their clothes with violence (*vid.* Isa. xx. 4), stripped in particular of the insignia of their power. He leads them half-naked into captivity, and takes away the judges as fools (יְחֻלְּלִים, *vid.* Psychol. p. 343), by destroying not only their power, but the prestige of their position also. We find echoes of this utterance respecting God's paradoxical rule in the world in Isa. xl. 23, xlv. 25; and Isaiah's oracle on Egypt, ch. xix. 11-15, furnishes an illustration in the reality.

It is but too natural to translate ver. 18: the bands of kings He looses (after Ps. cxvi. 16, פָּתַחַת לְמוֹסָרִי, Thou hast loosed my bands); but the relation of the two parts of the verse can then not be this: He unchains and chains kings (Hirz., Ew., Heiligst., Schlottm.), for the *fut. consec.* יִמְאָסֵר requires a contrast that is intimately connected with the context, and not of mere outward form: fetters in which kings have bound others (מְלָכִים, *gen. subjectivus*) He looses, and binds *them* in fetters (Raschi),—an explanation which much commends itself, if מְסִיפֵר could only be justified as the construct of מוֹסֵר by the remark that “the *o* sinks into *u*” (Ewald, § 213, c). מוֹסֵר does not once occur in the signification *vinculum*; but only the *plur.* מוֹסֵרִים and מוֹסֵרוֹת, *vincula*, accord with the usage of the language, so that even the pointing מוֹסֵר proposed by Hirzel is a venture. מְסִיפֵר, however, as constr. of מוֹסֵר, correction, discipline, rule (*i.e.* as the domination of punishment, from יָסַר, *castigare*), is an equally suitable sense, and is probably connected by the poet with פָּתַחַת (a word very familiar to him, ch. xxx. 11, xxxix. 5, xli. 6) on account of its relation both in sound and sense to מוֹסֵרִים (comp. Ps. cv. 22). The English translation is correct: *He*

*looseth the authority of kings.* The antithesis is certainly lost, but the thoughts here moreover flow on in synonymous parallelism.

Ver. 19. It is unnecessary to understand בְּהַנִּיחַ, after 2 Sam. viii. 18, of high officers of state, perhaps privy councillors; such priest-princes as Melchizedek of Salem and Jethro of Midian are meant. אֲתֵינִים, which denotes inexhaustible, *perennis*, when used of waters, is descriptive of nations as invincibly independent, Jer. v. 15, and of persons as firmly-rooted and steadfast. נִאֲמָנִים, such as are tested, who are able to speak and counsel what is right at the fitting season, consequently the ready in speech and counsel. The derivation, proposed by Kimchi, from נָאֵם, in the sense of *deserti*, would require the pointing נִאֲמָנִים. טַעַם is taste, judgment, tact, which knows what is right and appropriate under the different circumstances of life, 1 Sam. xxv. 33. יָקָר is used exactly as in Hos. iv. 11. Ver. 21a is repeated verbatim, Ps. cvii. 40; the trilogy, Ps. cv.-cvii., particularly Ps. cvii., is full of passages similar to the second part of Isaiah and the book of Job (*vid. Psalter*, ii. 117). אֲפִיקִים (only here and ch. xli. 7) are the strong, from אָפַק, to hold together, especially to concentrate strength on anything. חֲזָז (only here, instead of חָזַק, not from חָזַק, which is an imaginary root, but from חָזַק, according to Fürst equivalent to אָפַק, to lace, bind) is the girdle with which the garments were fastened and girded up for any great exertion, especially for desperate conflict (Isa. v. 27). To make him weak or relaxed, is the same as to deprive of the ability of vigorous, powerful action. Every word is here appropriately used. This tottering relaxed condition is the very opposite of the intensity and energy which belongs to "the strong." All outward and inward power is subject to God: He gives or takes it away according to His supreme will and pleasure.

- 22 *He discovereth deep things out of darkness,  
And bringeth out to light the shadow of death ;*  
 23 *He giveth prosperity to nations and then destroyeth them,  
Increase of territory to nations and then carrieth them  
away ;*  
 24 *He taketh away the understanding of the chief people of  
the land,  
And maketh them to wander in a trackless wilderness ;*  
 25 *They grope in darkness without light,  
He maketh them to stagger like a drunken man.*

The meaning of ver. 22 in this connection can only be, that there is nothing so finely spun out that God cannot make it visible. All secret plans of the wicked, all secret sins, and the deeds of the evil-doer though veiled in deep darkness, He bringeth before the tribunal of the world. The form of writing given by the Masora is עֲמוּקוֹת with *koph raphatum*, consequently plur. from עָמוּק, like עֲרוּמִים, עֲנֻמִּים, עֲזֻזִּים, not from עָמַק.<sup>1</sup> The LXX. translates כִּשְׁנֵי πλανῶν, as it is also explained in several Midrash-passages, but only by a few Jewish expositors (Jachja, Alschech) by מִטְּעָה. The word, however, is not כִּשְׁנֵי, but כִּשְׁנֵי with ש *sinistrum*, after which in Midrash Esther it is explained by מְנִירִי; and Hirzel correctly interprets it of upward growth (Jerome after the Targ. unsuitably, *multiplicat*), and שִׁמְחָה, on the other hand, of growth in extent. The latter word is falsely explained by the Targ. in the sense of *expandere rete*, and Abenezra also falsely explains: He scatters nations, and brings them to their original peace. The verb שָׁמַח is here connected with לָ, as הִפְתָּה (Gen. ix. 27); both signify to

<sup>1</sup> Kimchi in his *Wörterbuch* adopts the form עֲמוּקוֹת, but gives Abulwalid as an authority for the lengthened form, which, according to the Masora on Lev. xiii. 3, 25, is the traditional. The two exceptions where the form occurs with a long vowel are Prov. xxiii. 27 and this passage.

make a wider and longer space for any one, used here of the ground where they dwell and rule. The opposite, in an unpropitious sense, is הִנָּחָה, which is used here, as 2 Kings xviii. 11, in a similar sense with הִנָּלָה (*abducere*, i.e. in *servitutum*). We have intentionally translated נָחַם nations, עַם people; for נָחַם, as we shall show elsewhere, is the mass held together by the ties of a common origin, language, and country; (עַם), עַם, the people bound together by unity of government, whose *membra præcipua* are consequently called רֵאשֵׁי הָעָם. הָאָרֶץ is, in this connection, the country, although elsewhere, as Isa. xxiv. 4, comp. xlii. 5, עַם הָאָרֶץ signifies also the people of the earth or mankind; for the Hebrew language expresses a country as a portion of the earth, and the earth as a whole, by the same name. Job dwells longer on this tragic picture, how God makes the star of the prosperity of these chiefs to set in mad and blind self-destruction, according to the proverb, *quem Deus perdere vult prius dementat*. This description seems to be echoed in many points in Isaiah, especially in the oracle on Egypt, ch. xix. (e.g. בְּשִׁכּוֹר, xix. 14). The connection לֹא יָדַךְ בְּתוֹךְ לֹא is not genitival; but לֹא יָדַךְ is either an adverbial clause appended to the verb, לֹא חָקַר אֵל, ch. xxxiv. 24, לֹא בָנִים, 1 Chron. ii. 30, 32, or, which we prefer as being more natural, and on account of the position of the words, a virtual adjective: in a trackless waste, as לֹא אִישׁ, ch. xxxviii. 26; לֹא עֲבוֹת, 2 Sam. xxiii. 4 (Olsh.).

Job here takes up the tone of Eliphaz (comp. ch. v. 13 sq.). Intentionally he is made to excel the friends in a recognition of the absolute majesty of God. He is not less cognizant of it than they.

- Ch. xiii. 1 *Lo, mine eye hath seen all,  
Mine ear hath heard and marked it.*  
2 *What ye know do I know also,  
I do not stand back behind you.*

Job has brought forward proof of what he has stated at the commencement of this speech (ch. xii. 3), that he is not inferior to them in the knowledge of God and divine things, and therefore he can now repeat as proved what he maintains. The plain לֵב, which in other passages, with the force of לְכָל, signifies *omnes* (Gen. xvi. 12; Isa. xxx. 5; Jer. xlv. 12) and *omnia* (ch. xlii. 2; Ps. viii. 7; Isa. xlv. 24), has the definite sense of *hæc omnia* here. אָזְנִי (ver. 1b) is not after the Aramaic manner *dat. pro acc. objecti*: my ear has heard and comprehended it (*id*); but *dat. commodi*, or perhaps only *dat. ethicus*: and has made it intelligible to itself (*sibi*); אֲנִי of the apprehension accompanying perception. He has a knowledge of the exalted and glorious majesty of God, acquired partly from his own observation and partly from the teachings of others. He also knows equal to (*instar*) their knowledge, i.e. he has a knowledge (יָדָעַתִּי as the idea implied in it, e.g. like Ps. lxxxii. 5) which will bear comparison with theirs. But he will no longer contend with them.

- 3 *But I would speak to the Almighty,  
And I long to reason with God.*
- 4 *And ye however are forgers of lies,  
Physicians of no value are ye all.*
- 5 *Oh that ye would altogether hold your peace,  
It would be accounted to you as wisdom.*
- 6 *Hear now my instruction,  
And hearken to the answers of my lips!*

He will no longer dispute with the friends; the more they oppose him, the more earnestly he desires to be able to argue his cause before God. וְאֵלֶּיךָ (ver. 3) is disjunctive, like ἀλλὰ, and introduces a new range of thoughts; LXX. οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ, *verum enim vero*. True, he has said in ch. ix. that no one can maintain his cause before God; but his confidence in God grows in proportion as his distrust of the friends in-

creases ; and at the same time, the hope is begotten that God will grant him that softening of the terror of His majesty which he has reserved to himself in connection with this declaration (ch. ix. 34, comp. xiii. 20 sq.). The *infin. absol.* הוֹכִיחַ, which in ch. vi. 25 is used almost as a substantive, and indeed as the subject, is here in the place of the object, as *e.g.* Isa. v. 5, lviii. 6 : to prove, *i.e.* my cause, to God (לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, like ver. 15, לִפְנֵי יְהוָה) I long. With הִמָּלֵךְ (ver. 4) the antithesis is introduced anew : I will turn to God, you on the contrary (καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ). Since the verb הִמָּלֵךְ, from its primary meaning to spread on, smear on (whence *e.g.* Talmudic הִמָּלֵךְ, the act of throwing on, as when plastering up the cracks of an oven), cogn. הִמָּלַח (whence הִמָּלַח, plaster, and perhaps also in the signification tasteless, ch. vi. 6 = sticky, greasy, slimy), does not signify, at least not at first, *consuere*, but *assuere* (without any relation of root with הִמָּלַח), we explain, not with Olshausen and others, *concinnatores mendacii*, such as sew together lies as patchwork ; but with Hirzel and others, *assutores mendacii*, such as patch on lies, *i.e.* charge falsely, since they desire throughout to make him out to be a sinner punished according to his desert. This explanation is also confirmed by ch. xiv. 17. Another explanation is given by Hupfeld : *sarcinatores falsi* = *inanes, inutiles*, so that שָׁקַר signifies what lies = what deceives, as in the parallel member of the verse לֵאמֹר, <sup>1</sup> nothingness, and also עָקַל (ch. xvi. 2) in a similar connection, is not an objective but attributive genitive ; but Ps. cxix. 69 is decisive against this interpretation of שָׁקַר שְׁכָר. The parallelism is not so exactly adjusted, as *e.g.* even רִפְּאֵי does not on account of the parallel with שְׁכָר signify patchers,

<sup>1</sup> In the Talmudic, the jugular vein, the cutting of which produces death, is called מַלְלָה (later עַצֵּב, عَصَب), according to which (*b. Chullin* 121a) it is explained : healers of the jugular artery, *i.e.* those who try to heal what is incurable, therefore charlatans, — a strange idea, which has arisen from the defective form of writing מַלְלָה. The LXX. translates *λατα κακῶν*.

πάπται, but: they are not able to heal Job's wounds with the medicine of consolation; they are *medici nihili*, useless physicians. Prov. xvii. 28, "Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise," applies to them, *si tacuisses, sapiens mansisses*; or, as a Rabbinical proverb of similar meaning, quoted by Heidenheim, 'says, הלאות בהשנה השנה, "the fatigue of comprehension is comprehension," i.e. the silent pause before a problem is half the solution. The jussive form וְתָהִי, it would be (Ges. § 128, 2), is used in the conclusion of the wish. Thus he challenges them to hear his תוֹכַחַת (תוֹכִיחָה) and his רְבוֹת. Hirzel is quite right when he says the former does not mean defence (justification), nor the latter proofs (counter-evidence); תוֹכַחַת is, according to its signification (*significatus*, in distinction from *sensus*), ἐλεγχος, *correctio* (LXX., Vulg.), and here not so much refutation and answer, as correction in an ethical sense, in correspondence with which רבוֹת is also intended of reproaches, reproofs, or reprimands.

- 7 Will ye speak what is wrong for God,  
And speak what is deceitful for Him?
- 8 Will ye be partial for Him,  
Or will ye play the part of God's advocates?
- 9 Would it be pleasant if He should search you out,  
Or can ye jest with Him, as one jesteth with men?
- 10 He will surely expose you  
If ye secretly act with partiality.
- 11 Will not His majesty confound you,  
And His fear fall upon you?

Their advocacy of God—this is the thought of this strophe—is an injustice to Job, and an evil service rendered to God, which cannot escape undisguised punishment from Him. They set themselves up as God's advocates (רִיב לְאֵל, like רִיב לַבַּעַל, Judg. vi. 31), and at the same time accept His person, *acipiunt* (as in *acceptus = gratus*), or lift it up, i.e.



favour, or give preference to, His person, viz. at the expense of the truth: they are partial in His favour, as they are twice reminded and given to understand by the *fut. energeticum* פִּתְּוִה. The addition of וְיִצְחָק (ver. 10b) implies that they conceal their better knowledge by the assumption of an earnest tone and bearing, expressive of the strongest conviction that they are in the right. They know that Job is not a flagrant sinner; nevertheless they deceive themselves with the idea that he is, and by reason of this delusion they take up the cause of God against him. Such perversion of the truth in *majorem Dei gloriam* is an abomination to God. When He searches them, His advocates, out (וְיִצְחָק, as Prov. xxviii. 11), they will become conscious of it; or will God be mocked, as one mocketh mortal men? Comp. Gal. vi. 7 for a similar thought. לִחְיֵה is *inf. absol.* after the form פִּתְּוִה, and וְיִצְחָק is also to be derived from לִחְיֵה, and is *fut. Hiph.*, the preformative not being syncopated, for וְיִצְחָק (Gen. § 53, rem. 7); not *Piel*, from לִחְיֵה (as 1 Kings xviii. 27), with the doubling of the middle radical resolved (Olsh. in his *Lehrb.* S. 577). God is not pleased with *κατρελα* (John xvi. 2) which gives the honour to Him, but not to truth, such *ζηλος Θεοῦ ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν* (Rom. x. 2), such advocacy contrary to one's better knowledge and conscience, in which the end is thought to sanctify the means. Such advocacy must be put to shame and confounded when He who needs no concealment of the truth for His justification is manifest in His נִחָה, i.e. not: in the kindling of His wrath (after Judg. xx. 38, Isa. xxx. 27), but: in His exaltation (correctly by Ralbag: וְיִצְחָק וְיִצְחָק), and by His direct influence brings all untruth to light. It is the boldest thought imaginable, that one dare not have respect even to the person of God when one is obliged to lie to one's self. And still it is also self-evident. For God and truth can never be antagonistic.

- 12 *Your memorable words are proverbs of dust,  
Your strongholds are become strongholds of clay!*
- 13 *Leave me in peace, and I will speak,  
And let what will come on me.*
- 14 *Wherefore should I bear my flesh in my teeth?—  
No, indeed! I take my soul in my hands.*
- 15 *Behold, He slayeth me—I wait for Him:  
I will only prove my way before Him.*
- 16 *Even this would be my salvation,  
That a hypocrite dare not appear before Him.*

The words by which they exhort and warn him are called וְכִרְיִים, not because they recall the experience and teaching of the ancients (Hirz.), but as sayings to which attention and thought should be given, with the tone of וְכִרְיָה, ch. iv. 7 (Hahn); as סֵפֶר זִכְרוֹן, Mal. iii. 16, the book of remembrance; and סֵפֶר זִכְרוֹת, Esth. vi. 1, the book of memorabilia or memoranda. These their *loci communes* are proverbs of ashes, i.e. proverbs which, in respect to the present case, say nothing, passing away like ashes (אֶפֶר = vanity, Isa. xlv. 20). While ver. 12a says what their speeches, with the weighty *nota bene*, are, ver. 12b says what their נְבִים become; for לְ always denotes a κύριος = γένεσις, and is never the exponent of the predicate in a simple clause.<sup>1</sup> Like the Arabic ظَرْفٌ, signifies a boss, back, then protection, bulwark, rampart: their arguments or proofs are called נְבִים (עֲצָמוֹת, Isa. xli. 21; comp. ὀχυρώματα, 2 Cor. x. 4); these ramparts which they throw up become as ramparts of clay, will be shown to be such by their being soon broken through and falling in.

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish expositors compare 1 Chron. iii. 2 on לְנָבִי, but the ל there in לְאֲבִשְׁלוֹם is a clerical error (comp. 2 Sam. iii. 8). Reiske conjectures רִנְבִי (lumps of clay), one of the best among his most venturesome conjectures.

Their reasons will not stand before God, but, like clay that will not hold together, fall to pieces.

Ver. 13. Be silent therefore from me, he says to them, *i.e.* stand away from me and leave me in peace (*opp.* החרש אל, Isa. xli. 1): then will I speak, or: in order that I may speak (the cohortative usual in *apod. imper.*)—he, and he alone, will defend (*i.e.* against God) his cause, which they have so uncharitably abandoned in spite of their better knowledge and conscience, let thereby happen (עבר, similar to Deut. xxiv. 5) to him מה, whatever may happen (מה שיעבר); or more simply: whatever it may be, *quidquid est*, as 2 Sam. xviii. 22 יהי מה, let happen whatever may happen; or more simply: whatever it may be, like מה דבר *quodcunque*, Num. xxiii. 3; כי occurs also in a similar sense, thus placed last (Ewald, § 104, d).

Ver. 14. Wherefore should he carry away his flesh in his teeth, *i.e.* be intent upon the maintenance of his life, as a wild beast upon the preservation of its prey, by holding it between its teeth (*mordicus tenet*) and carrying it away? This is a proverbial phrase which does not occur elsewhere; for Jer. xxxviii. 2 (thy life shall become as spoil, לשלל, to thee) is only similar in outward appearance. It may be asked whether ver. 14b continues the question begun with עלמה (*vid.* on Isa. i. 5): and wherefore should I take my soul in my hands, *i.e.* carefully protect it as a valuable possession? (Eichh., Umbr., Vaih.) But apart from Ps. cxix. 109 (my soul is continually in my hand),—where it may be asked, whether the soul is not there regarded as treasure (according to the current religious phrase: to carry his soul in his hand = to work out the blessedness of his soul with fear and trembling),—נפשו בנפשו signifies everywhere else (Judg. xii. 3; 1 Sam. xix. 5, xxviii. 21) as much as to risk one's life without fear of death, properly speaking: to fight one's way through with one's fist, perishing so soon as the strength of one's fist is gone (Ewald);

comp. the expression for the impending danger of death, Deut. xxviii. 66. If this sense, which is in accordance with the usage of the language, be adopted, it is unnecessary with Hirz., after Ewald, § 352, *b*, to take נַפְשִׁי for נַפְשִׁי: also, even my soul, etc., although it cannot be denied that וְ, like καί and *et*, sometimes signifies: also, *etiam* (Isa. xxxii. 7, 2 Chron. xxvii. 5, Eccles. v. 6, and according to the accents, Hos. viii. 6 also; on the contrary, 2 Sam. i. 23, Ps. xxxi. 12, can at least be explained by the copulative meaning, and Amos iv. 10 by "and indeed"). The *waw* joins the positive to the negative assertion contained in the question of ver. 14a (Hahn): I will not eagerly make my flesh safe, and will take my soul in my hand, *i.e.* calmly and bravely expose myself to the danger of death. Thus ver. 15 is most directly connected with what precedes.

Ver. 15. This is one of 18, or rather 15, passages in which the *Chethib* is כֹּל and the *Keri* כָּל; ch. vi. 21 is another.<sup>1</sup> In the LXX., which moreover changes אִיחָל into אֲחָל, ἀρχεσθαι, the rendering is doubtful, the *Cod. Vat.* translating ἐὰν με χειρώσῃται, the *Cod. Alex.* ἐὰν μὴ με χειρ. The Mishna *b. Sota*, 27, *b*, refers to the passage with reference to the question

<sup>1</sup> In Fürst, *Concord.* p. 1367, col. 1, the following passages are wanting: 1 Sam. ii. 3, 2 Kings viii. 10, Ps. c. 3, cxxxix. 16, Prov. xix. 7, xxvi. 2, 1 Chron. xi. 20, which are to be supplied from Aurivillius, *diss.* p. 469, where, however, on the other hand, 2 Sam. xix. 7 is wanting. Ex. xxi. 8 also belongs to these passages. In this last passage Muhlau proposes a transposition of the letters thus: לֹא יִדְעָהּ (if she displease her master, so that he *knows* her not, does not like to make her his concubine, then he shall cause her to be redeemed, etc.). [In his volume on Isaiah just published (1866), Dr Delitzsch appends the following note on ch. lxiii. 9:—"There are fifteen passages in which the *Keri* substitutes כָּל for כֹּל, *vid. Masora magna* on Lev. xi. 21 (*Psalter*, ii. 60). If we include Isa. xlix. 5, 1 Chron. xi. 20, 1 Sam. ii. 16 also, there are then eighteen (comp. on Job xiii. 15); but the first two of these passages are very doubtful, and are therefore intentionally omitted, and in the third it is כֹּל that is substituted for כָּל (*Ges. Thes.* 735, *b*). 2 Sam. xix. 7 also does not belong here, for in this passage the *Keri* is כָּל."—Tr.]

whether Job had served God from love or fear, and in favour of the former appeals to ch. xxvii. 5, since here the matter is doubtful (הדבר שקל), as the present passage may be explained, "I hope in Him," or "I hope not." The Gemara, *ib.* 31, *a*, observes that the reading לא does not determine the sense, for Isa. lxiii. 9 is written לא, and is not necessarily to be understood as לו, but can be so understood.<sup>1</sup> Among the ancient versions, the Targ., Syr., and Jerome (*etiamsi occiderit me, in ipso sperabo*) are in favour of לו. This translation of the Vulgate is followed by the French, English, Italian, and other versions. This utterance, in this interpretation, has a venerable history. The Electoress Louise Henriette von Oranien (died 1667), the authoress of the immortal hymn, "*Jesus meine Zuversicht*" [the English translation begins, "Jesus Christ, my sure defence"], chose these words, "Though the Lord should slay me, yet will I hope in Him," for the text of her funeral oration. And many in the hour of death have adopted the utterance of Job in this form as the expression of their faith and consolation.<sup>2</sup> Among these we may mention a Jewess. The last movement of the wasted fingers of Grace Aguilar was to spell the words, "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."<sup>3</sup>

The words, so understood, have an historic claim in their favour which we will not dispute. Even the apostles do not spurn the use of the Greek words of the Old Testament, though they do not accord with the proper connection in the original text, provided they are in accordance with sacred Scripture, and give brief and pregnant expression to a truth taught elsewhere in the Scriptures. Thus it is with this utterance, which, understood as the Vulgate understands it,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Geiger, *Lesestücke aus der Mischnah* (1845), S. 37 f.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Göschel, *Die Kurfürstinnen zu Brandenburg aus dem Hause Hohenzollern* (1857), S. 28-32.

<sup>3</sup> Marie Henriquez Morales, *bearbeitet von Piza* (1860), S. xii.

is thoroughly Job-like, and in some measure the final solution of the book of Job. It is also, according to its most evident meaning, an expression of perfect resignation. We admit that if it is translated : behold, He will slay me, I hope not, *i.e.* I await no other and happier issue, a thought is obtained that also agrees with the context. But  $\text{לֹא}$  does not properly mean to hope, but to wait for; and even in ch. vi. 11, xiv. 14, where it stands as much without an object as here, it has no other meaning but that of waiting; and Luther is true to it when he translates : behold, He will destroy me, and I cannot expect it; it is, however, strange; and Böttch. translates : I will not wait to justify myself, which is odd. The proper meaning of  $\text{לֹא}$ , *præstolari*, gives no suitable sense. Thus, therefore, the writer will have written or meant  $\text{וְיָבִיט}$ , since  $\text{וְיָבִיט}$  is also elsewhere a familiar expression with him, ch. xxix. 21, 23, xxx. 26. The meaning, then, which agrees both with the context and with the reality, is : behold, He will slay me, I wait for Him, *i.e.* I wait what He may do, even to smite with death, only I will ( $\text{וְיָבִיט}$ , as frequently, *e.g.* Ps. xlix. 16, does not belong to the word which immediately follows, but to the whole clause) prove my ways to Him, even before His face. He fears the extreme, but is also prepared for it. Hirzel, Heiligst., Vaihinger, and others, think that Job regards his wish for the appearing of God as the certain way of death, according to the belief that no one can behold God and not die. But  $\text{וְיָבִיט}$  has reference to a different form of idea. He fears the risk of disputing with God, and being obliged to forfeit his life; but, as  $\text{וְיָבִיט}$  implies, he resigns himself even to the worst, he waits for Him to whom he resigns himself, whatever He may do to him; nevertheless ( $\text{וְיָבִיט}$  restrictive, or as frequently  $\text{וְיָבִיט}$ , adversative, which is the same thing here) he cannot and will not keep down the inward testimony of his innocence, he is prepared to render Him an account of the ways in which he has walked (*i.e.* the way of

His will)—he can succumb in all respects but that of his moral guiltlessness. And in ver. 16 he adds what will prove a triumph for him, that a godless person, or (what is suitable, and if it does not correspond to the primary idea,<sup>1</sup> still accords with the use of the word) a hypocrite, one who is condemned as such by his own heart, would not so come forward to answer for himself before God (Hahn). It can be explained: that a godless person has no access to God; but the other explanation gives a truer thought. הָיָה is here used as neuter, like ch. xv. 9, xxxi. 28 comp. 11, xli. 3, Ex. xxxiv. 10. Correctly LXX., καὶ τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν. הָיָה here (comp. ch. xxx. 15) has not, however, the usual deeper meaning which it has in the prophets and in Psalms. It means here salvation, as victory in a contest for the right. Job means that he has already as good as won the contest, by so urgently desiring to defend himself before God. This excites a feeling in favour of his innocence at the onset, and secures him an acquittal.

- 17 *Hear, O hear my confession,  
And let my declaration echo in your ears.*  
18 *Behold now ! I have arranged the cause,  
I know that I shall maintain the right.*  
19 *Who then can contend with me ?  
Then, indeed, I would be silent and expire.*

Eager for the accomplishment of his wish that he might himself take his cause before God, and as though in imagina-

<sup>1</sup> The verb הָיָה signifies in the Arabic to deviate, to go on one side (whence e.g. *ahhnaf*, bandy-legged): *hhanf*, which is derived from it, is a so-called *ضد*, *isavriónomos*, which may mean both one inclining to the good and true (one who is orthodox), and in this sense it is a surname of Abraham, and one inclining to evil. Beidhâwi explains it by *mâu*, inclining one's self to; the synonym, but used only in a good sense, is *العادل*, *el-âdil*.

tion it were so, he invites the friends to be present to hear his defence of himself. מְלִי (in Arabic directly used for confession = religion) is the confession which he will lay down, and אִתָּהּ the declaration that he will make in evidence, *i.e.* the proof of his innocence. The latter substantive, which signifies brotherly conduct in post-biblical Hebrew, is here a *ἀπ. λεγ.* from הָרָה, not however with *Aleph prostheticum* from *Kal*, but after the form אִתָּהּ = הִתְרָה, from the *Aphél* = *Hiphil* of this verb, which, except Ps. xix. 3, occurs only in the book of Job as Hebrew (comp. the *n. actionis*, אִתָּהּ, Dan. v. 12), Ewald, § 156, *c.* It is unnecessary to carry the שְׁמִיעַ on to ver. 17b (hear now . . . with your own ears, as *e.g.* Jer. xxvi. 11); ver. 17b is an independent substantival clause like ch. xv. 11, Isa. v. 9, which carries in itself the verbal idea of הִתְרָה or תְּבִיא (Ps. xviii. 7). They shall hear, for on his part he has arranged, *i.e.* prepared (עָרַךְ מְשֻׁפָּט, *causam instruere*, as ch. xxiii. 4, comp. xxxiii. 5) the cause, so that the action can begin forthwith; and he knows that he, he and no one else, will be found in the right. With the conviction of this superiority, he exclaims, Who in all the world could contend with him, *i.e.* advance valid arguments against his defence of himself? Then, indeed, if this impossibility should happen, he would be dumb, and willingly die as one completely overpowered not merely in outward appearance, but in reality vanquished. מִי הוּא יִרְבַּע עִמִּי following הוּא מִי (comp. ch. iv. 7) may be taken as an elliptical relative clause: *qui litigare possit mecum* (comp. Isa. l. 9 with Rom. viii. 34, τίς ὁ κατακρίνων); but since מִי הוּא is also used in the sense of *quis tandem* or *ecquisnam*, this syntactic connection which certainly did exist (Ewald, § 325, *a*) is obliterated, and הוּא serves like זה only to give intensity and vividness to the מִי. On בִּי עֲתָה (in meaning not different to אִי), *vid.* ch. iii. 13, viii. 6. In ver. 19 that is granted as possible which, according to the declaration of his conscience, Job must consider as absolutely impos-



sible. Therefore he clings to the desire of being able to bring his cause before God, and becomes more and more absorbed in the thought.

- 20 *Only two things do not unto me,  
Then will I not hide myself from Thy countenance :*  
21 *Withdraw Thy hand from me,  
And let Thy fear not terrify me—*  
22 *Call then and I will answer,  
Or I will speak and answer Thou me !*

He makes only two conditions in his prayer, as he has already expressed it in ch. ix. 34 : (1) That God would grant him a cessation of his troubles ; (2) That He would not overwhelm him with His majesty. The chastening hand of God is generally called  $\text{יָד}$  elsewhere ; but in spite of this prevalent usage of the language,  $\text{יָד}$  cannot be understood here (comp. on the contrary ch. xxxiii. 7) otherwise than of the hand (ch. ix. 34 : the rod) of God, which lies heavily on Job. The painful pressure of that hand would prevent the collecting and ordering of his thoughts required for meeting with God, and the  $\text{מַכָּה}$  (Codd. defectively  $\text{מַכָּת}$ ) of God would completely crush and confound him. But if God grants these two things : to remove His hand for a time, and not to turn the terrible side of His majesty to him, then he is ready whether God should himself open the cause or permit him to have the first word. Correctly Mercerus : *optionem ei dat ut aut actoris aut rei personam deligat, sua fretus innocentia, sed interim sui oblitus et immodicus*. In contrast with God he feels himself to be a poor worm, but his consciousness of innocence makes him a Titan.

He now says what he would ask God ; or rather, he now asks Him, since he vividly pictures to himself the action with God which he desires. His imagination anticipates the reality of that which is longed for. Modern expositors begin

a new division at ver. 23. But Job's speech does not yet take a new turn ; it goes on further continually *uno tenore*.

23 *How many are mine iniquities and sins ?*

*Make me to know my transgression and sin !— —*

24 *Wherefore dost Thou hide Thy face,*

*And regard me as Thine enemy ?*

25 *Wilt Thou frighten away a leaf driven to and fro,*

*And pursue the dry stubble ?*

When חַטָּאת and עֲוֹנוֹת are used in close connection, the latter, which describes sin as failing and error, signifies sins of weakness (infirmities, *Schwachheitsünde*) ; whereas עָוֶן (prop. distorting or bending) signifies misdeed, and פְּשָׁע (prop. breaking loose, or away from, Arab. فسق)

wickedness which designedly estranges itself from God and removes from favour, both therefore malignant sin (*Bosheitsünde*<sup>1</sup>). The bold self-confidence which is expressed in the question and challenge of ver. 23 is, in ver. 24, changed to grievous astonishment that God does not appear to him, and on the contrary continues to pursue him as an enemy without investigating his cause. Has the Almighty then pleasure in scaring away a leaf that is already blown to and fro ? הִתְעַלָּה, with *He interrog.*, like הִתְחַבֵּה, ch. xv. 2, according to Ges. § 100, 4. עָרַץ used as transitive here, like Ps. x. 18, to terrify, scare away affrighted. Does it give Him satisfaction to pursue dried-up stubble ? By אֲנִי (before an indeterminate noun, according to Ges. § 117, 2) he points *δεικτικῶς* to himself : he, the powerless one, completely deprived of strength by sickness and pain, is as dried-up stubble ; nevertheless God is after him, as though He would get rid of every trace of a

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the development of the idea of the synonyms for sin in von Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 483 ff., at the commencement of the fourth *Lehrstück*.

dangerous enemy by summoning His utmost strength against him.

- 26 *For Thou decreest bitter things against me,  
And causest me to possess the iniquities of my youth,*  
27 *And puttest my feet in the stocks,  
And observest all my ways.  
Thou makest for thyself a circle round the soles of my feet,*  
28 *Round one who moulders away as worm-eaten,  
As a garment that the moth gnaweth.*

He is conscious of having often prayed : "Remember not the sins of my youth, and my transgressions : according to Thy mercy remember Thou me," Ps. xxv. 7 ; and still he can only regard his affliction as the inheritance (*i.e.* entailed upon him by sins not repented of) of the sins of his youth, since he has no sins of his mature years that would incur wrath, to reproach himself with. He does not know how to reconcile with the justice of God the fact that He again records against him sins, the forgiveness of which he implores soon after their commission, and decrees (כָּתִיב, as Ps. cxlix. 9, and as used elsewhere in the book of Job with reference to the recording of judgment) for him on account of them such bitter punishment (מַלְרִיחַ, *amara*, bitter calamities ; comp. Deut. xxxii. 32, "bitter" grapes). And the two could not indeed be harmonized, if it really were thus. So long as a man remains an object of the divine mercy, his sins that have been once forgiven are no more the object of divine judgment. But Job can understand his affliction only as an additional punishment. The conflict of temptation through which he is passing has made God's loving-kindness obscure to him. He appears to himself to be like a prisoner whose feet are forced into the holes of a פֶּרֶץ, *i.e.* the block or log of wood in which the feet of a criminal are fastened, and which he must shuffle about with him when he moves ; perhaps connected

with <sup>ס</sup>סד, *occludere, opplere (foramen)*, elsewhere סַפְסַפָּה (from the forcible twisting or fastening), Chald. סַפְסַפָּה, סַפְסַפָּה, Syr. *sado*, by which Acts xvi. 24, ξύλον = ποδοκάκη, is rendered; Lat. *cippus* (which Ralbag compares), *codex* (in Plautus an instrument of punishment for slaves), or also *nervus*. The verb סַפְסַפָּה which belongs to it, and is found also in ch. xxxiii. 11 in the same connection, is of the jussive form, but is neither jussive nor optative in meaning, as also the future with shortened vowel (*e.g.* ch. xxvii. 22, xl. 19) or apocopated (ch. xviii. 12, xxiii. 9, 11) is used elsewhere from the preference of poetry for a short pregnant form. He seems to himself like a criminal whose steps are closely watched (שָׁמַר, as ch. x. 14), in order that he may not have the undeserved enjoyment of freedom, and may not avoid the execution for which he is reserved by effecting an escape by flight. Instead of סַפְסַפָּה, the reading adopted by Ben-Ascher, Ben-Naphtali writes סַפְסַפָּה, with *Cholem* in the first syllable; both modes of punctuation change without any fixed law also in other respects in the inflexion of סַפְסַפָּה, as of סַפְסַפָּה, a caravan, the construct is both סַפְסַפָּה, ch. vi. 19, and סַפְסַפָּה. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the verbs in ver. 27<sup>bc</sup> are addressed to God, and are not intended as the *third pers. fem.* in reference to the stocks (Ralbag). The roots of the feet are undoubtedly their undermost parts, therefore the soles. But what is the meaning of סַפְסַפָּה? The Vulg., Syr., and Parchon explain: Thou fixest thine attention upon . . . , but certainly according to mere conjecture; Ewald, by the help of the Arabic *tahhakkaka ala*: Thou securest thyself . . . , but there is not the least necessity to depart from the ordinary use of the word, as those also do who explain: Thou makest a law or boundary (Aben-Ezra, Ges., Hahn, Schlottm.). The verb סַפְסַפָּה is the usual word (certainly cognate and interchangeable with סַפְסַפָּה) for carved-out work (in-

taglio), and perhaps with colour rubbed in, or filled up with metal (*vid.* ch. xix. 23, comp. Ezek. xxiii. 14); it signifies to hew into, to carve, to dig a trench. Stickel is in some measure true to this meaning when he explains: Thou scratchest, pressest (producing blood); by which rendering, however, the *Hithpa.* is not duly recognised. Raschi is better, *tu t'affiches*, according to which Mercerus: *velut affixus vestigiis pedum meorum adhæres, ne quâ elabi possim aut effugere*. But a closer connection with the ordinary use of the word is possible. Accordingly Rosenm., Umbreit, and others render: Thou markest a line round my feet (drawest a circle round); Hirz., however, in the strictest sense of the *Hithpa.*: Thou intrenchest thyself (layest thyself as a circular line about my feet). But the *Hithpa.* does not necessarily mean *se insculpere*, but, as *התחשבתי לך* *sibi exuere*, *התחשבתי לך* *sibi solvere*, *התחשבתי לך* *sibi propitium facere*, it may also mean *sibi insculpere*, which does not give so strange a representation: Thou makest to thyself furrows (or also: lines) round the soles of my feet, so that they cannot move beyond the narrow boundaries marked out by thee. With *והוא*, ver. 28, a circumstantial clause begins: While he whom Thou thus fastenest in as a criminal, etc. Observe the fine rhythmical accentuation *achâlo 'asch*. Since God whom he calls upon does not appear, Job's defiance is changed to timidity. The elegiac tone, into which his bold tone has passed, is continued in ch. xiv.

- Ch. xiv. 1 *Man that is born of a woman,*  
                   *Short of days and full of unrest,*  
 2 *Cometh forth as a flower and is cut down ;*  
                   *He fleeth as a shadow, and continueth not.*  
 3 *Moreover, Thou openest Thine eye upon him,*  
                   *And Thou drawest me before Thy tribunal.*

Even if he yields to the restraint which his suffering

imposes on him, to regard himself as a sinner undergoing punishment, he is not able to satisfy himself by thus persuading himself to this view of God's conduct towards him. How can God pass so strict a judgment on man, whose life is so short and full of sorrow, and which cannot possibly be pure from sin?—Ver. 1. **אָרָם** is followed by three clauses in apposition, or rather two, for **יְלִיד אִשָּׁה** (LXX. *γεννητὸς γυναικός*, as Matt. xi. 11; comp. *γέννημα γυν.* Sir. x. 18) belongs to the subject as an adjectival clause: woman-born man, short-lived, and full of unrest, opens out as a flower. Woman is weak, with pain she brings forth children; she is impure during her lying-in, therefore weakness, suffering, and impurity is the portion of man even from the birth (ch. xv. 14, xxv. 4). As **קָצַר** is the constr. of **קָצַר**, so **שִׁבַע (יָגוּ)** is from **עָבַע**, which here, as ch. x. 15, has the strong signification: endowed (with adversity). It is questionable whether **וַיִּפֹּל**, ver. 2, signifies *et marcescit* or *et succiditur*. We have decided here as elsewhere (*vid.* on Ps. xxxvii. 2, xc. 6, *Genesis*, S. 383) in favour of the latter meaning, and as the Targ. (**אֶתְמוּל**), translated “he is mown down.” For this meaning (prop. to cut off from above or before, to lop off),—in which the verb **פָּלַל (מָל, נָמַל)** is become technical for the *περιτομή*,—is most probably favoured by its application in ch. xxiv. 24; where Jerome however translates, *sicut summities spicarum conterentur*, since he derives **מָל** from **לָל** in the signification not found in the Bible (unless perhaps retained in **פָּלַל**, Deut. xxiii. 26), *fricare* (Arab. **مَلَّ**, *frigere*, to parch). At the same time, the signification *marcescere*, which certainly cannot be combined with *præcidere*, but may be with *fricare* (*conterere*), is not unnatural; it is more appropriate to a flower (comp. **נָבַל צִיץ**, Isa. xl. 7); it accords with the parallelism Ps. xxxvii. 2, and must be considered etymologically possible in comparison with **אֶתְמוּל, קָצַל, קָצַל**. But

it is not supported by any dialect, and none of the old translations furnish any certain evidence in its favour; מִלֵּל, Ps. xc. 6, which is to be understood impersonally rather than intransitively, does not favour it; and none of the passages in which מִלֵּל occurs demand it: least of all ch. xxiv. 24, where *præciduntur* is more suitable than, and ch. xviii. 16, *præciditur*, quite as suitable as, *marcescit*. For these reasons we also take מִלֵּל here, not as *fut. Kal* from מִלֵּל, or, as Hahn, from מִלֵּל = נָלַל, to wither, but as *fut. Niph.* from מִלֵּל, to cut down. At the same time, we do not deny the possibility of the notion of withering having been connected with מִלֵּל, whether it be that it belonged originally and independently to the root מִל, or has branched off from some other radical notion, as “to fall in pieces” (LXX. here ἐξέπεσεν, and similarly also ch. xviii. 16, xxiv. 24; comp. מִלְחָם, rags, נִמְלַח, to come to pieces, to be dissolved) or “to become soft” (with which the significations in the dialects, to grind and to parch, may be connected). As a flower, which having opened out is soon cut or withered, is man: אִם, *accedit quod, insuper*. This particle, related to ἐπι, adds an enhancing *cumulat*. More than this, God keeps His eye open (not: His eyes, for the correct reading, expressly noted by the Masora, is עֵינָי without *Jod plur.*), עֵלְיָה, *super hoc s. tali*, over this poor child of man, who is a perishable flower, and not a “walking light, but a fleeting shadow” (Gregory the Great), to watch for and punish his sins, and brings Job to judgment before himself, *His* tribunal which puts down every justification. Elsewhere the word is pointed בְּמִשְׁפַּט, ch. ix. 32, xxii. 4; here it is בְּמִשְׁפָּט, because the idea is rendered determinate by the addition of עֵמֶךְ.

- 4 *Would that a pure one could come from an impure!*  
*Not a single one—*  
 5 *His days then are determined,*

*The number of his months is known to Thee,  
Thou hast appointed bounds for him that he may not  
pass over :*

6 *Look away from him then, and let him rest,  
Until he shall accomplish as a hireling his day.*

Would that perfect sinlessness were possible to man; but since (to use a New Testament expression) that which is born of the flesh is flesh, there is not a single one pure. The optative *יִיָּהּ* seems to be used here with an acc. of the object, according to its literal meaning, *quis det s. afferat*, as ch. xxxi. 31, Deut. xxviii. 67, Ps. xiv. 7. Ewald remarks (and refers to § 358, *b*, of his *Grammar*) that *לֹא*, ver. 4*b*, must be the same as *לֹא*; but although in 1 Sam. xx. 14, 2 Sam. xiii. 26, 2 Kings v. 17, *לֹא* might be equivalent to the optative *לֹא*, which is questionable, still *לֹא אֶחָד* here, as an echo of *אֶין גַּם-אֶחָד*, Ps. xiv. 3, is Job's own answer to his wish, that cannot be fulfilled: not one, *i.e.* is in existence. Like the friends, he acknowledges an hereditary proneness to sin; but this proneness to sin affords him no satisfactory explanation of so unmerciful a visitation of punishment as his seems to him to be. It appears to him that man must the rather be an object of divine forbearance and compassion, since absolute purity is impossible to him. If, as is really the case, man's days are *קָרָצִים*, cut off, *i.e.* ἀπορώμους, determined (distinct from *קָרָצִים* with an unchangeable Kametz: sharp, *i.e.* quick, eager, diligent),—if the number of his months is with God, *i.e.* known by God, because fixed beforehand by Him,—if He has set fixed bounds (*Keri חֲקֵי*) for him, and he cannot go beyond them, may God then look away from him, *i.e.* turn from him His strict watch (*שָׁעָה בָּן*, as ch. vii. 19; *שִׁית בָּן*, x. 20), that he may have rest (*יָחַדְלָהּ*, *cesset*), so that he may at least as a hireling enjoy his day. Thus *יָרַח* is interpreted by all modern expositors, and most of them consider



the object or reason of his rejoicing to be the rest of evening when his work is done, and thereby miss the meaning.

Hahn appropriately says, "He desires that God would grant man the comparative rest of the hireling, who must toil in sorrow and eat his bread in the sweat of his brow, but still is free from any special suffering, by not laying extraordinary affliction on him in addition to the common infirmities beneath which he sighs. Since the context treats of freedom from special suffering in life, not of the *hope* of being set free from it, comp. ch. xiii. 25-27, xiv. 3, the explanation of Umbreit, Ew., Hirz., and others, is to be entirely rejected, viz. that God would at least permit man the rest of a hireling, who, though he be vexed with heavy toil, cheerfully reconciles himself to it in prospect of the reward he hopes to obtain at evening time. Job does not claim for man the toil which the hireling gladly undergoes in expectation of complete rest, but the toil of the hireling, which seems to him to be rest in comparison with the possibility of having still greater toil to undergo." Such is the true connection.<sup>1</sup> Man's life—this life which is as a handbreadth (Ps. xxxix. 6), and in ch. vii. 1 sq. is compared to a hireling's day, which is sorrowful enough—is not to be overburdened with still more and extraordinary suffering.

It must be asked, however, whether *רצה* *seq. acc.* here signifies *εὐδοκεῖν* (*τὸν βίον*, LXX.), or not rather *persolvere*; for it is undeniable that it has this meaning in Lev. xxvi. 34 (*vid.* however Keil [*Pent.* ii. 476]) and elsewhere (prop. to satisfy, remove, discharge what is due). The *Hiphil* is used in this sense in post-biblical Hebrew, and most Jewish expositors explain *רצה* by *ישלים*. If it signifies to enjoy, *ער* ought to be interpreted: that (he at least may, like as a

<sup>1</sup> In honour of our departed friend, whose *Commentary on Job* abounds in observations manifesting a delicate appreciation of the writer's purpose and thought, we have quoted his own words.

hireling, enjoy his day). But this signification of עַד (*ut* in the final sense) is strange, and the signification *dum* (ch. i. 18, viii. 21) or *adeo ut* (Isa. xlvii. 7) is not, however, suitable, if יָצָח is to be explained in the sense of *persolvere*, and therefore translate *donec persolvat* (*persolverit*). We have translated "until he accomplish," and wish "accomplish" to be understood in the sense of "making complete," as Col. i. 24, Luther ("*vollzählig machen*") = ἀνταναπληροῦν.

7 *For there is hope for a tree :*

*If it is hewn down, it sprouts again,  
And its shoot ceaseth not.*

8 *If its root becometh old in the ground,  
And its trunk dieth off in the dust :*

9 *At the scent of water it buddeth,  
And bringeth forth branches like a young plant.*

As the tree falleth so it lieth, says a cheerless proverb. Job, a true child of his age, has a still sadder conception of the destiny of man in death ; and the conflict through which he is passing makes this sad conception still sadder than it otherwise is. The fate of the tree is far from being so hopeless as that of man ; for (1) if a tree is hewn down, it (the stump left in the ground) puts forth new shoots (on הַחֲלִיף, *vid.* on Ps. xc. 6), and young branches (יִנְקָה, the tender juicy sucker μώσχος) do not cease. This is a fact, which is used by Isaiah (ch. vi.) as an emblem of a fundamental law in operation in the history of Israel : the terebinth and oak there symbolize Israel ; the stump (מִצְבֵּחַ) is the remnant that survives the judgment, and this remnant becomes the seed from which a new sanctified Israel springs up after the old is destroyed. Carey is certainly not wrong when he remarks that Job thinks specially of the palm (the date), which is propagated by such suckers ; Shaw's expression corresponds

exactly to לֹא זָחַל : “when the old trunk dies, there is *never wanting* one or other of these offsprings to succeed it.” Then (2) if the root of a tree becomes old (חִיָּהּ inchoative *Hiphil*: *senescere*, Ew. § 122, c) in the earth, and its trunk (נֶטֶם also of the stem of an undecayed tree, Isa. xl. 24) dies away in the dust, it can nevertheless regain its vitality which had succumbed to the weakness of old age: revived by the scent (רִיחַ always of scent, which anything exhales, not, perhaps Cant. i. 3 only excepted, *odor* = *odoratus*) of water, it puts forth buds for both leaves and flowers, and brings forth branches (נֶצֶץ, prop. cuttings, twigs) again, נֶטֶם, like a plant, or a young plant (the form of נֶטֶם in pause), therefore, as if fresh planted, LXX. ὥσπερ νεόφυτον. One is here at once reminded of the palm which, on the one hand, is pre-eminently a *φιλυδρον φυτόν*,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand possesses a wonderful vitality, whence it is become a figure for youthful vigour. The palm and the phoenix have one name, and not without reason. The tree reviving as from the dead at the scent of water, which Job describes, is like that wondrous bird rising again from its own ashes (*vid.* on ch. xxix. 18). Even when centuries have at last destroyed the palm—says Masius, in his beautiful and thoughtful studies of nature—thousands of inextricable fibres of parasites cling about the stem, and delude the traveller with an appearance of life.

- 10 *But man dieth, he lieth there stretched out,  
Man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?*  
11 *The waters flow away from the sea,  
And a stream decayeth and dryeth up:*

<sup>1</sup> When the English army landed in Egypt in 1801, Sir Sydney Smith gave the troops the sure sign, that wherever date-trees grew there must be water; and this is supported by the fact of people digging after it generally, within a certain range round the tree within which the roots of the tree could obtain moisture from the fluid.—*Vid.* R. Wilson's *History of the Expedition to Egypt*, p. 18.

12 *So man lieth down and riseth not again ;  
Till the heavens pass away they wake not,  
And are not aroused from their sleep.*

How much less favoured is the final lot of man ! He dies, and then lies there completely broken down and melted away (חָלַל, in the neuter signification, *confectum esse*, rendered in the Targum by אֶתְחַבֵּר and אֶתְחַמֵּקֵם). The *fut. consec.* continues the description of the cheerless results of death : He who has thus once fallen together is gone without leaving a trace of life. In vers. 11 sq. this vanishing away without hope and beyond recovery is contemplated under the figure of running water, or of water that is dried up and never returns again to its channel. Instead of אָזַל Isaiah uses נִשְׁחַת (ch. xix. 5) in the oracle on Egypt, a prophecy in which many passages borrowed from the book of Job are interwoven. The former means to flow away (related radically with נוּל), the latter to dry up (transposed נִשָּׁה, Jer. xviii. 14). But he also uses יִיָּבֵשׁ, which signifies the drying in, and then יִבְשָׁה, which is the complete drying up which follows upon the drying in (*vid.* Genesis, S. 264). What is thus figuratively expressed is introduced by *waw* (ver. 12a), similar to the *waw adæquationis* of the emblematic proverbs mentioned at ch. v. 7, xi. 12 : so there is for man no rising (קוּם), no waking up (הִתְעוֹרֵר), no ἐγερθεῖν (יָעוֹר), and indeed not for ever ; for what does not happen until the heavens are no more (comp. Ps. lxxii. 7, till the moon is no more), never happens ; because God has called the heavens and the stars with their laws into existence, לָעוֹלָם לָעוֹלָם (Ps. cxlviii. 6), they never cease (Jer. xxxi. 35 sq.), the days of heaven are eternal (Ps. lxxxix. 30). This is not opposed to declarations like Ps. cii. 27, for the world's history, according to the teaching of Scripture, closes with a change in all these, but not their annihilation. What is affirmed in vers. 10-12b of mankind in general, is, by

the change to the plural in ver. 12c, affirmed of each individual of the race. Their sleep of death is שָׁנָה עוֹלָם (Jer. li. 39, 57). What Sheôl summons away from the world, the world never sees again. Oh that it were otherwise! How would the brighter future have comforted him with respect to the sorrowful present and the dark night of the grave!

- 13 *Oh that Thou wouldst hide me in Sheôl,  
That Thou wouldst conceal me till Thine anger change,  
That Thou wouldst appoint me a time and then remember me!*
- 14 *If man dieth, shall he live again?  
All the days of my warfare would I wait,  
Until my change should come.*
- 15 *Thou wouldst call and I would answer,  
Thou wouldst have a desire for the work of Thy hands—*
- 16 *For now thou numberest my steps,  
And dost not restrain thyself over my sins.*

The optative יִפְּ introduces a wish that has reference to the future, and is therefore, as at ch. vi. 8, followed by *futt.*; comp. on the other hand, ch. xxiii. 3, *utinam noverim*. The language of the wish reminds one of such passages in the Psalms as xxxi. 21, xxvii. 5 (comp. Isa. xxvi. 20): "In the day of trouble He hideth me in His pavilion, and in the secret of His tabernacle doth He conceal me." So Job wishes that Hades, into which the wrath of God now precipitates him for ever, may only be a temporary place of safety for him, until the wrath of God turn away (שָׁנָה, comp. the causative, ch. ix. 13); that God would appoint to him, when there, a פֶּה, i.e. a *terminus ad quem* (comp. ver. 5), and when this limit should be reached, again remember him in mercy. This is a wish that Job marks out for himself. The reality is indeed different: "if (ἐάν) a man dies, will he live again?" The answer which Job's consciousness, ignorant of

anything better, alone can give, is : No, there is no life after death. It is, however, none the less a craving of his heart that gives rise to the wish ; it is the most favourable thought, —a desirable possibility,—which, if it were but a reality, would comfort him under all present suffering : “all the days of my warfare would I wait until my change came.” **עֲבָרָא** is the name he gives to the whole of this toilsome and sorrowful interval between the present and the wished-for goal,—the life on earth, which he likens to the service of the soldier or of the hireling (ch. vii. 1), and which is subject to an inevitable destiny (ch. v. 7) of manifold suffering, together with the night of Hades, where this life is continued in its most shadowy and dismal phase. And **הַלְיָפָהּ** does not here signify destruction in the sense of death, as the Jewish expositors, by comparing Isa. ii. 18 and Cant. ii. 11, explain it ; but (with reference to **עֲבָרָא**, comp. ch. x. 17) the following after (Arab. خليفة, succession, successor, *i.e.* of Mohammed), relief, change (syn. **הַמְיָרָה**, exchange, barter), here of change of condition, as Ps. lv. 20, of change of mind ; Aquila, Theod., ἀλλαγμα. Oh that such a change awaited him ! What a blessed future would it be if it should come to pass ! Then would God call to him in the depth of Sheôl, and he, imprisoned until the appointed time of release, would answer Him from the deep. After His anger was spent, God would again yearn after the work of His hands (comp. ch. x. 3), the natural loving relation between the Creator and His creature would again prevail, and it would become manifest that wrath is only a waning power (Isa. liv. 8), and love His true and essential attribute. Schlottman well observes : “Job must have had a keen perception of the profound relation between the creature and his Maker in the past, to be able to give utterance to such an imaginative expectation respecting the future.”

In ver. 16, Job supports what is cheering in this prospect,

with which he wishes he might be allowed to console himself, by the contrast of the present. *כִּי עַתָּה* is used here as in ch. vi. 21; *כִּי* is not, as elsewhere, where *כִּי עַתָּה* introduces the conclusion, confirmatory (indeed now = then indeed), but assigns a reason (for now). Now God numbers his steps (ch. xiii. 27), watching him as a criminal, and does not restrain himself over his sin. Most modern expositors (Ew., Hlgt., Hahn, Schlottm.) translate: Thou observest not my sins, *i.e.* whether they are to be so severely punished or not; but this is poor. Raschi: Thou waitest not over my sins, *i.e.* to punish them; instead of which Ralbag directly: Thou waitest not for my sins = repentance or punishment; but *שָׁמַר* is not supported in the meaning: to wait, by Gen. xxxvii. 11. Aben-Ezra: Thou lookest not except on my sins, by supplying *לֹא*, according to Eccles. ii. 24 (where, however, probably *לֹא מִשְׁמַל* should be read, and *ל* after *אֵרָם*, just as in ch. xxxiii. 17, has fallen away). The most doubtful is, with Hirzel, to take the sentence as interrogative, in opposition to the parallelism: and dost Thou not keep watch over my sins? It seems to me that the sense intended must be derived from the phrase *שָׁמַר אֵף*, which means to keep anger, and consequently to delay the manifestation of it (Amos i. 11). This phrase is here so applied, that we obtain the sense: Thou keepest not Thy wrath to thyself, but pourest it out entirely. Mercerus is substantially correct: *non reservas nec differs peccati mei punitionem.*

- 17 *My transgression is sealed up in a bag,  
And Thou hast devised additions to my iniquity.*
- 18 *But a falling mountain moveth indeed,  
And a rock falleth from its place.*
- 19 *Water holloweth out stone,  
Its overflowings carry away the dust of the earth,  
And the hope of man—Thou destroyest.*

The meaning of ver. 17 is, not that the judgment which pronounces him guilty lies in the sealed-up bag of the judge, so that it requires only to be handed over for execution (Hirz., Ew., Renan), for although  $\text{שֶׁבַע}$  (though not exactly the punishment of sin, which it does not signify even in Dan. ix. 24) can denote wickedness, as proved and recorded, and therefore metonymically the penal sentence, the figure is, however, taken not from the mode of preserving important documents, but from the mode of preserving collected articles of value in a sealed bag. The passage must be explained according to Hos. xiii. 12, Deut. xxxii. 34, Rom. ii. 5, comp. Jer. xvii. 1. The evil Job had formerly (ch. xiii. 26) committed according to the sentence of God, God has gathered together as in a money bag, and carefully preserved, in order now to bring them home to him. And not this alone, however; He has devised still more against him than his actual misdeeds. Ewald translates: Thou hast sewed up my punishment; but  $\text{שָׂפַח}$  (*vid.* on ch. xiii. 4) signifies, not to sew up, but: to sew on, patch on, and gen. to add ( $\text{שָׂפַח}$ , Rabb. *accidens*, a subordinate matter, *opp.*  $\text{שָׁקַר}$ ), after which the LXX. translates *ἐπεσημύηνω* (noted in addition), and Gecatilia *حفست* (added to in collecting). It is used here just as in the Aramaic phrase  $\text{שָׂפַח לְשָׁקָר}$  (to patch on falsehood, to invent scandal).

The idea of the figures which follow is questionable. Hahn maintains that they do not describe destruction, but change, and that consequently the relation of ver. 19c to what precedes is not similarity, but contrast: stones are not so hard, that they are not at length hollowed out, and the firm land is not so firm that it cannot be carried away by the flood; but man's prospect is for ever a hopeless one, and only for him is there no prospect of his lot ever being changed. Thus I thought formerly it should be explained: considering the *waw*, ver. 19c, as indicative not of comparison, but of



contrast. But the assumption that the point of comparison is *change*, not destruction, cannot be maintained: the figures represent the slow but inevitable destruction wrought by the elements on the greatest mountains, on rocks, and on the solid earth. And if the poet had intended to contrast the slow but certain changes of nature with the hopelessness of man's lot, how many more appropriate illustrations, in which nature seems to come forth as with new life from the dead, were at his command! Raschi, who also considers the relation of the clauses to be antithetical, is guided by the right perception when he interprets: even a mountain that is cast down still brings forth fruit, and a rock removed from its place, even these are not without some signs of vitality in them,  $\text{יבול} = \text{בול} (\text{יבול})$ ,  $\text{יעשה בול}$ , which is indeed a linguistic impossibility. The majority of expositors are therefore right when they take the *waw*, ver. 19c, similarly to ch. v. 7, xi. 12, xii. 11, as *waw adæquationis*. With this interpretation also, the connection of the clause with what precedes by  $\text{ואלם}$  (which is used exactly as in ch. i. 11, xi. 5, xii. 7, where it signifies *verum enim vero* or *attamen*) is unconstrained. The course of thought is as follows: With unsparing severity, and even beyond the measure of my guilt, hast Thou caused me to suffer punishment for my sins, but (nevertheless) Thou shouldst rather be gentle and forbearing towards me, since even that which is firmest, strongest, and most durable cannot withstand ultimate destruction; and entirely in accordance with the same law, weak, frail man ( $\text{אנוש}$ ) meets an early certain end, and at the same time Thou cuttest off from him every ground of hope of a continued existence. The *waw*, ver. 19c, is consequently, according to the sense, more *quanto magis* than *sic*, placing the things to be contrasted over against each other.  $\text{הר נופל}$  is a falling, not a fallen (Rabag) mountain; and having once received the impetus, it continues gradually to give way; Renan: *s'effondre peu à peu*. Carey,

better: "will decay," for נָבֵל (cogn. נָפַל) signifies, decrease by external loss; specially of the falling off of leaves, Isa. xxxiv. 4. The second figure, like ch. xviii. 4, is to be explained according to ch. ix. 5: a rock removes (not as Jerome translates, *transfertur*, which would be עָתָק, and also not as LXX. παλαιωθήσεται, Schlottm.: becomes old and crumbles away, although in itself admissible both as to language and fact; comp. on ch. xxi. 7) from its place; it does not stand absolutely, immoveably fast. In the third figure אֲבָנִים is a prominent object, as the accentuation with *Mehupach legarmeh* or (as it is found in correct Codd.) with *Asla legarmeh* rightly indicates. עָתָק signifies exactly the same as سَحَقَ, *atterere*, *conterere*. In the fourth figure, סָפַח must not be interpreted as meaning that which grows up spontaneously without re-sowing, although the Targum translates accordingly: it (the water) washes away its (*i.e.* the dust of the earth's) after-growth (בְּתֻקָּה), which Symm. follows (τὰ παραλελειμμένα). It is also impossible according to the expression; for it must have been עָפַר הָאֶרֶץ. Jerome is essentially correct: *et alluvione paulatim terra consumitur*. It is true that סָפַח in Hebrew does not mean *effundere* in any other passage (on this point, *vid.* on Hab. ii. 15), but here the meaning *effusio* or *alluvio* may be supposed without much hesitation; and in a book whose language is so closely connected with the Arabic, we may even refer to סָפַח = سَفَحَ (kindred to سَفَكَ, سَفَر), although the word may also (as Ralbag suggests), by comparison with מָטַר סָחָף, Prov. xxviii. 3, and سَحَابَة, a storm of rain, be regarded as transposed from סָחַף, from סָחַף in Arab. to tear off, sweep away, Targ. to thrust away (= רָחַף), Syr., Talm. to overthrow, *subvertere* (whence *s'chifto*, a cancer or cancerous ulcer). The suffix refers to מַיִם, and מַיִם before a plural subject is quite according to rule, Ges. § 146, 3. סָפַח is mostly marked with *Mercha*, but according

to our interpretation *Dechî*, which is found here and there in the Codd., would be more correct.

The point of the four illustrations is not that not one of them is restored to its former condition (Oetinger, Hirz.), but that in spite of their stability they are overwhelmed by destruction, and that irrecoverably. Even the most durable things cannot defy decay, and now even as to mortal man—Thou hast brought his hope utterly to nought (האבדת with *Pathach* in pause as frequently; *vid. Psalter* ii. 468). The *perf.* is *prægnans*: all at once, suddenly—death, the germ of which he carries in him even from his birth, is to him an end without one ray of hope,—it is also the death of his hope.

20 *Thou seizest him for ever, then he passeth away ;  
Thou changest his countenance and castest him forth.*

21 *If his sons come to honour, he knoweth it not ;  
Or to want, he observeth them not.*

22 *Only on his own account his flesh suffereth pain,  
And on his own account is his soul conscious of grief.*

The old expositors thought that תִּתְקַחְתָּ must be explained by חזקתו ממנו (Thou provest thyself stronger than he, according to Ges. § 121, 4), because תִּקַּח is intrans. ; but it is also transitive in the sense of seizing forcibly and grasping, ch. xv. 24, Eccles. iv. 12, as Talm. תִּקַּח (otherwise commonly

אִתְּקַח as החזיק), Arab. تَقَفَّ, *comprehendere*. The many sufferings which God inflicts on him in the course of his life are not meant ; לְנֶצַח does not signify here : continually, without intermission, as most expositors explain, but as ch. iv. 20, xx. 7, and throughout the book : for ever (Rosenm., Hahn, Welte). God gives him the death-stroke which puts an end to his life for ever, he passes away *Salvei, oĩxetai* (comp. ch. x. 21) ; disfiguring his countenance, *i.e.* in the struggle of death and in death by the gradual working of decay, distort-

ing and making him unlike himself, He thrusts him out of this life (נִבְזֵי like Gen. iii. 23). The *waw consec.* is used here as e.g. Ps. cxviii. 27.

When he is descended into Hades he knows nothing more of the fortune of his children, for as Eccles. ix. 6 says: the dead have absolutely no portion in anything that happens under the sun. In ver. 21 Job does not think of his own children that have died, nor his grandchildren (Ewald); he speaks of mankind in general. נִבְזֵי and נִבְזֵי are not here placed in contrast in the sense of much and little, but, as in Jer. xxx. 19, in the wider sense of an important or a destitute position; נִבְזֵי, to be honoured, to attain to honour, as Isa. lxvi. 5. נִבְ (to observe anything) is joined with לְ of the object, as in Ps. lxxiii. 17 (on the other hand, לְ, ch. xiii. 1, was taken as *dat. ethicus*). He neither knows nor cares anything about the welfare of those who survive him: "Nothing but pain and sadness is the existence of the dead; and the pain of his own flesh, the sadness of his own soul, alone engage him. He has therefore no room for rejoicing, nor does the joyous or sorrowful estate of others, though his nearest ones, affect him" (Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 495). This is certainly, as Ewald and *Psychol.* p. 521, the meaning of ver. 22; but נִבְ is hardly to be translated with Hofmann "in him," so that it gives the intensive force of ἰδιος to the *suff.* For it is improbable that in this connection,—where the indifference of the deceased respecting others, and the absolute reference to himself of the existence of pain on his own account, are contrasted,—נִבְ, ver. 22b, is to be understood according to ch. xxx. 16 (*Psychol.* p. 180), but rather objectively (over him). On the other hand, ver. 22a is not to be translated: over himself only does his flesh feel pain (Schlottm., Hirz., and others); for the flesh as inanimate may indeed be poetically, so to speak zeugmatically, represented as conscious of pain, but not as referring its pain to another, and consequently as

*self-conscious.* On this account, רָלַע, ver. 22a, is to be taken in the signification, over him = upon him, or as ver. 22b (beyond him), which is doubtful; or it signifies, as we have sought to render it in our translation in both cases, *propter eum*. Only on his own account does his flesh suffer, i.e. only applying to himself, only on his own account does his soul mourn, i.e. only over his own condition. He has no knowledge and interest that extends beyond himself; only he himself is the object of that which takes place with his flesh in the grave, and of that on which his soul reflects below in the depths of Hades. According to this interpretation רָלַע belongs to רָלַע, after the hyperbaton described at p. 72 [ch. ii. 10], comp. ch. xiii. 15, Isa. xxxiv. 15. And the רָלַע, ver. 22, implies the idea (which is clearly expressed in Isa. lxvi. 24, and especially in Judith xvi. 17: δούναι πῦρ καὶ σκώληκας εἰς σάρκας αὐτῶν καὶ κλαύσονται ἐν αἰσθήσει ἕως αἰῶνος) that the process of the decomposition of the body is a source of pain and sorrow to the departed spirit,—a conception which proceeds from the supposition, right in itself, that a connection between body and soul is still continued beyond the grave,—a connection which is assumed by the resurrection, but which, as Job viewed it, only made the future still more sorrowful.

This speech of Job (ch. xii.–xiv.), which closes here, falls into three parts, which correspond to the divisions into chapters. In the impassioned speech of Zophar, who treats Job as an empty and conceited babbler, the one-sided dogmatical standpoint of the friends was maintained with such arrogance and assumption, that Job is obliged to put forth all his power in self-defence. The first part of the speech (ch. xii.) triumphantly puts down this arrogance and assumption. Job replies that the wisdom, of which they profess to be the only possessors, is nothing remarkable, and the contempt with which they treat him is the common lot of

the suffering innocent, while the prosperity of the ungodly remains undisturbed. In order, however, to prove to them that what they say of the majesty of God, before which he should humble himself, can neither overawe nor help him, he refers them to creation, which in its varied works testifies to this majesty, this creative power of God, and the absolute dependence of every living thing on Him, and proves that he is not wanting in an appreciation of the truth contained in the sayings of the ancients by a description of the absolute majesty of God as it is manifested in the works of nature, and especially in the history of man, which excels everything that the three had said. This description is, however, throughout a gloomy picture of disasters which God brings about in the world, corresponding to the gloomy condition of mind in which Job is, and the disaster which is come upon himself.

As the friends have failed to solace him by their descriptions of God, so his own description is also utterly devoid of comfort. For the wisdom of God, of which he speaks, is not the wisdom that orders the world in which one can confide, and in which one has the surety of seeing every mystery of life sooner or later gloriously solved; but this wisdom is something purely negative, and repulsive rather than attractive, it is abstract exaltation over all created wisdom, whence it follows that he puts to shame the wisdom of the wise. Of the justice of God he does not speak at all, for in the narrow idea of the friends he cannot recognise its control; and of the love of God he speaks as little as the friends, for as the sight of the divine love is removed from them by the one-sidedness of their dogma, so is it from him by the feeling of the wrath of God which at present has possession of his whole being. Hegel has called the religion of the Old Testament the religion of sublimity (*die Religion der Erhabenheit*) and it is true that, so long as that manifestation of

love, the incarnation of the Godhead, was not yet realized, God must have relatively transcended the religious consciousness. From the book of Job, however, this view can be brought back to its right limits; for, according to the tendency of the book, neither the idea of God presented by the friends nor by Job is the pure undimmed notion of God that belongs to the Old Testament. The friends conceive of God as the absolute One, who acts only according to justice; Job conceives of Him as the absolute One, who acts according to the arbitrariness of His absolute power. According to the idea of the book, the former is dogmatic one-sidedness, the latter the conception of one passing through temptation. The God of the Old Testament consequently rules neither according to justice alone, nor according to a "sublime whim."

After having proved his superiority over the friends in perception of the majesty of God, Job tells them his decision, that he shall turn away from them. The sermon they address to him is to no purpose, and in fact produces an effect the reverse of that intended by them. And while it does Job no good, it injures them, because their very defence of the honour of God incriminates themselves in the eyes of God. Their aim is missed by them, for the thought of the absolute majesty of God has no power to impart comfort to any kind of sufferer; nor can the thought of His absolute justice give any solace to a sufferer who is conscious that he suffers innocently. By their confidence that Job's affliction is a decree of the *justice* of God, they certainly seem to defend the honour of God; but this defence is reversed as soon as it is manifest that there exists no such *just* ground for inflicting punishment on him. Job's self-consciousness, however, which cannot be shaken, gives no testimony to its justice; their advocacy of God is therefore an injustice to Job, and a miserable attempt at doing God service, which

cannot escape the undisguised punishment of God. It is to be carefully noted that in ch. xiii. 6-12 Job seriously warns the friends that God will punish them for their partiality, *i.e.* that they have endeavoured to defend Him *at the expense of truth*.

We see from this how sound Job's idea of God is, so far as it is not affected by the change which seems, according to the light which his temptation casts upon his affliction, to have taken place in his personal relationship to God. While above, ch. ix., he did not acknowledge an objective right, and the rather evaded the thought, of God's dealing unjustly towards him, by the desperate assertion that what God does is in every case right because God does it, he here recognises an objective truth, which cannot be denied, even in favour of God, and the denial of which, even though it were a *pietissima fraus*, is strictly punished by God. God is the God of truth, and will therefore be neither defended nor honoured by any perverting of the truth. By such pious lies the friends involve themselves in guilt, since in opposition to their better knowledge they regard Job as unrighteous, and blind themselves to the incongruities of daily experience and the justice of God. Job will therefore have nothing more to do with them; and to whom does he now turn? Repelled by men, he feels all the more strongly drawn to God. He desires to carry his cause before God. He certainly considers God to be his enemy, but, like David, he thinks it is better to fall into the hands of God than into the hands of man (2 Sam. xxiv. 14). He will plead his cause with God, and prove to Him his innocence: he will do it, even though he be obliged to expiate his boldness with his life; for he knows that morally he will not be overcome in the contest. He requires compliance with but two conditions: that God would grant a temporary alleviation of his pain, and that He would not overawe him with the display of His majesty. Job's disput-



ing with God is as terrible as it is pitiable. It is terrible, because he uplifts himself, Titan-like, against God; and pitiable, because the God against which he fights is not the God he has known, but a God that he is unable to recognise,—the phantom which the temptation has presented before his dim vision instead of the true God. This phantom is still the real God to him, but in other respects in no way differing from the inexorable ruling fate of the Greek tragedy. As in this the hero of the drama seeks to maintain his personal freedom against the mysterious power that is crushing him with an iron arm, so Job, even at the risk of sudden destruction, maintains the steadfast conviction of his innocence, in opposition to a God who has devoted him, as an evil-doer, to slow but certain destruction. It is the same battle of freedom against necessity as in the Greek tragedy. Accordingly one is obliged to regard it as an error, arising from simple ignorance, when it has been recently maintained that the boundless oriental imagination is not equal to such a truly exalted task as that of representing in art and poetry the power of the human spirit, and the maintenance of its dignity in the conflict with hostile powers, because a task that can only be accomplished by an imagination formed with a perception of the importance of recognising ascertained phenomena.<sup>1</sup> In treating this subject, the book of Job not only attains to, but rises far above, the height attained by the Greek tragedy: for, on the one hand, it brings this conflict before us in all the fearful earnestness of a death-struggle; on the other, however, it does not leave us to the cheerless delusion that an absolute caprice moulds human destiny. This tragic conflict with the divine necessity is but the middle, not the beginning nor the end, of the book; for this god of fate is not the real God, but a delusion of Job's temptation. Human freedom does not succumb, but it comes forth from the battle,

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Arnold Ruge, *Die Academie*, i. S. 29.

which is a refining fire to it, as conqueror. The dualism, which the Greek tragedy leaves unexplained, is here cleared up. The book certainly presents much which, from its tragic character, suggests this idea of destiny, but it is not its final aim—it goes far beyond : it does not end in the destruction of its hero by fate ; but the end is the destruction of the idea of this fate itself.

We have seen in this speech (comp. ch. xiii. 23, 26, xiv. 16 sq.), as often already, that Job is as little able as the friends to disconnect *suffering* from the idea of the *punishment of sin*. If Job were mistaken or were misled by the friends respecting his innocence, the history of his sufferings would be no material for a drama, because there would be no inner development. But it is just Job's steadfast conviction of his innocence, and his maintenance of it in spite of the power which this prejudice exercises over him, that makes the history of his affliction the history of the development of a new and grand idea, and makes him as the subject, on whom it is developed, a tragic character. In conformity with his prepossession, Job sees himself put down by his affliction as a great sinner ; and his friends actually draw the conclusion from false premises that he is such. But he asserts the testimony of his conscience to his innocence ; and because this contradicts those premises, the one-sidedness of which he does not discern, God himself appears to him to be unjust and unmerciful. And against this God, whom the temptation has distorted and transformed to the miserable image of a ruler, guided only by an absolute caprice, he struggles on, and places the truth and freedom of his moral self-consciousness over against the restraint of the condemnatory sentence, which seems to be pronounced over him in the suffering he has to endure. Such is the struggle against God in which we behold Job in the second part of the speech (ch. xiii.) : ready to prove his innocence, he challenges God to

trial; but since God does not appear, his confidence gives place to despondency, and his defiant tone to a tone of lamentation, which is continued in the third part of the speech (ch. xiv.).

While he has raised his head towards heaven with the conscious pride of a צַדִּיק תָּמִים, first in opposition to the friends and then to God, he begins to complain as one who is thrust back, and yielding to the pressure of his affliction, begins to regard himself as a sinner. But he is still unable to satisfy himself respecting God's dealings by any such forcible self-persuasion. For how can God execute such strict judgment upon man, whose life is so short and full of care, and who, because he belongs to a sinful race, cannot possibly be pure from sin, without allowing him the comparative rest of a hireling? How can he thus harshly visit man, to whose life He has set an appointed bound, and who, when he once dies, returns to life no more for ever? The old expositors cannot at all understand this absolute denial of a new life after death. Brentius erroneously observes on *donec cælum transierit: ergo resurget*; and Mercerus, whose exposition is free from all prejudice, cannot persuade himself that the *electus et sanctus Dei vir* can have denied not merely a second earthly life, but also the eternal imperishable life after death. And yet it is so: Job does not indeed mean that man when he dies is *annihilated*, but he knows of no other life after death but the shadowy life in Sheôl, which is no life at all. His laments really harmonize with those in Moschos iii. 106 sqq.:

Αἱ αἰ, ταὶ μαλάχαι μὲν ἐπὰν κατὰ κᾶπον ὀλῶνται,  
 \*Ἡ τὰ χλωρὰ σέλινα, τό τ' εὐθαλὲς οὐλον ἀνηθον,  
 "Υστερον αὖ ζῶοντι καὶ εἰς ἔτος ἄλλο φύοντι  
 \*Ἀμμες δ' οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ καρτεροὶ ἢ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες,  
 'Οππότε πρῶτα θάνωμες, ἀνάκοι ἐν χθονὶ κοίλα  
 Εὐδομες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνου.

Alas! alas! the mallows, after they are withered in the garden,  
 Or the green parsley and the luxuriant curly dill,  
 Live again hereafter and sprout in future years;  
 But we men, the great and brave, or the wise,  
 When once we die, senseless in the bosom of the earth  
 We sleep a long, endless, and eternal sleep.

And with that of Horace, Od. iv. 7, 1:

*Nos ubi decidimus  
 Quo pius Aeneas, quo dives Tullus et Ancus,  
 Pulvis et umbra sumus;*

Or with that of the Jagur Weda: "While the tree that has fallen sprouts again from the root fresher than before, from what root does mortal man spring forth when he has fallen by the hand of death?"<sup>1</sup> These laments echo through the ancient world from one end to the other, and even Job is without any superior knowledge respecting the future life.

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Carey, *The Book of Job*, p. 447. We append here an extract from a letter of Consul Wetzstein, as giving an explanation of Job xiv. 7-9, derived from personal observation: "The practice of cutting down the trees in order to obtain a new and increased use from them, is an important part of husbandry in the country east of the Jordan. It is, however, now almost confined to the region round Damascus, in consequence of the devastation of the country. This operation is called *gemm* (גִּמָּם), and is performed only with the axe, because the stump would decay away if sawn. When the vine, after bearing from sixty to eighty years, loses its fruitfulness and begins to decay, it is cut down close to the ground in the second *kânûn* (January). The first year it bears little or nothing, but throws out new branches and roots; and afterwards it bears plentifully, for the vine-stock has renewed its youth. The fig-tree (*tine*) and the pomegranate (*rummâne*), when old and decayed, are cut down in like manner. Their shoots are very numerous, and in the following winter as many as ten young plants may be taken from the pomegranate. Those that are left on the old stem bear fruit in the fourth year. The walnut-tree (*gôze*) ceases to bear much after 100 years, and becomes hollow and decayed. It is then cut down to within two or three yards from the ground. If the trees are well watered, the new shoots spring up in a year in uncommon luxuriance, and bear fruit in the second year. The new shoot is called *darbâne*. From many trees, as the citron (*âmâne*), ash (*dardâre*), and mulberry (*tâte*), this new shoot often attains a length of twelve feet in the first year, provided the tree has the *conditio sine qua non* which Job styles כִּיחַ כִּים—a plentiful supply of water."

He denies a resurrection and eternal life, not as one who has a knowledge of them and will not however know anything about them, but he really knows nothing of them : our earthly life seems to him to flow on into the darkness of Sheôl, and onward beyond Sheôl man has 'no further existence.

We inquire here : Can we say that the poet knew nothing of a resurrection and judgment after death ? If we look to the psalms of the time of David and Solomon, we must reply in the negative. Since, however, as the Grecian mysteries fostered and cherished *ἡδυστέρας ἐλπίδας*, the Israelitish Chokma also, by its constant struggles upwards and onwards, anticipated views of the future which exceeded the knowledge then possessed (*Psychol.* p. 480) : it may be assumed, and from the book of Job directly inferred, that the poet had a perception of the future world which went beyond the dim perception of the people, which was not yet lighted up by any revelation. For, on the one hand, he has reproduced for us a history of the patriarchal period, not merely according to its external, but also according to its internal working, with as strict historical faithfulness as delicate psychological tact ; on the other, he has with a master hand described for us in the history of Job what was only possible from an advanced standpoint of knowledge,—how the hope of a life beyond the present, where there is no express word of promise to guide it, struggles forth from the heart of man as an undefined desire and longing, so that the word of promise is the fulfilment and seal of this desire and yearning. For when Job gives expression to the wish that God would hide him in Sheôl until His anger turn, and then, at an appointed time, yearning after the work of His hands, raise him again from Sheôl (ch. xiv. 13-17), this wish is not to be understood other than that Sheôl might be only his temporary hiding-place from the divine anger, instead of being his eternal abode.

He wishes himself in Sheôl, so far as he would thereby be removed for a time from the wrath of God, in order that, after an appointed season, he might again become an object of the divine favour. He cheers himself with the delightful thought, All the days of my warfare would I wait till my change should come, etc.; for then the warfare of suffering would become easy to him, because favour, after wrath and deliverance from suffering and death, would be near at hand. We cannot say that Job here expresses the hope of a life after death; on the contrary, this hope is wanting to him, and all knowledge respecting the reasons that might warrant it. The hope exists only in imagination, as Ewald rightly observes, without becoming a certainty, since it is only the idea, How glorious it would be if it were so, that is followed up. But, on the one side, the poet shows us by this touching utterance of Job how totally different would be his endurance of suffering if he but knew that there was really a release from Hades; on the other side, he shows us, in the wish of Job that it might be so, the incipient tendency of the growing hope, for what a devout mind desires has an inward energy which presses forward from the subjective to the objective reality. The hope of eternal life is a flower, says one of the old commentators, which grows on the verge of the abyss. The writer of the book of Job supports this. In the midst of this abyss of the feeling of divine wrath in which Job is sunk, this flower springs up to cheer him. In its growth, however, it is not yet hope, but only at first a longing. And this longing cannot expand into hope, because no light of promise shines forth in that night, by which Job's feeling is controlled, and which makes the conflict darker than it is in itself. Scarcely has Job feasted for a short space upon the idea of that which he would gladly hope for, when the thought of the reality of that which he has to fear again overwhelms him. He seems to himself to be an evil-doer who is

reserved for the execution of the sentence of death. If it is not possible in nature for mountains, rocks, stones, and the dust of the earth to resist the force of the elements, so is it an easy thing for God to destroy the hope of a mortal all at once. He forcibly thrusts him hence from this life; and when he is descended to Hades, he knows nothing whatever of the lot of his own family in the world above. Of the life and knowledge of the living, nothing remains to him but the senseless pain of his dead body, which is gnawed away, and the dull sorrow of his soul, which continues but a shadowy life in Sheôl.

Thus the poet shows us, in the third part of Job's speech, a grand idea, which tries to force its way, but cannot. In the second part, Job desired to maintain his conviction of innocence before God: his confidence is repulsed by the idea of the God who is conceived of by him as an enemy and a capricious ruler, and changes to despair. In the third part, the desire for a life after death is maintained; but he is at once overwhelmed by the imagined inevitable and eternal darkness of Sheôl, but overwhelmed soon to appear again above the billows of temptation, until, in ch. xix., the utterance of faith respecting a future life rises as a certain confidence over death and the grave: the *γνώσις* which comes forth from the conflict of the *πίστις* anticipates that better hope which in the New Testament is established and ratified by the act of redemption wrought by the Conqueror of Hades.

## THE SECOND COURSE OF THE CONTROVERSY.—

## CHAP. XV.—XXI.

*Eliphaz' Second Speech.*—Chap. xv.*Schema*: 10. 8. 6. 6. 6. 10. 14. 10.

[Then began Eliphaz the Temanite, and said :]

- 2 *Doth a wise man utter vain knowledge,  
And fill his breast with the east wind?*
- 3 *Contending with words, that profit not,  
And speeches, by which no good is done?*
- 4 *Moreover, thou makest void the fear of God,  
And thou restrainest devotion before God;*
- 5 *For thy mouth exposeth thy misdeeds,  
And thou choosest the language of the crafty.*
- 6 *Thine own mouth condemneth thee and not I,  
And thine own lips testify against thee.*

The second course of the controversy is again opened by Eliphaz, the most respectable, most influential, and perhaps oldest of the friends. Job's detailed and bitter answers seem to him as empty words and impassioned tirades, which ill become a wise man, such as he claims to be in assertions like ch. xii. 3, xiii. 2. הַחֶקֶם with *He interr.*, like הָעֵלָה, ch. xiii. 25. רֵיחַ, wind, is the opposite of what is solid and sure; and קָרִים in the parallel (like Hos. xii. 2) signifies what is worthless, with the additional notion of vehement action. If we translate בֶּטֶן by "belly," the meaning is apt to be misunderstood; it is not intended as the opposite of לֵב (Ewald), but it means, especially in the book of Job, not only that which feels, but also thinks and wills, the spiritually receptive and active inner nature of man (*Psychol.* p. 313); as also in Arabic, *el-battin* signifies that which is within, even the deepest mystical sense. Hirz. and Renan translate the *inf. abs.* הוֹלִיבָה, which follows in



ver. 3, as *verb. fin.*: *se défend-il par des vaines paroles*; but though the *inf. abs.* is so used in an historical clause (ch. xv. 35), it is not in an interrogative. Ewald takes it as the subject: "to reprove with words—avails not, and speeches—whereby one does no good;" but though דָּבַר and מִלִּים might be used without any further defining, as in *λογομαχεῖν* (2 Tim. ii. 14) and *λογομαχία* (1 Tim. vi. 4), the form of ver. 3b is opposed to such an explanation. The *inf. abs.* is connected as a gerund (*redarguendo s. disputando*) with the verbs in the question, ver. 2; and the elliptical relative clause לֹא יִסְפֵּן is best, as referring to things, according to ch. xxxv. 3: *sermone* (דָּבַר from דָּבַר, as *sermo* from *serere*) *qui non prodest*; לֹא יוֹעִיל בָּם, on the other hand, to persons, *verbis quibus nil utilitatis affert*. Eliphaz does not censure Job for arguing, but for defending himself by such useless and purposeless utterances of his feeling. But still more than that: his speeches are not only unsatisfactory and unbecoming, הֵאָחַז, *accedit quod* (cumulative like ch. xiv. 3), they are moreover irreligious, since by doubting the justice of God they deprive religion of its fundamental assumption, and diminish the reverence due to God. יִרְאָה in such an objective sense as Ps. xix. 10 almost corresponds to the idea of religion. לִפְנֵי ה' is to be understood, according to Ps. cii. 1, cxlii. 3 (comp. lxiv. 2, civ. 34): before God, and consequently customary devotional meditation, here of the disposition of mind indispensable to prayer, viz. devotion, and especially reverential awe, which Job depreciates (דָּחַק, *detrahere*). His speeches are mostly directed towards God; but they are violent and reproachful, therefore irreverent in form and substance.

Ver. 5. וְ is not affirmative: forsooth (Hirz.), but confirmatory or explicative. This opinion respecting him, which is so sharply and definitely expressed by הֵאָחַז, thrusts itself irresistibly forward, for it is not necessary to know his life more exactly, his own mouth, whence such words escape, reveals

his sad state: *docet* (אָלף) only in the book of Job, from אָלף, *discere*, a word which only occurs once in the *Hebrew*, Prov. xxii. 25) *culpam tuam os tuum*, not as Schlottm. explains, with Raschi: *docet culpa tua os tuum*, which, to avoid being misunderstood, must have been חטאתך ואלף, and is a thought unsuited to the connection. אָלף is certainly not directly equivalent to הניד, Isa. iii. 9; it signifies to teach, to explain, and this verb is just the one in the mouth of the censorious friend. What follows must not be translated: while thou chooseth (Hirz.); וחבחר is not a circumstantial clause, but adds a second confirmatory clause to the first: he chooses the language of the crafty, since he pretends to be able to prove his innocence before God, and, although rightly attacked, he assumes the offensive (as ch. xiii. 4 sqq.) against those who exhort him to humble himself. Thus by his evil words he becomes his own judge (יִשְׁעֵךְ) and accuser (עַנּוּ בךְ) after the *fem.* שִׁפְחֵךְ, like Prov. v. 2, xxvi. 23). The knot of the controversy becomes constantly more entangled since Job strengthens the friends more and more in their false view by his speeches, which certainly are sinful in some parts (as ch. ix. 22).

- 7 *Wast thou as the first one born as a man,  
And hast thou been brought forth before the hills?*
- 8 *Hast thou attended in the council of Eloah,  
And hast thou kept wisdom to thyself?*
- 9 *What dost thou know that we have not known?  
Dost thou understand what we have not been acquainted  
with?*
- 10 *Both grey-haired and aged are among us,  
Older in days than thy father.*

The question in ver. 7a assumes that the first created man, because coming direct from the hand of God, had the most direct and profoundest insight into the mysteries of the world which came into existence at the same time as himself.

Schlottman calls to mind an ironical proverbial expression of the Hindus: "Yea, indeed, he is the first man; no wonder that he is so wise" (Roberts, *Orient. Illustr.* p. 276). It is not to be translated: wast thou born as the first man, which is as inadmissible as the translation of אַחַת מֵעַט, Hag. ii. 6, by "a little" (*vid.* Köhler *in loc.*); rather ראִשׁוֹן (*i.e.* ראִשׁוֹן, as Josh. xxi. 10, formed from ראִשׁ, like the Arabic *raïs*, from *ras*, if it is not perhaps a mere incorrect amalgamation of the forms ראִשׁוֹן and ראִשׁוֹן, ch. viii. 8) is in apposition with the subject, and אֶדְרָם is to be regarded as predicate, according to Ges. § 139, 2. Raschi's translation is also impossible: wast thou born before Adam? for this Greek form of expression, *πρῶτός μου*, John i. 15, 30, xv. 18 (comp. *Odys.* xi. 481 sq., *σεῖο μακάριστος*), is strange to the Hebrew. In the parallel question, ver. 7b, Umbr., Schlottm., and Renan (following Ewald) see an allusion to Prov. viii. 24 sq.: art thou the demiurgic Wisdom itself? But the introductory proverbs (Prov. ch. i.-ix.) are more recent than the book of Job (*vid. supra*, p. 24), and indeed probably, as we shall show elsewhere, belong to the time of Jehoshaphat. Consequently the more probable relation is that the writer of Prov. viii. 24 sq. has adopted words from the book of Job in describing the pre-existence of the Chokma. Was Job, a higher spirit-nature, brought forth, *i.e.* as it were amidst the pangs of travail (חִלָּה, *Pulal* from חָל, חִל), before the hills? for the angels, according to Scripture, were created before man, and even before the visible universe (*vid.* ch. xxxviii. 4 sqq.). Hirz., Ew., Schlottm., and others erroneously translate the *futt.* in the questions, ver. 8, as *præs.* All the verbs in vers. 7, 8, are under the control of the retrospective character which is given to the verses by ראִשׁוֹן; comp. x. 10 sq., where זְכַרְנִי has the same influence, and also ch. iii. 3, where the historical sense of אֶדְרָם depends not upon the syntax, but upon logical necessity. Translate therefore: didst thou attend in the

secret council (סוד, like Jer. xxiii. 18, comp. Ps. lxxxix. 8) of Eloah (according to the correct form of writing in Codd. and in Kimchi, *Michlol* 54a, הַסֹּד, like ver. 11 הַמָּעַט and ch. xxii. 13 הַבָּעַר, with *Beth raph.* and without *Gaja*<sup>1</sup>), and didst then acquire for thyself (נָרַע, here *attrahere*, like the Arabic, *sorbere*, to suck in) wisdom? by which one is reminded of Prometheus' fire stolen from heaven. Nay, Job can boast of no extraordinary wisdom. The friends—as Eliphaz, ver. 9, says in their name—are his cotemporaries; and if he desires to appeal to the teaching of his father, and of his ancestors generally, let him know that there are hoary-headed men among themselves, whose discernment is deeper by reason of their more advanced age. בִּנְיָ is inverted, like ch. ii. 10 (which see); and at the same time, since it is used twice, it is correlative: *etiam inter nos et canī et senes*. Most modern expositors think that Eliphaz, “in modestly concealed language” (Ewald), refers to himself. But the reference would be obvious enough; and wherefore this modest concealing, which is so little suited to the character of Eliphaz? Moreover, ver. 10a does not sound as if speaking merely of one, and in ver. 10b Eliphaz would make himself older than he appears to be, for it is nowhere implied that Job is a young man in comparison with him. We therefore with Umbreit explain בְּנֵי: in our generation. Thus it sounds more like the Arabic, both in words (*kebīr* Arab., usual in the signif. *grandævus*) and in substance. Eliphaz appeals to the source of reliable tradition, since they have even among their races and districts mature old men, and since, indeed, according to

<sup>1</sup> As a rule, the interrogative *He*, when pointed with *Pathach*, has *Gaja* against the *Pathach* [2 Sam. vii. 5]; this, however, falls away (among other instances) when the syllable immediately following the *He* has the tone, as in the two examples given above (comp. also הָאֵל, ch. viii. 3; הָאֵל, xiii. 7), or the usual *Gaja* (*Metheg*) which stands in the *antepenultima* (Bär, *Metheg-Setzung*, § 23).

Job's own admission (ch. xii. 12), there is "wisdom among the ancient ones."

- 11 *Are the consolations of God too small for thee,  
And a word thus tenderly spoken with thee?*
- 12 *What overpowers thy heart  
And why do thine eyes wink,*
- 13 *That thou turnest thy snorting against God,  
And sendest forth such words from thy mouth?*

By the consolations of God, Eliphaz means the promises in accordance with the majesty and will of God, by which he and the other friends have sought to cheer him, of course presupposing a humble resignation to the just hand of God. By "a word (spoken) in gentleness to him," he means the gentle tone which they have maintained, while he has passionately opposed them. **אָל**, elsewhere **אָל** (*e.g.* Isa. viii. 6, of the softly murmuring and gently flowing Siloah), from **אָל** (declined, **אָל**), with the neutral, adverbial **אָל** (as **אָל**), signifies: with a soft step, gently. The word has no connection with **אָל**, **אָל**, to cover over, and is not third *præt.* (as it is regarded by Raschi, after Chajug): which he has gently said to you, or that which has gently befallen you; in which, as in Fürst's *Handwörterbuch*, the notions *secrete* (Judg. iv. 21, Targ. **אָל**, in secret) and *leniter* are referred to one root. Are these divine consolations, and these so gentle addresses, too small for thee (**אָל**, *opp.* 1 Kings xix. 7), *i.e.* beneath thy dignity, and unworthy of thy notice? What takes away (**אָל**, *auferre, abripere*, as frequently) thy heart (here of wounded pride), and why do thine eyes gleam, that thou turnest (**אָל**, not *revertere*, but *vertere*, as freq.) thy ill-humour towards God, and utterest **אָל** (so here, not **אָל**) words, which, because they are without meaning and intelligence, are nothing but words? **אָל**, *אπ. γεγρ.*, is transposed from **אָל**, to wink, *i.e.* to make known by gestures and grimaces,—a word which does

not occur in biblical, but is very common in post-biblical, Hebrew (*e.g.* חרש רומ ונרמ, a deaf and dumb person expresses himself and is answered by a language of signs). Modern expositors arbitrarily understand a rolling of the eyes; it is more natural to think of the vibration of the eye-lashes or eye-brows. רמ, ver. 13, is as in Judg. viii. 3, Isa. xxv. 4, comp. xiii. 11, and freq. used of passionate excitement, which is thus expressed because it manifests itself in *πνέειν* (Acts ix. 1), and has its rise in the *πνεῦμα* (Eccl. vii. 9). Job ought to control this angry spirit, *θυμός* (*Psychol.* p. 235); but he allows it to burst forth, and makes even God the object on which he vents his anger in impetuous language. How much better it would be for him, if he would search within himself (Lam. iii. 39) for the reason of those sufferings which so deprive him of his self-control!

- 14 *What is mortal man that he should be pure,  
And that he who is born of woman should be righteous?*  
15 *Behold! He trusteth not His holy ones,  
And the heavens are not pure in His eyes:*  
16 *How much less the abominable and corrupt,  
Man, who drinketh iniquity as water!*

The exclamation in ver. 14 is like the utterance: mortal man and man born flesh of flesh cannot be entirely sinless. Even "the holy ones" and "the heavens" are not. The former are, as in ch. v. 1, according to iv. 18, the angels as beings of light (whether קדש signifies to be light from the very first, spotlessly pure, or, *vid. Psalter*, i. 588 sq., to be separated, distinct, and hence exalted above what is common); the latter is not another expression for the אַנְגֵּלֵי מְרוֹמָא (Targ.), the "angels of the heights," but שְׁמַיִם is the word used for the highest spheres in which they dwell (comp. ch. xxv. 5); for the angels are certainly not corporeal, but, like all created things, in space, and the Scriptures everywhere speak of

angels and the starry heavens together. Hence the angels are called the morning stars in ch. xxxviii. 7, and hence both stars and angels are called **צִבְאוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם** and **צִבְאוֹת** (*vid. Genesis*, S. 128). Even the angels and the heavens are finite, and consequently are not of a nature absolutely raised above the possibility of sin and contamination.

Eliphaz repeats here what he has already said, ch. iv. 18 sq.; but he does it intentionally, since he wishes still more terribly to describe human uncleanness to Job (Oetinger). In that passage **הָאֵל** was merely the sign of an anti-climax, here **הָאֵל** is *quanto minus*. Eliphaz refers to the hereditary infirmity and sin of human nature in ver. 14, here (ver. 16) to man's own free choice of that which works his destruction. He uses the strongest imaginable words to describe one *actualiter* and *originaliter* corrupted. **נִתְעַב** denotes one who is become an abomination, or the abominated = abominable (Ges. § 134, 1); **נִאֲלַח**, one thoroughly corrupted (Arabic *alacha*, in the medial VIII. conjugation: to become sour, which reminds one of *ζύμη*, Rabb. **שָׂאֵר שְׂבָעָה**, as, an image of evil, and especially of evil desire). It is further said of him (an expression which Elihu adopts, ch. xxxiv. 7), that he drinks up evil like water. The figure is like Prov. xxvi. 6, comp. on Ps. lxxiii. 10, and implies that he lusts after sin, and that it is become a necessity of his nature, and is to his nature what water is to the thirsty. Even Job does not deny this corruption of man (ch. xiv. 4), but the inferences which the friends draw in reference to him he cannot acknowledge. The continuation of Eliphaz' speech shows how they render this acknowledgment impossible to him.

17 *I will inform thee, hear me!*

*And what I have myself seen that I will declare,*

18 *Things which wise men declare*

*Without concealment from their fathers—*

19 *To them alone was the land given over,  
And no stranger had passed into their midst—:*

Eliphaz, as in his first speech, introduces the dogma with which he confronts Job with a solemn preface: in the former case it had its rise in a revelation, here it is supported by his own experience and reliable tradition; for חזיתי is not intended as meaning ecstatic vision (Schlottm.). The poet uses חזו also of sensuous vision, ch. viii. 17; and of observation and knowledge by means of the senses, not only the more exalted, as ch. xix. 26 sq., but of any kind (ch. xxiii. 9, xxiv. 1, xxvii. 12, comp. xxxvi. 25, xxxiv. 32), in the widest sense. חז is used as neuter, Gen. vi. 15, Ex. xiii. 8, xxx. 13, Lev. xi. 4, and freq.<sup>1</sup> (comp. the neuter חזו, ch. xiii. 16, and often), and חז-חזיתי is a relative clause (Ges. § 122, 2): *quod conspexi*, as ch. xix. 19 *quos amo*, and Ps. lxxiv. 2 *in quo habitas*, comp. Ps. civ. 8, 26, Prov. xxiii. 22, where the punctuation throughout proceeds from the correct knowledge of the syntax. The *waw* of וּמִסִּפְרָה is the *waw apodosis*, which is customary (Nägelsbach, § 111, 1, *b*) after relative clauses (*e.g.* Num. xxiii. 3), or what is the same thing, participles (*e.g.* Prov. xxiii. 24): *et narrabo = ea narrabo*. In ver. 18 וְלֹא כִחְזוּ is, logically at least, subordinate to יָגִידוּ, as in Isa. iii. 9,<sup>2</sup> as the Targum of the Antwerp Polyglott well translates: "what wise men declare, without concealing (וְלֹא מְכַרְזִין), from the tradition of their fathers;" whereas all the other old translations, including Luther's, have missed the right meaning. These fathers to whom this doctrine respecting the fate of evil-doers is referred, lived, as Eliphaz says in ver. 19, in the land of their birth, and did not mingle themselves with

<sup>1</sup> So also Ps. lvi. 10, where I now prefer to translate "This I know," חז neuter, like Prov. xxiv. 12, and referring forward as above, ver. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Heidenheim refers to Hos. viii. 2 for the position of the words, but there *Israel* may also be an apposition: we know thee, we Israel.



strangers ; consequently their manner of viewing things, and their opinions, have in their favour the presumption of independence, of being derived from their own experience, and also of a healthy development undisturbed by any foreign influences, and their teaching may be accounted pure and unalloyed.

Eliphaz thus indirectly says, that the present is not free from such influences, and Ewald is consequently of opinion that the individuality of the Israelitish poet peeps out here, and a state of things is indicated like that which came about after the fall of Samaria in the reign of Manasseh. Hirzel also infers from Eliphaz' words, that at the time when the book was written the poet's fatherland was desecrated by some foreign rule, and considers it an indication for determining the time at which the book was composed. But how groundless and deceptive this is ! The way in which Eliphaz commends ancient traditional lore is so genuinely Arabian, that there is but the faintest semblance of a reason for supposing the poet to have thrown his own history and national peculiarity so vividly into the working up of the rôle of another. Purity of race was, from the earliest times, considered by "the sons of the East" as the sign of highest nobility, and hence Eliphaz traces back his teaching to a time when his race could boast of the greatest freedom from intermixture with any other. Schlottmann prefers to interpret ver. 19 as referring to the "nobler primeval races of man" (without, however, referring to ch. viii. 8), but אֲרָץ does not signify the earth here, but : country, as in ch. xxx. 8, xxii. 8, and elsewhere, and ver. 19b seems to refer to nations : אֲרָ = *barbarus* (perhaps Semitic : בְּרִיָּר, ὁ ἄλλω). Nevertheless it is unnecessary to suppose that Eliphaz' time was one of foreign domination, as the Assyrian-Chaldean time was for Israel : it is sufficient to imagine it as a time when the tribes of the desert were becoming intermixed, from migration, commerce, and feud.

Now follows the doctrine of the wise men, which springs from a venerable primitive age, an age as yet undisturbed by any strange way of thinking (modern enlightenment and free thinking, as we should say), and is supported by Eliphaz' own experience.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Communication from Consul Wetzstein: If this verse affirms that the freer a people is from intermixture with other races, the purer is its tradition, it gives expression to a principle derived from experience, which needs no proof. Even European races, especially the Scandinavians, furnish proof of this in their customs, language, and traditions, although in this case certain elements of their indigenous character have vanished with the introduction of Christianity. A more complete parallel is furnished by the wandering tribes of the 'Aneze and Sharârât of the Syrian deserts, people who have indeed had their struggles, and have even been weakened by emigration, but have certainly never lost their political and religious autonomy, and have preserved valuable traditions which may be traced to the earliest antiquity. It is unnecessary to prove this by special instances, when the whole outer and inner life of these peoples can be regarded as the best commentary on the biblical accounts of the patriarchal age. It is, however, not so much the *fact* that the evil-doer receives his punishment, in favour of which Eliphaz appeals to the teaching handed down from the fathers, as rather the *belief in it*, consequently in a certain degree the dogma of a moral order in the world. This dogma is an essential element of the ancient Abrahamic religion of the desert tribes—that primitive religion which formed the basis of the Mosaic, and side by side with it was continued among the nomads of the desert; which, shortly before the appearance of Christianity in the country east of Jordan, gave birth to mild doctrines, doctrines which tended to prepare the way for the teaching of the gospel; which at that very time, according to historical testimony, also prevailed in the towns of the *Higâz*, and was first displaced again by the Jemanic idolatry, and limited to the desert, in the second century after Christ, during the repeated migrations of the southern Arabs; which gave the most powerful impulse to the rise of *Islam*, and furnished its best elements; which, towards the end of the last century, brought about the reform of Islamism in the province of *Negd*, and produced the *Wahabee* doctrine; and which, finally, is continued even to the present day by the name of *Din Ibrâhîm*, "Religion of Abraham," as a faithful tradition of the fathers, among the vast Ishmaelitish tribes of the Syrian desert, "to whom alone the land is given over, and into whose midst no stranger has penetrated." Had this *cultus* spread among settled races with a higher education, it might have been taught also in writings: if, however, portions of writings in reference to it, which have been handed

- 20 *So long as the ungodly liveth he suffereth,  
And numbered years are reserved for the tyrant.*
- 21 *Terrors sound in his ears;  
In time of peace the destroyer cometh upon him.*
- 22 *He believeth not in a return from darkness,  
And he is selected for the sword.*
- 23 *He roameth about after bread: "Ah! where is it?"  
He knoweth that a dark day is near at hand for him.*
- 24 *Trouble and anguish terrify him;  
They seize him as a king ready to the battle.*

All the days of the ungodly he (the ungodly) is sensible of pain. עָשָׂה stands, like *Elohim* in Gen. ix. 6, by the closer definition; here however so, that this defining ends after the manner of a premiss, and is begun by הָיָה after the manner of a conclusion. מְתַחֵל, he writhes, *i.e.* suffers inward anxiety

down to us by the Arabs, are to be regarded as unauthentic, it may also in 'Irāk have been mixed with the *Sabian* worship of the stars; but among the nomads it will have always been only oral, taught by the poets in song, and contained in the fine traditions handed down uncorrupted from father to son, and practised in life.

It is a dogma of this religion (of which I shall speak more fully in the introduction to my *Anthologie von Poesien der Wanderstämme*), that the pious will be rewarded by God in his life and in his descendants, the wicked punished in his life and in his descendants; and it may also, in ver. 19, be indirectly said that the land of Eliphaz has preserved this faith, in accordance with tradition, purer than Job's land. If Eliphaz was from the Petrean town of *Têman* (which we merely suggest as possible here), he might indeed rightly assert that no strange race had become naturalized there; for that hot, sterile land, poorly supplied with water, had nothing inviting to the emigrant or marauder, and its natives remain there only by virtue of the proverb: *lôlâ hhibb el-wattan qat.tâl, lakân dêr es-sû' charâb*, "Did not the love of one's country slay (him who is separated from it), the barren country would be uninhabited." Job certainly could not affirm the same of his native country, if this is, with the Syrian tradition, to be regarded as the *Nukra* (on this point, *vid.* the Appendix). As the richest province of Syria, it has, from the earliest time to the present, always been an apple of contention, and has not only frequently changed its rulers, but even its inhabitants.

and distress in the midst of all outward appearance of happiness. Most expositors translate the next line: and throughout the number of the years, which are reserved to the tyrant. But (1) this parallel definition of time appended by *waw* makes the sense drawling; (2) the change of *רָשָׁע* (oppressor, tyrant) for *רָשָׁע* leads one to expect a fresh affirmation, hence it is translated by the LXX.: *ἐτη δὲ ἀριθμητὰ δεδομένα δυνάστη.* The predicate is, then, like ch. xxxii. 7, comp. xxix. 10, 1 Sam. ii. 4 (Ges. § 148), *per attractionem* in the *plur.* instead of in the *sing.*, and especially with *רָשָׁע* followed by *gen. plur.*, this attraction is adopted by our author, ch. xxi. 21, xxxviii. 21. The meaning is not, that numbered, *i.e.* few, years are secretly appointed to the tyrant, which must have been *sh'nóth mispâr*, a reversed position of the words, as ch. xvi. 22, Num. ix. 20 (*vid.* Gesenius' *Thes.*); but a (limited, appointed) number of years is reserved to the tyrant (*צַד* as ch. xxiv. 1, xxi. 19, comp. *צַד*, ch. xx. 26; Mercerus: *occulto decreto definiti*), after the expiration of which his punishment begins. The thought expressed by the Targ., Syr., and Jerome would be suitable: and the number of the years (that he has to live unpunished) is hidden from the tyrant; but if this were the poet's meaning, he would have written *שְׁנֵי*, and must have written *מִדְּהָעֵרֶךְ*.

With regard to the following vers. 21-24, it is doubtful whether only the evil-doer's anxiety of spirit is described in amplification of *הוּא מַחְחֹלֵל*, or also how the terrible images from which he suffers in his conscience are realized, and how he at length helplessly succumbs to the destruction which his imagination had long foreboded. A satisfactory and decisive answer to this question is hardly possible; but considering that the real crisis is brought on by Eliphaz later, and fully described, it seems more probable that what has an objective tone in vers. 21-24 is controlled by what has been affirmed respecting the evil conscience of the ungodly, and is to be

understood accordingly. The sound of terrible things (startling dangers) rings in his ears; the devastator comes upon him (בֹּא *seq. acc.* as ch. xx. 22, Prov. xxviii. 22; comp. Isa. xxviii. 15) in the midst of his prosperity. He anticipates it ere it happens. From the darkness by which he feels himself menaced, he believes not (הִאֲמִין *seq. infin.* as Ps. xxvii. 13, לָאוֹת, of confident hope) to return; *i.e.* overwhelmed with a consciousness of his guilt, he cannot, in the presence of this darkness which threatens him, rise to the hope of rescue from it, and he is really—as his consciousness tells him—צָפָה (like עָשָׂה, ch. xli. 25; Ges. § 75, rem. 5; *Keri* צָפָה, which is omitted in our printed copies, contrary to the testimony of the Masora and the authority of correct MSS.), spied out for, appointed to the sword, *i.e.* of God (ch. xix. 29; Isa. xxxi. 8), or decreed by God. In the midst of abundance he is harassed by the thought of becoming poor; he wanders about in search of bread, anxiously looking out and asking where? (abrupt, like הֵנָּה, ch. ix. 19), *i.e.* where is any to be found, whence can I obtain it? The LXX. translates contrary to the connection, and with a strange misunderstanding of the passage: *κατατέτακται δὲ εἰς οἷτα γυψίν* (אֵיִה לֶחֶם, food for the vulture). He sees himself in the mirror of the future thus reduced to beggary; he knows that a day of darkness stands in readiness (נֶכֶח, like ch. xviii. 12), is at his hand, *i.e.* close upon him (בְּיָד, elsewhere in this sense לֵיד, Ps. cxi. 6, 1 Sam. xix. 3, and עַל־יָד, ch. i. 14). In accordance with the previous exposition, we shall now interpret צָר וְצָרָה, ver. 24, not of need and distress, but subjectively of fear and oppression. They come upon him suddenly and irresistibly; it seizes or overpowers him (תִּתְקַפֵּהוּ with neutral subject: an unknown something, a dismal power) as a king עָתִיד לְבִירוֹר. LXX. ὥσπερ στρατηγὸς πρωτοστάτης πύκτων, like a leader falling in the first line of the battle, which is an imaginary interpretation of the text. The translation of the Targum also,

*sicut regem qui paratus est ad scabellum* (to serve the conqueror as a footstool), furnishes no explanation. Another Targum translation (in Nachmani and elsewhere) is: *sicut rex qui paratus est circumdare se legionibus*. According to this, כִּדּוּר comes from כָּדַר, to surround, be round (comp. כָּתַר, whence כָּתַר, Assy. *cudur*, *κιδάρις*, perhaps also כָּדַר, Syr. כדר, whence *ch'dor*, a circle, round about); and it is assumed, that as כִּדּוּר signifies a ball (not only in Talmudic, but also in Isa. xxii. 18, which is to be translated: rolling he rolleth thee into a ball, a ball into a spacious land), so כִּדּוּר, a round encampment, an army encamped in a circle, synon. of מַעֲקֵל. In this first signification the word certainly furnishes no suitable sense in connection with עָתִיד; but one may, with Kimchi, suppose that כִּדּוּר, like the Italian *tornimento*, denotes the circle as well as the tournament, or the round of conflict, i.e. the conflict which moves round about, like tumult of battle, which last is a suitable meaning here. The same appropriate meaning is attained, however, if the root is taken, like the Arabic كدر, in the signification *turbidum esse* (comp. קָדַר, ch. vi. 16), which is adopted of misfortunes as troubled experiences of life (according to which Schultens translates: *destinatus est ad turbulentissimas fortunas*, beginning a new thought with עָתִיד, which is not possible, since כָּמַל by itself is no complete figure), and may perhaps also be referred to the tumult of battle, *tumultus bellici conturbatio* (Rosenm.); or if, with Fleischer, one starts from another turn of the idea of the root, viz. to be compressed, solid, thick, which in a more certain way gives the meaning of a dense crowd.<sup>1</sup> Since,

<sup>1</sup> The verb כָּדַר belongs to the root כד, to smite, thrust, *quaterē, percutere, tundere, trudere*; a root that has many branches. It is I. transitive *cadara* (fut. *jaduru*, inf. *cadr*)—by the non-adeption of which from the original lexicons our lexicographers have deprived the whole etymological development of its groundwork—in the signification to *pour, hurl down, pour out*, e.g. *cadara-l-māa*, he has spilt, poured out, thrown down the water; hence in the medial VII. form *incadara* intransitive, to fall, fall

therefore, a suitable meaning is obtained in two ways, the natural conjecture, which is commended by Prov. vi. 11, עָתִיר לַכִּידֹן, *paratus ad hastam* = *peritus hastæ* (Hupf.), according to ch. iii. 8 (where עָתִיר = לַעֲתִיר), may be abandoned. The signification *circuitus* has the most support, according to which Saadia and Parchon also explain, and we have preferred to translate round of battle rather than tumult of conflict; Jerome's translation, *qui præparatur ad prælium*, seems also to be gained in the same manner.

- 25 *Because he stretched out his hand against God,  
And was insolent towards the Almighty ;*  
26 *He assailed Him with a stiff neck,  
With the thick bosses of his shield ;*  
27 *Because he covered his face with his fatness,  
And addeth fat to his loins,*

down, chiefly of water and other fluids, as of the rain which pours down from heaven, of a cascade, and the like ; then improperly of a bird of prey which shoots down from the air upon its prey (*e.g.* in the poetry in Beidhâwî on Sur. 81, 2 : "The hawk saw some bustards on the plain *f'ancadara*, and rushed down"); of a hostile host which rushes upon the enemy [first possible signification for כִּידֹן]; of a man, horse, etc., which runs very swiftly, *effuse currit, effuso curru ruit*; of the stars that shall fall from heaven at the last day (Sur. 81, 2). Then also II. intransitive *cadara* (fut. *jacdiru*) with the secondary form *cadira* (fut. *jacdaru*) and *cadura* (fut. *jacduru*), prop. *to be shaken and jolted*; then also of fluid things, mixed and mingled, made turgid, unclean, *i.e.* by shaking, jolting, stirring, etc., with the dregs (the *cudâre* or *cudâde*); then gen. *turbidum, non limpidum esse* (opp. *سفا*), with a similar transition of meaning to that in *turbare* (comp. *deturbare*) and the German *trüben* (comp. *traben* or *trappen, treiben, treffen*). The primary meaning of the root takes another III. turn in the derived adjectives *cudur, cûdurr, cundur, cunâdir, compressed, solid, thick*; the last word with us (Germans) forms a transition from *cadir, cadr, cadîr*, dull, slimy, yeasty, etc., inasmuch as we speak of *dicke Bier* (thick beer), etc., *cerevisia spissa, de la bière épaisse*. Here the point of contact for the word כִּידֹן, tumult of battle, κλονος ἀνδρῶν, seems indicated : a dense crowd and tumult, where one is close upon another; as also מִלֶּחֶם, מִלֶּחֶמָה, signify not reciprocal destruction, slaughter, but to press firmly and closely upon one another, a dense crowd.—FL.

- 28 *And inhabited desolated cities,  
Houses which should not be inhabited,  
Which were appointed to be ruins :*
- 29 *He shall not be rich, and his substance shall not continue  
And their substance boweth not to the ground.*
- 30 *He escapeth not darkness ;  
The flame withereth his shoots ;  
And he perisheth in the breath of His mouth.*

This strophe has periodic members : vers. 25-28 an antecedent clause with a double beginning (בִּינְטָה because he has stretched out, בִּיבֶסָה because he has covered ; whereas יִרֵן may be taken as more independent, but under the government of the כִּי that stands at the commencement of the sentence) ; vers. 29, 30, is the conclusion. Two chief sins are mentioned as the cause of the final destiny that comes upon the evil-doer : (1) his arrogant opposition to God, and (2) his contentment on the ruins of another's prosperity. The first of these sins is described vers. 25-27. The *fut. consec.* is once used instead of the *perf.*, and the simple *fut.* is twice used with the signification of an *imperf.* (as ch. iv. 3 and freq.) The *Hithpa.* הִתְנַבֵּר signifies here to maintain a heroic bearing, to play the hero ; הִתְעַשֵּׂר to make one's self rich, to play the part of a rich man, Prov. xiii. 7. And בְּצוּאָר expresses the special prominence of the neck in his assailing God (רִנָּן אֵל, as Dan. viii. 6, comp. עַל, ch. xvi. 14) ; it is equivalent to *erecto collo* (Vulg.), and in meaning equivalent to *ὑψοῦ* (LXX.). Also in Ps. lxxv. 6, בְּצוּאָר (with *Munach*, which there represents a distinctive<sup>1</sup>) is absolute, in the sense of stiff-necked or hard-headed ; for the parallels, as Ps. xxxi. 19, xciv. 4, and especially the primary passage, 1 Sam. ii. 3, show that עָוָן is to be taken as an accusative of the object. The proud defiance with which he challengingly assails God, and renders himself

<sup>1</sup> Vid. *Dachseelt's Biblia Accentuata*, p. 816.



insensible to the dispensations of God, which might bring him to a right way of thinking, is symbolized by the additional clause: with the thickness ('עָצָה cognate form to 'עָצָה) of the bosses of his shields. צֶבַע is the back (ظَهْر) or boss (*umbo*) of the shield; the plurality of shields has reference to the diversified means by which he hardens himself. Ver. 27, similarly to Ps. lxxiii. 4-7, pictures this impregnable carnal security against all unrest and pain, to which, on account of his own sinfulness and the distress of others, the nobler-minded man is so sensitive: he has covered his face with his fat, so that by the accumulation of fat, for which he anxiously labours, it becomes a gross material lump of flesh, devoid of mind and soul, and made fat, *i.e.* added fat, caused it to accumulate, upon his loins (בְּסִלְיוֹ for בְּסִלְיוֹ); עָשָׂה (which has nothing to do with غَشَى, to cover) is used as in ch. xiv. 9, and in the phrase *corpus facere* (in Justin), in the sense of producing outwardly something from within. עָשָׂה reminds one of *πυμ-ελη* (as Aquila and Symmachus translate here), *o-pim-us*, and of the Sanscrit *piai*, to be fat: (whence adj. *pivan*, *pivara*, *πιωρός*, part. *pína*, subst. according to Roth *pívas*); the Arabic renders it probable that it is a contraction of עָשָׂה (Olsh. § 171, b). The Jewish expositors explain it according to the misunderstood פִּים, 1 Sam. xiii. 21, of the furrows or wrinkles which are formed in flabby flesh, as if the *ah* were paragogic.

Ver. 28 describes the second capital sin of the evil-doer. The desolated cities that he dwells in are not cities that he himself has laid waste; 28c distinctly refers to a divinely appointed punishment, for הָעִירֵי הָעֲוִרִים does not signify: which they (evil-doers) have made ruins for themselves (Hahn), which is neither probable from the change of number, nor accords with the meaning of the verb, which signifies "to appoint to something in the future." Hirzel, by referring to the law, Deut. xiii. 13-19 (comp. 1 Kings xvi. 34), which forbids the rebuilding of such cities as are laid under the curse, explains it to a

certain extent more correctly. But such an allusion to a requirement of the Mosaic law is in itself not probable in the book of Job, and here, as Löwenthal rightly remarks, is the less indicated, since it is not the dwelling in such cities that is forbidden, but only the rebuilding of them, so far as they had been destroyed; here, however, the reference is only to dwelling, not to rebuilding. The expression must therefore be understood more generally thus, that the powerful man settles down carelessly and indolently, without any fear of the judgments of God or respect for the manifestations of His judicial authority, in places in which the marks of a just divine retribution are still visible, and which are appointed to be perpetual monuments of the execution of divine judgments.<sup>1</sup> Only by this rendering is the form of expression of the elliptical clause *לֹא יֵשְׁבוּ לָמוֹ* explained. Hirz. refers *לָמוֹ* to *בָּתִּים*: in which they do not dwell; but *יֵשְׁב* does not signify: to dwell in a place, but: to settle down in a place; Schlottm. refers *לָמוֹ* to the inhabitants: therein they dwell not themselves, i.e. where no one dwelt; but the *אֲשֶׁר* which would be required in this case as *acc. localis* could not be omitted.

<sup>1</sup> For the elucidation of this interpretation of the passage, Consul Wetzstein has contributed the following: "As one who yields to inordinate passion is without sympathy cast from human society because he is called *muqâtal rabbuh*, 'one who is beaten in the conflict against his God' (since he has sinned against the holy command of chastity), and as no one ventures to pronounce the name of Satan because God has cursed him (Gen. iii. 14), without adding '*alêh el-la'ne*, 'God's curse upon him!' so a man may not presume to inhabit places which God has appointed to desolation. Such villages and cities, which, according to tradition, have perished and been frequently overthrown (*maqlûbe*, *muqêlibe*, *munqalibe*) by the visitation of divine judgment, are not uncommon on the borders of the desert. They are places, it is said, where the primary commandments of the religion of Abraham (*Dîn Ibrâhim*) have been impiously transgressed. Thus the city of *Babylon* will never be colonized by a Semitic tribe, because they hold the belief that it has been destroyed on account of *Nimrod's* apostasy from God, and his hostility to His favoured one, *Abraham*. The tradition which has even been transferred by the tribes of Arabia *Petræa* into Islamism of the desolation of the city of *Hijr* (or

One might more readily, with Hahn, explain : those to whom they belong do not inhabit them ; but it is linguistically impossible for *לֹא* to stand alone as the expression of this subject (the possessors). The most natural, and also an admissible explanation, is, that *יִשְׁבוּ* refers to the houses, and that *לֹא*, which can be used not only of persons, but also of things, is *dat. ethicus*. The meaning, however, is not : which are uninhabited, which would not be expressed as future, but rather by *אִין בֵּיתָם יִשְׁבּוּ* or similarly, but : which shall not inhabit, *i.e.* shall not be inhabited to them (*יִשְׁבּוּ*, to dwell = to have inhabitants, as Isa. xiii. 10, Jer. l. 13, 39, and freq.), or, as we should express it, which ought to remain uninhabited.

Ver. 29 begins the conclusion : (because he has acted thus) he shall not be rich (with a personal subject as Hos. xii. 9, and *יִנְעֹזֵר* to be written with a sharpened *שׁ*, like *יִנְעֹזֵר* above, ch. xii. 15), and his substance shall not endure (*קָם*, to take place, Isa. vii. 7 ; to endure, 1 Sam. xiii. 14 ; and hold fast, ch. xli. 18), and *מִנְלָם* shall not incline itself to the earth. The interpretation of the older expositors, *non extendet se in terra*, is impossible—that must be *יִנְטָה בְּאֶרֶץ* ; whereas

*Medâin Sâlih*) on account of disobedience to God, prevents any one from dwelling in that remarkable city, which consists of thousands of dwellings cut in the rock, some of which are richly ornamented ; without looking round, and muttering prayers, the desert ranger hurries through, even as does the great procession of pilgrims to *Mekka*, from fear of incurring the punishment of God by the slightest delay in the accursed city. The destruction of *Sodom*, brought about by the violation of the right of hospitality (Gen. xix. 5, comp. Job xxxi. 32), is to be mentioned here, for this legend certainly belongs originally to the '*Din Ibrâhîm*' rather than to the Mosaic. At the source of the *Rakkâd* (the largest river of the Golan region) there are a number of erect and remarkably perforated jasper formations, which are called 'the bridal procession' (*el-fârîda*). This bridal procession was turned to stone, because a woman of the party cleaned her child that had made itself dirty with a bread-cake (*qurs*). Near it is its village (*Ufûne*), which in spite of repeated attempts is no more to be inhabited. It remains forsaken, as an eternal witness that ingratitude (*kufrân en-nîma*), especially towards God, does not remain unpunished."

*Kal* is commonly used in the intransitive sense to bow down, bend one's self or incline (Ges. § 53, 2). But what is the meaning of the subject מְנַלֵּם? We may put out of consideration those interpretations that condemn themselves: מִן לָם, *ex iis* (Targ.), or מִן לָם, *quod iis*, what belongs to them (Saad.), or מְנַלֵּם, their word (Syr. and Gecatilia), and such substitutions as σκυάν (צֶלֶם or צֶלֶלֶם) of the LXX., and *radicem* of Jerome (which seems only to be a guess). Certainly that which throws most light on the signification of the word is מְנַלֵּם (for מְנַלֵּם with *Dag. dirimens*, as ch. xvii. 2), which occurs in Isa. xxxiii. 1. The oldest Jewish lexicographers take this מְנַלֵּם (parall. מְנַלֵּם) as a synonym of מְנַלֵּם in the signification, to bring to an end; on the other hand, Ges., Knobel, and others, consider מְנַלֵּם to be the original reading, because the meaning *perficere* is not furnished for מְנַלֵּם from the Arab. نَال, and because نَال, standing thus together, is in Arabic an incompatible root combination (Olsh. § 9, 4). This union of consonants certainly does not occur in any Semitic root, but the Arab. *nāla* (the long *a* of which can in the inflection become a short changeable vowel) furnishes sufficient protection for this one exception; and the meaning *consequi*, which belongs to the Arab. *nāla*, fut. *janīlu*, is perfectly suited to Isa. xxxiii. 1: if thou hast fully attained (*Hiph.* as intensive of the transitive *Kal*, like הִנְיָה, הִנְיָה) to plundering. If, however, the verb מְנַלֵּם is established, there is no need for any conjecture in the passage before us, especially since the improvement nearest at hand, מְנַלֵּם (Hupf. מְנַלֵּם), produces a sentence (*non figet in terra caulam*) which could not be flatter and tamer; whereas the thought that is gained by Olshausen's more sensible conjecture, מְנַלֵּם (their sickle does not sink to the earth, is not pressed down by the richness of the produce of the field), goes to the other extreme.<sup>1</sup> Juda b. Karisch (Kureisch)

<sup>1</sup> Carey proposes to take מְנַלֵּם = מְנַלֵּם, their cutting, layer for planting; but the verb-group מְנַלֵּם, מְנַלֵּם, מְנַלֵּם (*vid. supra*, p. 224) is not favourable

has explained the word correctly by *منالهم*: that which they have offered (from *nāla*, *janūlu*) or attained (*nāla*, *janūlu*), i.e. their possession<sup>1</sup> (not: their perfection, as it is chiefly explained by the Jewish expositors, according to *נלה* = *כלה*). When the poet says, "their prosperity inclines not to the ground," he denies to it the likeness to a field of corn, which from the weight of the ears bows itself towards the ground, or to a tree, whose richly laden branches bend to the ground. We may be satisfied with this explanation (Hirz., Ew., Stickel, and most others): *מְנִלָּה* from *מָנַלָּה* (with which Kimchi compares *מָכַרָה*, Num. xx. 19, which however is derived not from *מָכַרָה*, but from *מָכַר*), similar in meaning to the post-biblical *מָמון*, *μαμωνᾶς*; the suff., according to the same change of number as in ver. 35, ch. xx. 23, and freq., refers to *רָשָׁעִים*. In ver. 30, also, a figure taken from a plant is interwoven with what is said of the person of the ungodly: the flame withers up his tender branch without its bearing fruit, and he himself does not escape darkness, but rather perishes by the breath of His mouth, i.e. God's mouth (ch. iv. 9, not

to the supposition of a substantive *נֶמֶל* in this signification, according to the usual application of the language.

<sup>1</sup> Freytag has erroneously placed the infinitives *nail* and *manāl* under *נָאֵל med. Wau*, instead of under *נָאֵל med. Je*, where he only repeats *nail*, and erroneously gives *manāl* the signification *donum*, citing in support of it a passage from *Fākihat al-chulafā*, where 'aziz al-manāl (a figure borrowed from places difficult of access, and rendered strong and impregnable by nature or art) signifies "one who was hard to get at" (i.e. whose position of power is made secure). The true connection is this: *נָאֵל med. Wau* signifies originally to extend, reach, to hand anything to any one with outstretched arm or hand, the correlatum *נָאֵל med. Je*: to attain, i.e. first to touch or reach anything with outstretched arm or hand, and then really to grasp and take it, gen. *adipisci, consequi, assequi, impetrare*, with the ordinary infinitives *nail* and *manāl*. Therefore *manāl* (from *נָאֵל med. Je*) signifies primarily as abstract, attainment; it may then, however, like *nail* and the infinitives generally, pass over to the concrete signification: what one attains to, or what one has attained, gotten, although I can give no special example in support of it.—FL.

of his own, after Isa. xxxiii. 11). The repetition of יָסִיר ("he escapes not," as Prov. xiii. 14; "he must yield to," as 1 Kings xv. 14, and freq.) is an impressive play upon words.

- 31 *Let him not trust in evil—he is deceived,  
For evil shall be his possession.*  
32 *His day is not yet, then it is accomplished,  
And his palm-branch loseth its freshness.*  
33 *He teareth off as a vine his young grapes,  
And He casteth down as an olive-tree his flower.*  
34 *The company of the hypocrite is rigid,  
And fire consumeth the tents of bribery.*  
35 *They conceive sorrow and bring forth iniquity,  
And their inward part worketh self-deceit.*

לֹא does not merely introduce a declaration respecting the future (Luther: he will not continue, which moreover must have been expressed by the *Niph.*), but is admonitory: may he only not trust in vanity (*Munach* here instead of *Dechâ*, according to the rule of transformation, *Psalter*, ii. 504, § 4)—he falls, so far as he does it, into error, or brings himself into error (נִחַשׁ, 3 *præt.*, not *part.*, and *Niph.* like Isa. xix. 14, where it signifies to be thrust backwards and forwards, or to reel about helplessly),—a thought one might expect after the admonition (Olsh. conjectures נִחַשׁ, one who is detestable): this trusting in evil is self-delusion, for evil becomes his exchange (חֲסוּדָה not *compensatio*, but *permutatio, acquisitio*). We have translated נִשְׁׁ by "evil" (*Unheil*), by which we have sought elsewhere to render נִחַשׁ, in order that we might preserve the same word in both members of the verse. In ver. 31a, נִשְׁׁ (in form = נִחַשׁ from נִשׁ, in the *Chethib* נִשׁ, the *Aleph* being cast away, like the Arabic سوء, wickedness, from the v. cavum hamzatum sâ-'a = sawu'a) is waste and empty

in mind, in 31*b* (comp. Hos. xii. 12) waste and empty in fortune; or, to go further from the primary root, in the former case apparent goodness, in the latter apparent prosperity—delusion, and being undeceived [“evil” in the sense of wickedness, and of calamity]. אֶת־הָרָע, which follows, refers to the exchange, or neutrally to the evil that is exchanged: the one or the other fulfils itself, *i.e.* either: is realized (passive of מָלַל, 1 Kings viii. 15), or: becomes complete, which means the measure of the punishment of his immorality becomes full, before his natural day, *i.e.* the day of death, is come (comp. for expression, ch. xxii. 16, Eccles. vii. 17). The translation: then it is over with him (Ges., Schlottm., and others), is contrary to the usage of the language; and that given by the Jewish expositors, אֶת־הָרָע = מָלַל (*abscinditur* or *conteritur*), is a needlessly bold suggestion.—Ver. 32*b*. It is to be observed that רַעֲנָנָה is *Milel*, and consequently 3 *præt.*, not as in Cant. i. 16 *Milra*, and consequently *adj.* פָּרָה is not the branches generally (Luzzatto, with Raschi: *branchage*), but, as the proverbial expression for the high and low, Isa. ix. 13, xix. 15 (*vid.* Dietrich, *Abhandlung zur hebr. Gramm.* S. 209), shows, the palm-branch bent downwards (comp. Targ. Esth. i. 5, where פָּרָה signifies seats and walks covered with foliage). “His palm-branch does not become green, or does not remain green” (which Symm. well renders: *οὐκ εὐθαλῆσει*), means that as he himself, the palm-trunk, so also his family, withers away. In ver. 33 it is represented as בָּצָר (= בָּצָר), sour grapes, or the unripe grapes of a vine, and as פְּחָז, flowers of an olive.<sup>1</sup> In ver. 33*b* the godless man himself might be the subject: he

<sup>1</sup> In order to appreciate the point of the comparison, it is needful to know that the Syrian olive-tree bears fruit plentifully the first, third, and fifth years, but rests during the second, fourth, and sixth. It blossoms in these years also, but the blossoms fall off almost entirely without any berries being formed. The harvest of the olive is therefore in such years very scanty. With respect to the vine, every year an enormous quantity of grapes are used up before they are ripe. When the berries are only about the size of a pea, the acid from them is used in housekeeping, to

casts down, like an olive-tree, his flowers, but in ver 33a this is inadmissible; if we interpret: "he shakes off (Targ. יָתַר, *excutiet*), like a vine-stock, his young grapes," this (apart from the far-fetched meaning of יִתְבַּסֵּס) is a figure that is untrue to nature, since the grapes sit firmer the more unripe they are; and if one takes the first meaning of חָמַס, "he acts unjustly, as a vine, to his *omphax*" (e.g. Hupf.), whether it means that he does not let it ripen, or that he does not share with it any of the sweet sap, one has not only an indistinct figure, but also (since what God ordains for the godless is described as in operation) an awkward comparison. The subject of both verbs is therefore other than the vine and olive themselves. But why only an impersonal "one"? In ver. 30 רַחֵם פָּנָיו was referred to God, who is not expressly mentioned. God is also the subject here, and יִחַסֵּס, which signifies to act with violence to one's self, is modified here to the sense of tearing away, as Lam. ii. 6 (which Aben-Ezra has compared), of tearing out; כָּנַס, כִּוִּית, prop. as a vine-stock, as an olive-tree, is equivalent to even as such an one.

Ver. 34 declares the lot of the family of the ungodly, which has been thus figuratively described, without figure: the congregation (i.e. here: family-circle) of the ungodly (חֲנִיף) according to its etymon *inclinans, propensus ad malum*, vid. on ch. xiii. 16) is (as it is expressed from the standpoint of the judgment that is executed) גְּלִמְדִי, a hard, lifeless, stony mass (in the substantival sense of the Arabic *galimūd* instead of the adject. גִּלְמֻדָּה, Isa. xlix. 21), i.e. stark dead (LXX.

prepare almost every kind of food. The people are exceedingly fond of things sour, a taste which is caused by the heat of the climate. During the months of June, July, and August, above six hundred horses and asses laden with unripe grapes come daily to the market in Damascus alone, and during this season no one uses vinegar; hence the word כִּסְרָא signifies in Syriac the acid (vinegar) כִּסְרָא יֶזְעָא. In Arabic the unripe grapes are exclusively called *hossrum* (حَصْرَم), or, with a dialectic distinction, *hissrim*.—WETZST.



θάνατος; Aq., Symm., Theod., ἄκαρπος), and fire has devoured the tents of bribery (after Ralbag: those built by bribery; or even after the LXX.: οἴκους δωροδεκτῶν). The ejaculatory conclusion, ver. 35, gives the briefest expression to that which has been already described. The figurative language, ver. 35a, is like Ps. vii. 15, Isa. lix. 4 (comp. *supra*, p. 25); in the latter passage similar vividly descriptive infinitives are found (Ges. § 131, 4, b). They hatch the burdens or sorrow of others, and what comes from it is evil for themselves. What therefore their נַפְשָׁם, i.e. their inward part, with the intermingled feelings, thoughts, and strugglings (Olympiodorus: κοιλίαν ὅλον τὸ ἐντὸς χωρίον φησὶ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν), prepares or accomplishes (נַפְשָׁם similar to ch. xxvii. 17, xxxviii. 41), that on which it works, is הַמַּרְמָז, deceit, with which they deceive others, and before all, themselves (New Test. ἀπάτη).

With the speech of Eliphaz, the eldest among the friends, who gives a tone to their speeches, the controversy enters upon a second stage. In his last speech Job has turned from the friends and called upon them to be silent; he turned to God, and therein a sure confidence, but at the same time a challenging tone of irreverent defiance, is manifested. God does not enter into the controversy which Job desires; and the consequence is, that that flickering confidence is again extinguished, and the tone of defiance is changed into despair and complaint. Instead of listening to the voice of God, Job is obliged to content himself again with that of the friends, for they believe the continuance of the contest to be just as binding upon them as upon Job. They cannot consider themselves overcome, for their dogma has grown up in such inseparable connection with their idea of God, and therefore is so much raised above human contradiction, that nothing but a divine fact can break through it. And they are too closely connected with Job by their friendship to leave him

to himself as a heretic ; they regard Job as one who is self-deluded, and have really the good intention of converting their friend.

Eliphaz' speech, however, also shows that they become still more and more incapable of producing a salutary impression on Job. For, on the one hand, in this second stage of the controversy also they turn about everywhere only in the circle of their old syllogism : suffering is the punishment of sin, Job suffers, therefore he is a sinner who has to make atonement for his sin; on the other hand, instead of being disconcerted by the unconditioned acceptation of this maxim, they are strengthened in it. For while at the beginning the *conclusio* was urged upon them only by premises raised above any proof, so that they take for granted sins of Job which were not otherwise known to them ; now, as they think, Job has himself furnished them with proof that he is a sinner who has merited such severe suffering. For whoever can speak so thoughtlessly and passionately, so vexatiously and irreverently, as Job has done, is, in their opinion, his own accuser and judge. It remains unperceived by them that Job's mind has lost its balance by reason of the fierceness of his temptation, and that in it nature and grace have fallen into a wild, confused conflict. In those speeches they see the true state of Job's spirit revealed. What, before his affliction, was the determining principle of his inner life, seems to them now to be brought to light in the words of the sufferer. Job is a godless one ; and if he does affirm his innocence so solemnly and strongly, and challenges the decision of God, this assurance is only hypocritical, and put on against his better knowledge and conscience, in order to disconcert his accusers, and to evade their admonitions to repentance. It is לשון ערומים, a mere stratagem, like that of one who is guilty, who thinks he can overthrow the accusations brought against him by assuming the bold bearing of the accuser. Seb. Schmid counts up

*quinque vitia*, with which Eliphaz in the introduction to his speech (ch. xv. 1-13) reproaches Job: vexatious impious words, a crafty perversion of the matter, blind assumption of wisdom, contempt of the divine word, and defiance against God. Of these reproaches the first and last are well-grounded; Job does really sin in his language and attitude towards God. With respect to the reproach of assumed wisdom, Eliphaz pays Job in the same coin; and when he reproaches Job with despising the divine consolations and gentle admonitions they have addressed to him, we must not blame the friends, since their intention is good. If, however, Eliphaz reproaches Job with calculating craftiness, and thus regards his affirmation of his innocence as a mere artifice, the charge cannot be more unjust, and must certainly produce the extremest alienation between them. It is indeed hard that Eliphaz regards the testimony of Job's conscience as self-delusion; he goes still further, and pronounces it a fine-spun lie, and denies not only its objective but also its subjective truth. Thus the breach between Job and the friends widens, the entanglement of the controversy becomes more complicated, and the poet allows the solution of the enigma to ripen, by its becoming increasingly enigmatical and entangled.

In this second round of the friends' speeches we meet with no new thoughts whatever; only "in the second circle of the dispute everything is more fiery than in the first" (Oetinger): the only new thing is the harsher and more decided tone of their maintenance of the doctrine of punishment, with which they confront Job. They cannot go beyond the narrow limits of their dogma of retribution, and confine themselves now to even the half of that narrowness; for since Job contemns the consolations of God with which they have hitherto closed their speeches, they now exclusively bring forward the terrible and gloomy phase of their dogma in opposition to him. After Eliphaz has again given prominence to the universal sinful-

ness of mankind, which Job does not at all deny, he sketches from his own experience and the tradition of his ancestors, which demands respect by reason of their freedom from all foreign influence, with brilliant lines, a picture of the evil-doer, who, being tortured by the horrors of an evil conscience, is overwhelmed by the wrath of God in the midst of his prosperity; and his possessions, children, and whole household are involved in his ruin. The picture is so drawn, that in it, as in a mirror, Job shall behold himself and his fate, both what he has already endured and what yet awaits him. מרמה is the final word of the admonitory conclusion of his speech: Job is to know that that which fills up his inward parts is a fearful lie.

But what Job affirms of himself as the righteous one, is not מרמה. He knows that he is כחם כחם (ch. xiv. 4), but he also knows that he is as צדיק תמים (ch. xii. 4). He is conscious of the righteousness of his endeavour, which rests on the groundwork of a mind turned to the God of salvation, therefore a believing mind,—a righteousness which is also accepted of God. The friends know nothing whatever of this righteousness which is available before God. *Fateor quidem*, says Calvin in his *Institutiones*, iii. 12, *in libro Iob mentionem fieri justitiæ, quæ excelsior est observatione legis; et hanc distinctionem tenere operæ pretium est, quia etiamsi quis legi satisfaceret, ne sic quidem staret ad examen illius justitiæ, quæ sensus omnes exsuperat*. Mercier rightly observes: *Eliphaz perstringit hominis naturam, quæ tamen per fidem pura redditur*. In man Eliphaz sees only the life of nature and not the life of grace, which, because it is the work of God, makes man irreproachable before God. He sees in Job only the rough shell, and not the kernel; only the hard shell, and not the pearl. We know, however, from the prologue, that Jehovah acknowledged Job as His servant when he decreed suffering for him; and this sufferer, whom the

friends regard as one smitten of God, is and remains, as this truly evangelical book will show to us, the servant of Jehovah.

*Job's First Answer.*—Chap. xvi. xvii.

*Schema:* 10. 10. 5. 8. 6. 10 | 5. 6. 8. 7. 8.

[Then began Job, and said:]

Ch. xvi. 2 *I have now heard such things in abundance,  
Troublesome comforters are ye all!*

3 *Are windy words now at an end,  
Or what goadeth thee that thou answerest?*

4 *I also would speak like you,  
If only your soul were in my soul's stead.  
I would weave words against you,  
And shake my head at you;*

5 *I would encourage you with my mouth,  
And the solace of my lips should soothe you.*

The speech of Eliphaz, as of the other two, is meant to be comforting. It is, however, primarily an accusation; it wounds instead of soothing. Of this kind of speech, says Job, one has now heard רבות, much, i.e. (in a pregnant sense) amply sufficient, although the word might signify elliptically (Ps. cvi. 43; comp. Neh. ix. 28) many times (Jer. *frequenter*); *multa* (as ch. xxiii. 14) is, however, equally suitable, and therefore is to be preferred as the more natural. Ver. 2b shows how כְּאֵלֶיךָ is intended; they are altogether מְנַחֲמֵי עָמַל, *consolatores onerosi* (Jer.), such as, instead of alleviating, only cause עָמַל, *molestiam* (comp. on ch. xiii. 4). In ver. 3a Job returns their reproach of being windy, i.e. one without any purpose and substance, which they brought against him, ch. xv. 2 sq.: have windy words an end, or (אֵל vel = אֵם in a disjunctive question, Ges. § 153, 2; comp. § 155, 2, b) if not, what goads thee on to reply? מִרְן has been already discussed

on ch. vi. 25. The Targ. takes it in the sense of מִלֵּךְ: what makes it sweet to thee, etc.; the Jewish interpreters give it, without any proof, the signification, to be strong; the LXX. transl. *παρενοχλήσει*, which is not transparent. Hirz., Ew., Schlottm., and others, call in the help of the Arabic مَرَضَ (Aramaic מָרַע), to be sick, the IV. form of which signifies "to make sick," not "to injure."<sup>1</sup> We keep to the primary meaning, to pierce, penetrate; *Hiph.* to goad, bring out, *laccessere*: what incites thee, that (כִּי as ch. vi. 11, *quod not quum*) thou repliest again? The collective thought of what follows is not that he also, if they were in his place, could do as they have done; that he, however, would not so act (thus e.g. Blumenfeld: with reasons for comfort I would overwhelm you, and sympathizingly shake my head over you, etc.). This rendering is destroyed by the shaking of the head, which is never a gesture of pure compassion, but always of malignant joy, Sir. xii. 18; or of mockery at another's fall, Isa. xxxvii. 22; and misfortune, Ps. xxii. 8, Jer. xviii. 16, Matt. xxvii. 39. Hence Merc. considers the antithesis to begin with ver. 5, where, however, there is nothing to indicate it: *minime id facerem, quin potius vos confirmarem ore meo*—rather: that he also could display the same miserable consolation; he represents to them a change of their respective positions, in order that, as in a mirror, they may recognise the hatefulness of their conduct. The negative antecedent clause *si essem*

<sup>1</sup> The primary meaning of مَرَضَ (root مَرَض, *stringere*) is *maceratum esse*, by pressing, rubbing, beating, to be tender, enervated (Germ. dialectic and popul. *abmaracht*); comp. the nearest related مَرَضَ, then مَرَزَ, مَرَسَ, and further, the development of the meaning of *morbus* and *μαλακία*;—originally and first, of bodily sickness, then also of diseased affections and conditions of spirit, as envy, hatred, malice, etc.; *vid. Sur.* 2, v. 9, and Beidhâwi thereon.—FL.

(with לו, according to Ges. § 155, 2, f) is surrounded by cohortatives, which (since the interrogative form of interpretation is inadmissible) signify not only *loquerer*, but *loqui possem*, or rather *loqui vellem* (comp. e.g. Ps. li. 18, *dare vellem*). When he says: I would range together, etc. (Carey: I would combine), he gives them to understand that their speeches are more artificial than natural, more declamations than the outgushings of the heart; instead of מלים, it is במלים, since the object of the action is thought of as the means, as in ver. 4 במו ראשי, *capite meo* (for *caput meum*, Ps. xxii. 8), and בפיהם, ver. 10, for פיהם, comp. Jer. xviii. 16, Lam. i. 17, Ges. § 138†; Ew. takes החכיר by comparison of the Arabic خبر, to know (the IV. form of which, *achbara*, however, signifies to cause to know, announce), in a sense that belongs neither to the Heb. nor to the Arab.: to affect wisdom. In ver. 5 the chief stress is upon “with my mouth,” without the heart being there, so also on the word “my lips,” solace (נִיב ἄπ. λεγ., recalling Isa. lvii. 19, ניב שפתים, offspring or fruit of the lips) of my lips, i.e. dwelling only on the lips, and not coming from the heart. In אאפצכם (*Piel*, not *Hiph.*) the *Ssere* is shortened to *Chirek* (Ges. § 60, rem. 4). According to ver. 6, כאבכם is to be supplied to יחשה. He also could offer such superficial condolence without the sympathy which places itself in the condition and mood of the sufferer, and desires to afford that relief which it cannot. And yet how urgently did he need right and effectual consolation! He is not able to console himself, as the next strophe says: neither by words nor by silence is his pain assuaged.

- 6 *If I speak, my pain is not soothed;  
And if I forbear, what alleviation do I experience?*
- 7 *Nevertheless now hath He exhausted me;  
Thou hast desolated all my household,*
- 8 *And Thou filledst me with wrinkles—for a witness was it,*

*And my leanness rose up against me  
Accusing me to my face.*

- 9 *His wrath tore me, and made war upon me ;  
He hath gnashed upon me with His teeth,  
As mine enemy He sharpeneth His eyes against me.*

וְאֵל stands with the cohortative in the hypothetical antecedent clause ver. 6a, and in 6b the cohortative stands alone as ch. xi. 17, Ps. lxxiii. 16, cxxxix. 8, which is more usual, and more in accordance with the meaning which the cohortative has in itself, Nägelsbach, § 89, 3. The interrogative, What goes from me? is equivalent to, what (=nothing) of pain forsakes me. The subject of the assertion which follows (ver. 7) is not the pain—Aben-Ezra thinks even that this is addressed in ver. 7b—still less Eliphaz, whom some think, particularly on account of the sharp expressions which follow, must be understood (*vid.* on the other hand, p. 133), but God, whose wrath Job regards as the cause of his suffering, and feels as the most intolerable part of it. A strained connection is obtained by taking וְאֵל either in an affirmative sense (Ew.: surely), as ch. xviii. 21, or in a restrictive sense: only (=entirely) He has now exhausted me (Hirz., Hahn, also Schlottm.: only I feel myself oppressed, at least to express this), by which interpretation the עֲתִידָהּ, which stands between וְאֵל and the verb, is in the way. We render it therefore in the adversative signification: nevertheless (*verum tamen*) now he seeks neither by speaking to alleviate his pain, nor by silence to control himself; God has placed him in a condition in which all his strength is exhausted. He is absolutely incapable of offering any resistance to his pain, and care has also been taken that no solacing word shall come to him from any quarter: Thou hast made all my society desolate (Carey: all my clan); עֲרִידָהּ of the household, as in ch. xv. 34. Jerome: *in nihilum redacti sunt omnes artus mei* (בל אברִי, as



explained by the Jewish expositors, *e.g.* Ralbag), as though the human organism could be called עָרָה. Hahn: Thou hast destroyed all my testimony, which must have been עָרָתִי (from עָר, whereas עָרָה, from עָרַר, has a changeable *Seere*). He means to say that he stands entirely alone, and neither sees nor hears anything consolatory, for he does not count his wife. He is therefore completely shut up to himself; God has shrivelled him up; and this suffering form to which God has reduced him, is become an evidence, *i.e.* for himself and for others, as the three friends, an accusation *de facto*, which puts him down as a sinner, although his self-consciousness testifies the opposite to him.

Ver. 8. The verb קָטַט (Aram. קָטַט), which occurs only once beside (ch. xxii. 16), has, like قَطَط (in Gecatilia's transl.), the primary meaning of binding and grasping firmly (LXX. ἐπελάβου, Symm. κατέδρας, Targ. for לָכַר, קָטַט, lengthened to a quadrilateral in قَطَط, cogn. קָטַט<sup>1</sup>), *constringere*, from which the significations *comprehendere* and *corrugare* have branched off; the signification, to wrinkle (make wrinkled), to shrivel up, is the most common, and the reference which follows, to his emaciation, and the lines which occur further on from the picture of one sick with elephantiasis, show that the poet here has this in his mind. Ewald's conjecture, which changes הָיָה into הָיָה, ch. vi. 2, xxx. 13 = הָיָה, as subject to וַתִּקְטַטֵּנִי (calamity seizes me as a witness), deprives the thought contained in לָעֵר, which renders the inferential clause הָיָה לָעֵר prominent, of much of its force and emphasis. In ver. 8*bc* this thought is continued: בָּחַשׁ signifies here, according to Ps. cix. 24 (which see), a wasting away; the verb-group כָּחַשׁ, כָּחַד, כָּחַד, כָּחַט, etc., has the primary meaning

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, קָטַט, قَطَط, *abscindere, præmordere*, has no connection with קָטַט, with which Kimchi and Reiske confuse it. This is readily seen from the opposite primary distinction of the two roots, קָט and קָט, of which the former expresses union, the latter separation.

of taking away and decrease : he becomes thin from whom the fat begins to fail ; to disown is equivalent to holding back recognition and admission ; the metaphor, water that deceives = dries up, is similar. His wasted, emaciated appearance, since God has thus shrivelled him up, came forth against him, told him to his face, *i.e.* accused him not merely behind his back, but boldly and directly, as a convicted criminal. God has changed himself in relation to him into an enraged enemy. Schlottm. wrongly translates : one tears and tortures me fiercely ; Raschi erroneously understands Satan by שָׂטָן. In general, it is the wrath of God whence Job thinks his suffering proceeds. It was the wrath of God which tore him so (like Hos. vi. 1, comp. Amos i. 11), and pursued him hostilely (as he says with the same word in ch. xxx. 21) ; God has gnashed against him with His teeth ; God drew or sharpened (Aq., Symm., Theod., ὠξυνεν, שָׁרַף like Ps. vii. 13) His eyes or looks like swords (Targ. as a sharp knife, כַּמְסָא, סמילן) for him, *i.e.* to pierce him through. Observe the *aorr.* interchanging with *perff.* and *imperff.* He describes the final calamity which has made him such a piteous form with the mark of the criminal. His present suffering is only the continuation of the decree of wrath which is gone forth concerning him.

- 10 *They have gaped against me with their mouth,  
In contempt they smite my cheeks ;  
They conspire together against me.*
- 11 *God left me to the mercy of the ungodly,  
And cast me into the hands of the evil-doer.*

He does not mean the friends by those who mock and vex him with their contemptuous words, but the men around him who envied his prosperity and now rejoice at his misfortune ; those to whom his uprightness was a burden, and who now consider themselves disencumbered of their liege lord, the

over-righteous, censorious, godly man. The perfects here also have not a merely present signification; he depicts his suffering according to the change it has wrought since it came upon him. The verb פָּעַר is used with the instrumental *Beth* instead of with the acc., as ch. xxix. 23 (comp. on בְּמַלִּים, ver. 4): they make an opening with their mouth (similar to Ps. xxii. 8, they make an opening with the lips, for *diducunt labia*). Smiting on the cheeks is in itself an insult (Lam. iii. 30); the additional בְּהִרְפָּה will therefore refer to insulting words which accompany the act. The *Hithpa.* הִתְמַלֵּא, which occurs only here, signifies not only to gather together to a מָלֵא in general, Isa. xxxi. 4, but (after the Arab. *tamála'a* 'ala, to conspire against any one<sup>1</sup>) to complete one's self, to strengthen one's self (for a like hostile purpose); Reiske correctly: *sibi invicem mutuam et auxiliatricem operam contra me simul omnes ferunt*.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of עָוִיל is manifest from ch. xxi. 11; from עָל, to sustain, *alere* (Arab. عَال *med. Wau*, whence the inf. 'aul, 'uwûl, and 'ijâle), it signifies boys, knaves; and it is as unnecessary to suppose two forms, עָוִיל and עָוִיל, as two meanings, *puer* and *pravus*, since the language and particularly the book of Job

<sup>1</sup> Wetzstein thinks the signification *conspirare* for יִתְמַלֵּא poor in this connection, and prefers to translate: All together they eat themselves full upon me, הִתְמַלֵּא as reflexive of מָלֵא, ch. xxxviii. 39, synonym. of נִשְׂבַּע, as in "the Lovers of *Amâsiâ*," *Ferhât*, after the death of his beloved, cries out: We are not separated! To-morrow (i.e. soon) the All-kind One will unite us in paradise, and we shall satisfy ourselves one with another (وَنَتَمَلَّأُ مِنْ بَعْضِنَا الْبَعْضَ). One would, however, expect כִּמְצִי instead of עָלִי; but perhaps we may refer to the interchange of עָל, הִתְעַנְנָה עָל, ch. xxii. 26, xxvii. 10, with הִתְעַנְנָה כֵּן, Isa. lxi. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The signification *to help*, which belongs to the I. form מָלָה, proceeds from מָלָה, to have abundance, to be well off; prop. to be able to furnish any one with the means (*opes, copias*) for anything, and thereby to place him in a position to accomplish it. Comp. the Lat. *ops, open ferre, opitulari, opes, opulentus* (مُؤَيِّلٌ).—FL.

has coined עָל for the latter signification: it signifies in all three passages (here and ch. xix. 18, xxi. 11) boys, or the boyish, childish, knavish. The Arabic *warratta* leaves no doubt as to the derivation and meaning of יָרַטְנִי; it signifies to cast down to destruction (*warttah*, a precipice, ruin, danger), and so here the *fut. Kal* יָרַטְנִי for יִרְטְנִי (Ges. § 69, rem. 3), *præcipitem me dabat* (LXX. ἐπὶρυψε, Symm. ἐνέβαλε), as the *præt. Kal*, Num. xxii. 32: *præceps = exitiosa est via*. The preformative *Jod* has *Metheg* in correct texts, so that we need not suppose, with Ralbag, a רָטָה, similar in meaning to יָרַט.

- 12 *I was at ease, but He hath broken me in pieces ;*  
*And He hath taken me by the neck and shaken me to pieces,*  
*And set me up for a mark for himself.*  
 13 *His arrows whistled about me ;*  
*He pierced my reins without sparing ;*  
*He poured out my gall upon the ground.*  
 14 *He brake through me breach upon breach,*  
*He ran upon me like a mighty warrior.*

He was prosperous and contented, when all at once God began to be enraged against him; the intensive form פָּרַסָּר (Arab. *farfara*) signifies to break up entirely, crush, crumble in pieces (*Hithpo.* to become fragile, Isa. xxiv. 19); the corresponding intensive form פָּצַצָּר (from פָּצַץ, Arab. *نفس*, cogn. נָפַץ), to beat in pieces (*Polel* of a hammer, Jer. xxiii. 29), to dash to pieces: taking him by the neck, God raised him on high in order to dash him to the ground with all His might. מִטָּרֶה (from מָטָר, ἡτρεῖν, like σκοπός from σκέπτεσθαι) is the target, as in the similar passage, Lam. iii. 12, distinct from מִטָּפֶּנֶת, ch. vii. 20, object of attack and point of attack: God has set me up for a target for himself, in order as it were to try what He and His arrows can do. Accordingly רָבִיו (from רָבָה = רָבָה, רָטָה, *jacere*) signifies not: His archers

(although this figure would be admissible after ch. x. 17, xix. 12, and the form after the analogy of רב, רע, etc., is naturally taken as a substantival adj.), but, especially since God appears directly as the actor: His arrows (= חֲצִי, ch. vi. 4), from רב, formed after the analogy of בן, מֵס, etc., according to which it is translated by LXX., Targ.; Jer., while most of the Jewish expositors, referring to Jer. l. 29 (where we need not, with Böttch., point רִבִּים, and here רִבִּי), interpret by מורי החצים. On all sides, whichever way he might turn himself, the arrows of God flew about him, mercilessly piercing his reins, so that his gall-bladder emptied itself outwards (comp. Lam. ii. 11, and *vid. Psychol.* p. 316). It is difficult to conceive what is here said;<sup>1</sup> it is, moreover, not meant to be understood strictly according to the sense: the divine arrows, which are only an image for divinely decreed sufferings, pressed into his inward parts, and wounded the noblest organs of his nature. In ver. 14 follows another figure. He was as a wall which was again and again broken through by the missiles or battering-rams of God, and against which He ran after the manner of besiegers when storming. פָּרַץ is the proper word for such breaches and holes in a wall generally; here it is connected as obj. with its own verb, according to Ges. § 138, rem. 1. The second פָּרַץ (פָּרַץ with *Kametz*) has *Ssade minusculum*, for some reason unknown to us.

The next strophe says what change took place in his own conduct in consequence of this incomprehensible wrathful disposition of God which had vented itself on him.

<sup>1</sup> The emptying of the gall takes place if the gall-bladder or any of its ducts are torn; but how the gall itself (without assuming some morbid condition) can flow outwardly, even with a severe wound, is a difficult question, with which only those who have no appreciation of the standpoint of imagery and poetry will distress themselves. [On the "spilling of the gall" or "bursting of the gall-bladder" among the Arabs, as the working of violent and painful emotions, *vid. Zeitschr. der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellsch.* Bd. xvi. S. 586, Z. 16 ff.—F.L.]

- 15 *I sewed sackcloth upon my skin,  
And defiled my horn with dust.*  
 16 *My face is exceeding red with weeping,  
And on mine eyelids is the shadow of death,*  
 17 *Although there is no wrong in my hand,  
And my prayer is pure.*

Coarse-haired cloth is the recognised clothing which the deeply sorrowful puts on, *ἱμάτιον στενοχωρίας καὶ πένθους*, as the Greek expositors remark. Job does not say of it that he put it on or slung it round him, but that he sewed it upon his naked body; and this is to be attributed to the hideous distortion of the body by elephantiasis, which will not admit of the use of the ordinary form of clothes. For the same reason he also uses, not עָרִי, but גִּלְדִּי, which signifies either the scurfy scaly surface (as גִּלְדִּי and הַגִּלְדִּי in Talmudic of the scab of a healing wound, but also occurring *e.g.* of the be-daggled edge of clothes when it has become dry), or scornfully describes the skin as already almost dead; for the healthy skin is called עֹר, גִּלְדִּי, on the other hand, *βύρσα* (LXX.), hide (*esp.* when removed from the body), Talm. *e.g.* sole-leather. We prefer the former interpretation (adopted by Raschi and others): The crust in which the terrible *lepra* has clothed his skin (*vid.* on ch. vii. 5, xxx. 18, 19, 30) is intended. עָלַלְתִּי in ver. 15b is referred by Rosenm., Hirz., Ges., and others (as indeed by Saad. and Gecat., who transl. "I digged into"), to עָלָה (עָלָה), to enter, penetrate: "I stuck my horn in the dust;" but this signification of the Hebrew עָלַל is unknown, it signifies rather to inflict pain, or scorn (*e.g.* Lam. iii. 51, mine eye causeth pain to my soul), generally with לָ, here with the accusative: I have misused, *i.e.* injured or defiled (as the Jewish expositors explain), my horn with dust. This is not equivalent to my head (as in the Syr. version), but he calls

everything that was hitherto his power and pride קָרָבִי (LXX., Targ.); all this he has together at the same time injured, i.e. represented as come to destruction, by covering his head with dust and ashes.

Ver. 16a. The construction of the *Chethib* is like 1 Sam. iv. 15, of the *Keri* on the other hand like Lam. i. 20, ii. 11 (where the same is said of מִצֵּי, *viscera mea*); הָחִמְרָם is a passive intensive form (Ges. § 55, 3), not in the signification: they are completely kindled (LXX. συγκέκωνται, Jer. *intumuit*, from the חִמַּר, خمر, which signifies to ferment), but: they are red all over (from הָחִמַּר, حمرة, whence the Alhambra, as a red building, takes its name), reddened, i.e. from weeping; and this has so weakened them, that the shadow of death (*vid.* on ch. x. 21 sq.) seems to rest upon his eyelids; they are therefore sad even to the deepest gloom. Thus exceedingly miserable is his state and appearance, although he is no discovered hypocrite, who might need to do penance in sackcloth and ashes, and shed tears of penitence without any solace. Hirz. explains על as a preposition: by the absence of evil in my hands; but ver. 17a and 17b are substantival clauses, and על is therefore just like Isa. liii. 9, a conjunction (= על-אשר). His hands are clean from wrong-doing, free from violence and oppression; his prayer is pure, *pura*; as Merc. observes, *ex puritate cordis et fidei*. From the feeling of the strong contrast between his piety and his being stigmatized as an evil-doer by such terrible suffering,—from this extreme contrast which has risen now to its highest in his consciousness of patient endurance of suffering, the lofty thoughts of the next strophe take their rise.

- 18 *Oh earth, cover thou not my blood,  
And let my cry find no resting-place! —*  
19 *Even now behold in heaven is my Witness,  
And One who acknowledgeth me is in the heights!*

- 20 *Though the mockers of me are my friends—  
To Eloah mine eyes pour forth tears,*  
21 *That He may decide for man against Eloah,  
And for the son of man against his friend.*  
22 *For the years that may be numbered are coming on,  
And I shall go a way without return.*

Blood that is not covered up cries for vengeance, Ezek. xxiv. 7 sq.; so also blood still unavenged is laid bare that it may find vengeance, Isa. xxvi. 21. According to this idea, in the lofty consciousness of his innocence, Job calls upon the earth not to suck in his blood as of one innocently slain, but to let it lie bare, thereby showing that it must be first of all avenged ere the earth can take it up;<sup>1</sup> and for his cry, i.e. the cry (דָּמָא) to be explained according to Gen. iv. 10) proceeding from his blood as from his poured-out soul, he desires that it may urge its way unhindered and unstilled towards heaven without finding a place of rest (Symm. *σάσις*). Therefore, in the very God who appears to him to be a blood-thirsty enemy in pursuit of him, Job nevertheless hopes to find a witness of his innocence: He will acknowledge his blood, like that of Abel, to be the blood of an innocent man. It is an inward irresistible demand made by his faith which here brings together two opposite principles—principles which the understanding cannot unite—with bewildering boldness. Job believes that God will even finally avenge the blood which His wrath has shed, as blood that has been innocently shed. This faith, which sends forth beyond death itself the word of absolute command contained in ver. 18, in ver. 19 brightens and becomes a certain confidence, which draws from the future

<sup>1</sup> As, according to the tradition, it is said to have been impossible to remove the stain of the blood of Zachariah the son of Jehoiada, who was murdered in the court of the temple, until it was removed by the destruction of the temple itself.



into the present that acknowledgment which God afterwards makes of him as innocent. The thought of what is unmerited in that decree of wrath which delivers him over to death, is here forced into the background, and in the front stands only the thought of the exaltation of the God in heaven above human short-sightedness, and the thought that no one else but He is the final refuge of the oppressed: even now (*i.e.* this side of death)<sup>1</sup> behold in heaven is my witness (הִנֵּה אֱלֹהִים an expression of the *actus directus fidei*) and my confessor (וְהָיָה אֵלֹהִים a poetic Aramaism, similar in meaning to עַר, LXX. ὁ συνίσταται μου) in the heights. To whom should he flee from the mockery of his friends, who consider his appeal to the testimony of his conscience as the stratagem of a hypocrite! קָלַץ מִיָּדִי, Ps. cxix. 51, my mockers, *i.e.* those mocking me, *lascivientes in me* (*vid. Gesch. der jüd. Poesie*, S. 200). The short clause, ver. 20a, is, logically at least, like a disjunctive clause with כִּי or כִּי־נִסְיָא, Ewald, § 362, b: if his friends mock him—to Eloah, who is after all the best of friends, his eyes pour forth tears (וְהָלַץ עֵינָיו stillat, comp. וְהָלַץ of languishing, Isa. xxxviii. 14), that He may decide (וְהָיָה הוֹשִׁיעַ voluntary in a final signification, as ch. ix. 33) for man (לְאָדָם here, as Isa. xi. 4, ii. 4, of the client) against (עַד, as Ps. lv. 19, xciv. 16, of an opponent) Eloah, and for the son of man (לְבֶן־אָדָם to be supplied here in a similar sense to ver. 21a, comp. ch. xv. 3) in relation to (לְ) as it is used in לְ . . . חֵן, *e.g.* Ezek. xxxiv. 22) his friend. Job longs and hopes for two things from God: (1) that He would finally decide in favour of נָבִי, *i.e.* just himself, the patient sufferer, in opposition to God, that therefore God would acknowledge that Job is not a criminal, nor his suffering a merited punishment; (2) that He would decide in favour of

<sup>1</sup> Comp. 1 Kings xiv. 14, where it is probably to be explained: Jehovah shall raise up for himself a king over Israel who shall cut off the house of Jeroboam that day, but what? even now (נִסְיָא עַתָּה), *i.e.* He hath raised him up (= but no, even now).

בְּיָאֵר, i.e. himself, who is become an *Ecce homo*, in relation to his human opponent (יָצִיר), not collective, but individualizing or distributive instead of (רַעֲיוֹ), who regards him as a sinner undergoing punishment, and preaches to him the penitence that becomes one who has fallen. וַיִּזְכֶּה is purposely only used once, and the expression ver. 21b is contracted in comparison with 21a: the one decision includes the other; for when God himself destroys the idea of his lot being merited punishment, He also at the same time delivers judgment against the friends who have zealously defended Him against Job as a just judge.

Olsh. approves Ewald's translation: "That He allows man to be in the right rather than God, and that He judges man against his friend;" but granted even that הוֹכִיחַ, like שָׁפַט followed by an acc., may be used in the signification: to grant any one to be in the right (although, with such a construction, it everywhere signifies ἐλέγχω), this rendering would still not commend itself, on account of the specific gravity of the hope which is here struggling through the darkness of conflict. Job appeals from God to God; he hopes that truth and love will finally decide against wrath. The meaning of הוֹכִיחַ has reference to the duty of an arbitrator, as in ch. ix. 33. Schlottm. aptly recalls the saying of the philosophers, which applies here in a different sense from that in which it is meant, *nemo contra Deum, nisi Deus ipse*. In ver. 22 Job now establishes the fact that the heavenly witness will not allow him to die a death that he and others would regard as the death of a sinner, from the brevity of the term of life yet granted him, and the hopelessness of man when he is once dead. שְׁנוֹת מִסְפָּר are years of number = few years (LXX. ἔτη ἀριθμητά); comp. the position of the words as they are to be differently understood, ch. xv. 20. On the inflexion *jeethāju*, vid. on ch. xii. 6. Jerome transl. *transeunt*, but אֵתָה cannot signify this in any Semitic dialect. But even

that Job (though certainly the course of elephantiasis can continue for years) is intended to refer to the prospect of some, although few, years of life (Hirz. and others: the few years which I can still look forward to, are drawing on), does not altogether suit the tragic picture. The approach of the years that can be numbered is rather thought of as the approach of their end; and the few years are not those which still remain, but in general the but short span of life allotted to him (Hahn). The arrangement of the words in ver. 22b also agrees with this, as not having the form of a conclusion (then shall I go, etc.), but that of an independent co-ordinate clause: and a path, there (whence) I come not back (an attributive relative clause according to Ges. § 123, 3, b) I shall go (אֵלֵךְ poetic, and in order to gain a rhythmical fall at the close, for אֵלֵךְ). Now follow, in the next strophe, short ejaculatory clauses: as Oetinger observes, Job chants his own requiem while living.

Ch. xvii. 1 *My breath is corrupt,  
My days are extinct,  
The graves are ready for me.*

2 *Truly mockery surrounds me,  
And mine eye shall loiter over their disputings.*

Hirz., Hlgt., and others, wrongly consider the division of the chapter here to be incorrect. The thought in ch. xvi. 22 is really a concluding thought, like ch. x. 20 sqq., vii. 21. Then in ch. xvii. 1 another strain is taken up; and as ch. xvi. 22 is related, as a confirmation, to the request expressed in xvi. 19-21, so xvii. 1, 2 are related to that expressed in xvii. 3. The connection with the conclusion of ch. xvi. is none the less close: the thoughts move on somewhat crosswise (*chiastisch*). We do not translate with Ewald: "My spirit is destroyed," because לָבַד (here and Isa. x. 27) signifies not, to be destroyed, but, to be corrupted, disturbed, troubled; not the spirit (after

خبل, usually of disturbance of spirit), but the breath is generally meant, which is become short (ch. vii. 15) and offensive (ch. xix. 17), announcing suffocation and decay as no longer far distant. In ver. 1*b* the *אַפּ. יַעַץ* נִתְּעִי is equivalent to נִרְעָב, found elsewhere. In ver. 1*c* קִבְּרִים is used as if the dead were called, Arab. *ssāchīb el-kubūr*, grave-companions. He is indeed one who is dying, from whom the grave is but a step distant, and still the friends promise him long life if he will only repent! This is the mockery which is with him, *i.e.* surrounds him, as he affirms, ver. 2*a*. A secondary verb, הִתְּלַח, is formed from the *Hiph.* הִתְּלַח (of which we had the non-syncopated form of the *fut.* in ch. xiii. 9), the *Piel* of which occurs in 1 Kings xviii. 27 of Elijah's derision of the priests of Baal, and from this is formed the *pluralet.* הִתְּלָחִים (or, according to another reading, הִתְּלָחִים, with the same doubling of the ל as in מִתְּלָחִים, deceitful things, Isa. xxx. 10; comp. the same thing in ch. xxxiii. 7, אֲרָמִים, their lions of God = heroes), which has the meaning foolery,—a meaning questioned by Hirz. without right,—in which the idea of deceit and mockery are united. Gecatilia and Ralbag take it as a *part.*: mockers; Stick., Wolfson, Hahn: deluded; but the analogy of מִתְּלָחִים, and the like, speaks in favour of taking it as a substantive. אִם-לֹא is affirmative (Ges. § 155, 2, *f*). Ewald renders it as expressive of desire: if only not (Hlgst.: *dummodo ne*); but this signification (Ew. § 329, *b*) cannot be supported. On the other hand, it might be intended interrogatively (as ch. xxx. 25): *annon illusiones mecum* (Rosenm.); but this אִם-לֹא, corresponding to the second member of a disjunctive question, has no right connection in the preceding. We therefore prefer the affirmative meaning, and explain it like ch. i. 11, ii. 5, xxii. 20, xxxi. 36. Truly what he continually hears, *i.e.* from the side of the friends, is only false and delusive utterances, which consequently sound to him like jesting and mockery. The suff. in ver. 2*b* refers to

them. הִפְרוֹחַ (with *Dag. dirimens*, which renders the sound of the word more pathetic, as ch. ix. 18, Joel i. 17, and in the *Hiph.* form בִּנְלוֹךְ, Isa. xxxiii. 1), elsewhere generally (Josh. i. 18 only excepted) of rebellion against God, denotes here the contradictory, quarrelsome bearing of the friends, not the dispute in itself (comp. מָרָה, III. to attack, VI. to contend with another), but coming forward controversially; only to this is מִלֵּן עֵינַי suitable. מִלֵּן must not be taken as = מִלֵּן here; Ewald's translation, "only let not mine eye come against their irritation," forces upon this verb, which always signifies to murmur, *γογγύζειν*, a meaning foreign to it, and one that does not well suit it here. The voluntative form מִלֵּן = מִלֵּן (here not the pausal form, as Judg. xix. 20, comp. 2 Sam. xvii. 16) quite accords with the sense: mine eye shall linger on their janglings; it shall not look on anything that is cheering, but be held fast by this cheerless spectacle, which increases his bodily suffering and his inward pain. From these comforters, who are become his adversaries, Job turns in supplication to God.

- 3 *Lay down now, be bondsman for me with Thyself;  
Who else should furnish surety to me?!*
- 4 *For Thou hast closed their heart from understanding,  
Therefore wilt Thou not give superiority to them.*
- 5 *He who giveth his friends for spoil,  
The eyes of his children shall languish.*

It is unnecessary, with Reiske and Olsh., to read עָרַבְנִי (*pone quæso arrhabonem meum = pro me*) in order that שִׁמָּה may not stand without an object; שִׁמָּה has this meaning included in it, and the עָרַבְנִי which follows shows that neither לִבְךָ (Rabag) nor יָדְךָ (Carey) is to be supplied; accordingly שִׁים here, like وَضَعَ (وضع), and in the classics both *τίθεαι* and *ponere*, signifies alone, the laying down of a pledge. Treated by the friends as a criminal justly undergoing

punishment, he seeks his refuge in God, who has set the mark of a horrible disease upon him contrary to his desert, as though he were guilty, and implores Him to confirm the reality of his innocence in some way or other by laying down a pledge for him (ἰποθήκη). The further prayer is עֲרַבִּי, a word of entreaty which occurs also in Hezekiah's psalm, Isa. xxxviii. 14, and Ps. cxix. 122; עֲרַב *seq. acc.* signifies, as noted on the latter passage, to furnish surety for any one, and gen. to take the place of a mediator (comp. also on Heb. vii. 22, where ἑγγυος is a synon. of μεσότης). Here, however, the significant עֲרַב is added: furnish security for me with Thyself; elsewhere the form is לְעֲרַב, to furnish security for (Prov. vi. 1), or לְפָנַי before, any one, here with עִמִּי of the person by whom the security is to be accepted. The thought already expressed in ch. xvi. 21a receives a still stronger expression here: God is conceived of as two persons, on the one side as a judge who treats Job as one deserving of punishment, on the other side as a bondsman who pledges himself for the innocence of the sufferer before the judge, and stands as it were as surety against the future. In the question, ver. 3b, the representation is again somewhat changed: Job appears here as the one to whom surety is given. נָתַתָּה, described by expositors as reciprocal, is rather reflexive: to give one's hand (the only instance of the *med.* form of נָתַתָּה) = to give surety by striking hands, *dextera data sponsionem in se recipere* (Hlgst.). And לִּי is not to be explained after the analogy of the passive, as the usual לְ of the agent: who would allow himself to be struck by my hand, i.e. who would accept the surety from me (Wolfson), which is unnatural both in representation and expression; but it is, according to Prov. vi. 1 (*vid.* Bertheau), intended of the hand of him who receives the stroke of the hand of him who gives the pledge. This is therefore the meaning of the question: who else (כִּי הוּא as iv. 7), if not God himself, should

strike (his hand) to my hand, *i.e.* should furnish to me a pledge (*viz.* of my innocence) by joining hands? There is none but God alone who can intercede for him, as a guarantee of his innocence before himself and others. This negative answer: None but Thou alone, is established in ver. 4. God has closed the heart of the friends against understanding, *prop. concealed, i.e.* He has fixed a curtain, a wall of partition, between their hearts and the right understanding of the matter; He has smitten them with blindness, therefore He will not (since they are suffering from a want of perception which He has ordained, and which is consequently known to Him) allow them to be exalted, *i.e.* to conquer and triumph. "The exaltation of the friends," observes Hirzel rightly, "would be, that God should openly justify their assertion of Job's guilt." Löwenthal translates: therefore art thou not honoured; but it is not pointed  $\text{תְּרִימָם} = \text{תְּתִרְיָם}$ , but  $\text{תְּרִימָם}$ , whether it be that  $\text{אֵתָם}$  is to be supplied, or that it is equivalent to  $\text{תְּרִימָם}$  (Ew. § 62, *a*, who, however, prefers to take it as *n. Hithpa.* like  $\text{תְּרִימָם}$  in the unimproved signification: improvement, since he maintains this affords no right idea), according to the analogy of similar verb-forms (ch. xxxi. 15, Isa. lxiv. 6), by a resolving of the two similar consonants which occur together.

The hope thus expressed Job establishes (ver. 5) by a principle from general experience, that he who offers his friends as spoil for distribution will be punished most severely for the same upon his children: he shall not escape the divine retribution which visits him, upon his own children, for the wrong done to his friends. Almost all modern expositors are agreed in this rendering of  $\text{לְחֶלֶק}$  as regards ver. 5*a*; but  $\text{חֶלֶק}$  must not be translated "lot" (Ewald), which it never means; it signifies a share of spoil, as *e.g.* Num. xxxi. 36 (Jerome *prædam*), or even with a verbal force: plundering (from  $\text{חָלַק}$ , 2 Chron. xxviii. 21), or even in antithesis to entering into bond.

for a friend with all that one possesses (Stick., Schlottm.), a dividing (of one's property) = distraining, as a result of the surrender to the creditor, to which the verb **הָיִיר** is appropriate, which would then denote denouncing before a court of justice, as Jer. xx. 10, not merely proclaiming openly, as Isa. iii. 9. We have translated "spoil," which admits of all these modifications and excludes none; the general meaning is certainly: one deserts (instead of shielding as an intercessor) his friends and delivers them up; **וַיִּיר** with a general subj., as ch. iv. 2 (if any one attempts), xv. 3, xxvii. 23. With respect to the other half of the verse, *5b*, the optative rendering: may they languish (Vaih.), to the adoption of which the old expositors have been misled by parallels like Ps. cix. 9 sq., is to be rejected; it is contrary to the character of Job (ch. xxxi. 30). We agree with Mercerus: *Nequaquam hoc per imprecationem, sed ut consequentis justissimæ poenæ denunciationem ab Iobo dictum putamus*. For ver. *5b* is also not to be taken as a circumstantial clause: even if the eyes of his children languish (Ew., Hlgst., Stick., Hahn, Schl.). It is not **וַיִּיר**, but **וַיִּיר**; and before supposing here a *Synallage num.* so liable to be misunderstood, one must try to get over the difficulty without it, which is here easy enough. Hence Job is made, in the intended application of the general principle, to allude to his own children, and Ewald really considers him the father of infant children, which, however, as may be seen from the prologue, is nothing but an invention unsupported by the history. Since it is **בָּנָי** and not **בָּנֵיהֶם**, we refer the suff. to the subj. of **וַיִּיר**. The *Waw* of **וַיִּיר** Mich. calls *Waw consecutivum*; it, however, rather combines things that are inseparable (certainly as cause and effect, sin and punishment). And it is **וַיִּיר**, not **וַיִּיר**, because the *perf.* would describe the fact as past, while the *fut.* places us in the midst of this faithless conduct. Job says God cannot possibly allow these, his three friends, the upper hand. One proclaims his friends



as spoil (comp. ch. vi. 27), and the eyes of his children languish (comp. ch. xi. 20), *i.e.* he who so faithlessly disowns the claims of affection, is punished for it on that which he holds most dear. But this uncharitableness which he experiences is also a visitation of God. In the next strophe he refers all that he meets with from man to Him as the final cause, but not without a presage of the purpose for which it is designed.

- 6 *And He hath made me a proverb to the world,  
And I became as one in whose face they spit.*  
7 *Then mine eye became dim with grief,  
And all my members were like a shadow.*  
8 *The upright were astonished at it,  
And the innocent is stirred up over the godless ;*  
9 *Nevertheless the righteous holdeth fast on his way,  
And he that hath clean hands waxeth stronger and stronger.*

Without a question, the subj. of ver. 6a is God. It is the same thing whether לַעֲלֹם is taken as *inf.* followed by the subject in the nominative (Ges. § 133, 2), or as a subst. (LXX. θρύλλημα; Aq., Symm., Theod., παραβολήν), like רִיחֹץ, ch. xii. 4, followed by the *gen. subjectivus*. לַעֲלֹם is the usual word for ridicule, expressed in parables of a satirical character, *e.g.* Joel ii. 17 (according to which, if לַעֲלֹם were intended as *inf.*, מְלֵכֵי-בָּי עַמִּים might have been expected); עַמִּים signifies both nations and races, and tribes or people, *i.e.* members of this and that nation, or in gen. of mankind (ch. xii. 2). We have intentionally chosen an ambiguous expression in the translation, for what Job says can be meant of a wide range of people (comp. on ch. ii. 11 *ad fin.*), as well as of those in the immediate neighbourhood; the friends themselves represent different tribes; and a perishable gipsy-like troglodyte race, to whom Job is become a derision, is specially described further on (ch. xxiv. xxx.).

Ver. 6b. By **תִּפְחָה** (translated by Jer. *exemplum*, and consequently mistaken for **מוֹפֵת**) the older expositors are reminded of the name of the place where the sacrifices were offered to Moloch in the valley of the sons of Hinnom (whence **גֵּיהֵנִים**, *gēenna*, hell), since they explain it by "the fire of hell," but only from want of a right perception; the **לְפָנֶיךָ** standing with it, which nowhere signifies *palam*, and cannot here (where **אֵהְיֶה**, although in the signification *ἐγενόμην*, follows) signify *a multo tempore*, shows that **תִּפְחָה** here is to be derived from **תָּפַח**, to spit out (as **לֶפֶת**, gum, from **נָחַ**). This verb certainly cannot be supported in Hebr. and Aram. (since **קָפַח** is the commoner word), except by two passages in the Talmud (*Nidda* 42a, comp. *Sabbath* 99b, and *Chethuboth* 61b); but it is confirmed by the Æthiopic and Coptic and an onomatopoetic origin, as the words *πρύειν*, *ψύειν*, *spuere*, Germ. *speien*, etc., show.<sup>1</sup> Cognate is the Arabic *taffafa*, to treat with contempt, and the interjection *tuffan*, fie upon thee,<sup>2</sup> e.g. in the proverb (quoted by Umbreit): '*aini fili watuffan 'aleihi*, my eye rests on it wishfully, and yet I feel disgust at it. Therefore **לְפָנֶיךָ** (spitting upon the face) is equivalent to **בְּפָנֶיךָ**, Num. xii. 14, Deut. xxv. 9 (to spit in the face). In consequence of this deep debasement of the object of scorn and spitting, the brightness and vision of his eye (sense of sight) are become dim (comp. Ps. vi. 8, xxxi. 10) **שִׁבְעָה** (always written with **ש**, not **ס**, in the book of Job), from grief, and his frames, i.e. bodily frame = members (Jer. *membra*, Targ. incorrectly: features), are become like a shadow all of them, as fleshless and powerless as a shadow, which is only appearance without substance.

<sup>1</sup> **תָּפַח** is related to the Sanskrit root *shṭhiv*, as *τίγην*, *τρύχνος*, *τρύζω*, and the like, to *στίγην*, *στρύχνος*, *στρύζω*, vid. Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, Bd. iv. Abh. i. (the falling away of *s* before mutes).

<sup>2</sup> Almost all modern expositors repeat the remark here, that this *tuffan* is similar in meaning to *βανά*, Matt. v. 22, while they might learn from Lightfoot that *βανά* has nothing to do with **קָפַח**, to spit, but is equivalent to **רָקַח**, *κατέ*.

His suffering, his miserable form (זאת), is of such a kind that the upright are astonished (שָׁמַם, to become desolate, silent), and the guiltless (like himself and other innocent sufferers) become excited (here with vexation as in Ps. xxxvii. 1, as in ch. xxxi. 29 with joy) over the godless (who is none the less prosperous); but the righteous holds firm (without allowing himself to be disconcerted by this anomalous condition of things, though impenetrably mysterious) on his way (the way of good to which he has pledged himself), and the pure of hands (יָמָיו as Prov. xxii. 11, according to another mode of writing יָמָיו with *Chateph-Kametz* under the ם and *Gaja* under the י; comp. Isa. liv. 9, where the form of writing יִמִּיגּ'or is well authorized) increases (יָסַף, of inward increase, as Eccles. i. 18) in strength (יָסַף only here in the book of Job); i.e. far from allowing suffering to draw him from God to the side of the godless, he gathers strength thereby only still more perseveringly to pursue righteousness of life and purity of conduct, since suffering, especially in connection with such experiences as Job now has with the three friends, drives him to God and makes his communion with Him closer and firmer. These words of Job (if we may be allowed the figure) are like a rocket which shoots above the tragic darkness of the book, lighting it up suddenly, although only for a short time. The confession which breaks through in lyric form in Ps. lxxiii. here finds expression of a more brief, sententious kind. The point of Eliphaz' reproach (ch. xv. 4), that Job makes void the fear of God, and depreciates communion with God, is destroyed by this confession, and the assurance of Satan (ch. ii. 5) is confronted by a fact of experience, which, if it should also become manifest in the case of Job, utterly puts to shame and makes void the hope of the evil spirit.

10 *But only come again all of you!*

*I shall not find a wise man among you.—*

- 11 *My days are past,  
My purposes cut off,  
The cherished thoughts of my heart.—*
- 12 *They explain night as day,  
Light is near when darkness sets in.*

The truly righteous man, even if in the midst of his affliction he should see destruction before him, does not however forsake God. But (nevertheless) ye—he exclaims to the friends, who promise him a long and prosperous life if he will only humble himself as a sinner who is receiving punishment—repeat again and again your hortatory words on penitence! a wise man who might be able to see into my real condition, I shall not find among you. He means that they deceive themselves concerning the actual state of the case before them; for in reality he is meeting death without being deceived, or allowing himself to be deceived, about the matter. His appeal is similar to ch. vi. 29. Carey translates correctly: Attack me again with another round of arguments, etc. Instead of אֶלֶם, as it is written everywhere else (generally when the speech is drawing to a close), we find אֶלֶם (as the form of writing אֶלֶם, אֶלֶם occurs also in the subst. אֶלֶם), perh. in order to harmonize with בְּלֶם, which is here according to rule instead of בְּלֶם, which corresponds more to our form of a vocative clause, just as in 1 Kings xxii. 28, Mic. i. 2 (Ewald, § 327, a).<sup>1</sup> In חֲשִׁבִי וְבֵאוּ the jussive and imper. (for the *Chethib* יֵבֵאוּ, which occurs in some Codd. and editions, is meaningless) are united, the former being occasioned by the arrangement of the words, which is unfavourable to the imper. (comp. Ew. § 229); moreover, the first verb gives the adverbial notion *iterum*, *denuo* to the second, according to Ges. § 142, 3, a.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. my *Anekdoten zur Gesch. der mittelalterlichen Scholastik unter Juden und Moslemen* (1841), S. 380.

What follows, ver. 11, is the confirmation of the fact that there is no wise man among them who might be able to give him efficient solace by a right estimate of the magnitude and undeservedness of his suffering. His life is indeed run out; and the most cherished plans and hopes which he had hedged in and fostered for the future in his heart, he has utterly and long since given up. The *plur.* (occurring only here) of מַצָּה, which occurs also *sensu malo*, signifies projects, as מַצְמֹת, ch. xxi. 27, xlii. 2, from זָמַם, to tie; Aben-Ezra refers to the Arab. *zamâm* (a thread, band, esp. a rein). These plans which are now become useless, these cherished thoughts, he calls מְרִשָּׁי, *peculia* (from רָשָׁ, to take possession of) of his heart. Thus, after Obad. ver. 17, Gecatilia (in Aben-Ezra) also explains, while, according to Ewald, *Beiträge*, S. 98, he understands the heart-strings, *i.e.* the trunks of the arteries (for thus is נִיָּא to be explained), and consequently, as Ewald himself, and even Farisol, most improbably combines מְרִשָּׁי with מוֹרֶר (מָרָר). Similarly the LXX. τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς καρδίας, as though the joints (instead of the valves) of the heart were intended; probably with Middeldorpf, after the Syriac Hexapla, ἄρτα is to be read instead of ἄρθρα; this, however, rests upon a mistaking of מְרִשָּׁי for ראשִׁי. While he is now almost dead, and his life-plans of the future are torn away (נִתְקָדוּ), the friends turn night into day (שִׁים, as Isa. v. 20); light is (*i.e.* according to their opinion) nearer than the face of darkness, *i.e.* than the darkness which is in reality turned to him, and which is as though it stared at him from the immediate future. Thus Nolde explains it as comparative, but connecting ver. 12b with יְשִׁימוּ, and considering פָּנִי (which is impossible by this compar. rendering) as meaningless: *lucem magis propinquam quam tenebras*. It is however possible that פָּנִי is used the same as in ch. xxiii. 17: light is, as they think, near before darkness, *i.e.* while darkness sets in (*ingruentibus tenebris*), according to which we have translated. If we under-

stand ver. 12*b* from Job's standpoint, and not from that of the friends, כְּרוּב is to be explained according to the Arab. قَرِيبٌ *prope abest ab*, as the LXX. even translates: φῶς ἐγγὺς ἀπὸ προσώπου σκότους, which Olympiodorus interprets by οὐ μακρὰν σκότους. But by this rendering פָּנַי makes the expression, which really needs investigation, only still lamer. Renderings, however, like Renan's *Ah! votre lumière ressemble aux ténèbres*, are removed from all criticism. The subjective rendering, by which ver. 12*b* is under the government of יֵשׁוּבִי, is after all the most natural. That he has darkness before him, while the friends present to him the approach of light on condition of penitence, is the thought that is developed in the next strophe.

- 13 *If I hope, it is for Sheól as my house,  
In darkness I make my bed.*  
14 *I cry to corruption: Thou art my father!—  
To the worm: Thou art my mother and sister!*  
15 *Where now therefore is my hope?  
And my hope, who seeth it?*  
16 *To the bars of Sheól it descends,  
When at the same time there is rest in the dust.*

All modern expositors transl.: If I hope (wait) for Sheól as my house, etc., since they regard vers. 13 sq. as a hypothetical antecedent clause to ver. 15, consisting of four members, where the conclusion should begin with וְיָשׁוּבִי, and should be indicated by *Waw apodosis*. There is no objection to this explanation so far as the syntax is concerned, but there will then be weighty thoughts which are also expressed in the form of fresh thoughts, for which independent clauses seem more appropriate, under the government of כִּי, as if they were presuppositions. The transition from the preceding strophe to this becomes also easier, if we take vers. 13 sq. as independent clauses from which, in ver. 15, an inference is

drawn, with *Waw* indicative of the train of thought (Ew. § 348). Accordingly, we regard אִם-אֶמְצֵא in ver. 13 as antecedent (denoted by *Dechî*, i.e. *Tiphcha antèrius*, just as Ps. cxxxix. 8a) and שָׂאֵל בֵּיתִי as conclusion; the *Waw apod.* is wanting, as e.g. ch. ix. 27 sq., and the structure of the sentence is similar to ch. ix. 19. If I hope, says Job, "Sheôl is my house" = this is the substance of my hope, that Sheôl will be my house. In darkness he has (i.e. in his consciousness, which anticipates that which is before him as near and inevitable) fixed his resting-place (poet. *strata*, as Ps. cxxxii. 3). To corruption and the worm he already cries, father! and, mother! sister! It is, as it seems, that bold figure which is indicated in the Job-like Ps. lxxxviii. 19 ("my acquaintances are the realms of darkness"), which is here (comp. ch. xxx. 29) worked out; and, differently applied, perhaps Prov. vii. 4 echoes it. Since the *fem.* רִמָּה is used as the object addressed by אִמִּי and אֲחֹתִי, which is besides, on account of its always collective meaning (in distinction from תַּלְמִידָה), well suited for this double apostrophe, we may assume that the poet will have used a *masc.* object for אִמִּי; and there is really no reason against שָׁחַת here being, with Ramban, Rosenm., Schlottm., Böttcher (*de inferis*, § 179), derived not from שָׁחַת (as נָחַת, ver. 16b, from נָח), but from שָׁחַת (as נָחַת, Isa. xxx. 30, from נָחַת), especially since the old versions transl. שָׁחַת also elsewhere *διαφθορά* (*putredo*), and thereby prove that both derivations accord with the structure of the language. Thus, now already conscious of his belonging to corruption and the worm as by the closest ties of relationship, he asks: *Itaque ubi tandem spes mea?*

The accentuation connects אִם to the following word, instead of uniting it with אִיָּה, just as in Isa. xix. 12; Luzzattc (on Isa. xix. 12) considers this as a mistake in the Codd., and certainly the accentuation Judg. ix. 38 (אִם *Kadma*, אִם *Mercha*) is not according to our model, and even in this

passage another arrangement of the accents is found, *e.g.* in the edition of Brescia.<sup>1</sup> No other hope, in Job's opinion, but speedy death is before him; no human eye is capable of seeing, *i.e.* of discovering (so *e.g.* Hahn), any other hope than just this. Somewhat differently Hirz. and others: and my hope, *viz.* of my recovery, who will it see in process of fulfilment? Certainly חַקְוִי is in both instances equivalent to a hope which he dared to harbour; and the meaning is, that beside the one hope which he has, and which is a hope only *per antiphrasin*, there is no room for another hope; there is none such (ver. 15a), and no one will attain a sight of such, be it visible in the distance or experienced as near at hand (ver. 15b). The subj. of ver. 16a is not the hope of recovery which the friends present to him (so *e.g.* Ew.), but his only real hope: this, avoiding human ken, descends to the lower world, for it is the hope of death, and consequently the death of hope. בָּרִי signifies bars, bolts, which Hahn denies, although he says himself that בָּרִים signifies beams of wood among other things; "bolts" is not here intended to imply such as are now used in locks, but the cross bars and beams of wood of any size that serve as a fastening to a door; *vectis* in exactly the same manner combines the meanings, a carrying-pole and a bar, in which signification בָּר is the synon. of בָּרִיה.<sup>2</sup> The meanings assigned to the word, wastes (Schnurrer and others), bounds (Hahn), clefts (Böttch.), and the like, are fanciful and superfluous. On חֲרִיבָה, instead of חֲרִיב, *vid.* Caspari on Obad. ver. 13, Ges. § 47, rem. 3. It is *sing.*, not *plur.*

<sup>1</sup> This accentuates וַאֲחִיה with *Munach*, וַאֲחִי with *Munach*, which accords with the matter, instead of which, according to Luzz., since the *Athnach*-word חַקְוִי consists of three syllables, it should be more correctly accented וַאֲחִיה with *Munach*, וַאֲחִי with *Decht*. Both, also *Munach Munach*, are admissible; *vid.* Bär, *Thorath Emeth*, S. 48, § 7, comp. S. 71, *not*.

<sup>2</sup> Accordingly we also explain Hos. xi. 6 after Lam. ii. 9, and transl.: The sword moveth round in his (Ephraim's) cities, and destroyeth his (Ephraim's) bars (*i.e.* the bars of his gates), and devourerth round about, because of their counsels.



(Böttch.), for ver. 15 does not speak of two hopes, not even if, as it seems according to the ancient versions, another word of cognate meaning had stood in the place of the second *תקוה* originally. His hope goes down to the regions of the dead, when altogether there is rest in the dust. This "together, *יחד*," Hahn explains: to me and it, to this hope; but that would be pursuing the figure to an inadmissible length, extending far beyond ch. xx. 11, and must then be expressed *לְיַחַד יְיָ*. Others (*e.g.* Hirz., Ew.) explain: when at the same time, *i.e.* simultaneously with this descent of my hope, there is rest to me in the dust. Considering the use of *יחד* in itself, it might be explained: when altogether [entirely] there is rest in the dust; but this meaning *integer, totus quantus*, the word has elsewhere always in connection with a subj. or obj. to which it is referable, *e.g.* ch. x. 8, Ps. xxxiii. 15; and, moreover, it may be rendered also in the like passages by "all together," as ch. iii. 18, xxi. 26, xl. 13, instead of "altogether, entirely." Since, on the other hand, the signification "at the same time" can at least with probability be supported by Ps. cxli. 10, and since *בְּיָחַד*, which is certainly used temporally, brings cotemporary things together, we prefer the translation: "when at the same time in the dust there is rest." The descent of his hope to the bars of Hades is at the same time his own, who hopes for nothing but this. When his hope of death becomes a reality, then at the same time his turmoil of suffering will pass over to the rest of the grave.

As from the second speech of Eliphaz, so also from this first speech of Job, it may be seen that the controversy takes a fresh turn, which brings it nearer to the maturity of decision. From Eliphaz' speech Job has seen that no assertion of his innocence can avail to convince the friends, and that the more strongly he maintains his innocence, even before God, he only confirms them in the opinion that he is suffering the

punishment of his godlessness, which now comes to light, like a wrong that has been hitherto concealed. Job thus perceives that he is incapable of convincing the friends; for whatever he may say only tends to confirm them in the false judgment, which they first of all inferred from their false premises, but now from his own words and conduct. He is accounted by them as one who is punished of God, whom they address as the preachers of repentance; now, however, they address him so that the chief point of their sermon is no longer bright promises descriptive of the glorious future of the penitent, but fearful descriptions of the desolating judgment which comes upon the impenitent sinner. This zealous solicitude for his welfare seems to be clever and to the point, according to their view; it is, however, only a vexatious method of treating their friend's case; it is only roughly and superficially moulded according to the order of redemption, but without an insight into the spiritual experience and condition of him with whom they have here to do. Their *prudential pastoralis* is carnal and legal; they know nothing of a righteousness which avails before God, and nothing of a state of grace which frees from the divine vengeance; they know not how to deal with one who is passing through the fierce conflict of temptation, and understand not the mystery of the cross.

Can we wonder, then, that Job is compelled to regard their words as nothing more than רברי רח, as they regarded his? In the words of Job they miss their certainly compact dogma, in which they believe they possess the philosopher's stone, by means of which all earthly suffering is to be changed into earthly prosperity. Job, however, can find nothing in their words that reminds him of anything he ought to know in his present position, or that teaches him anything respecting it. He is compelled to regard them as בנחמי עמל, who make the burden of his suffering only more grievous, instead of lightening it for him. For their consolation rests upon an unjust

judgment of himself, against which his moral consciousness rebels, and upon a one-sided notion of God, which is contradicted by his experience. Their speeches exhibit skill as to their form, but the sympathy of the heart is wanting. Instead of plunging with Job into the profound mystery of God's providence, which appoints such a hard lot for the righteous man to endure, they shake their heads, and think : What a great sinner Job must be, that God should visit him with so severe a punishment ! It is the same shaking of the head of which David complains Ps. xxii. 8 and cix. 25, and which the incomparably righteous One experienced from those who passed by His cross, Matt. xxvii. 39, Mark xv. 29. These comparisons give us the opportunity of noting the remarkable coincidence of these pictures of suffering, in outline and expression ; the agreement of Job xvi. 8 with Ps. cix. 24, comp. cix. 23 with Job xvii. 7, puts it beyond a doubt, that there is a mutual relation between Job xvi. 4 and Ps. cix. 25 which is not merely accidental.

By such unjust and uncharitable treatment from the friends, Job's sufferings stand forth before him in increased magnitude. He exceeds himself in the most terrible figures, in order to depict the sudden change which the divine dispensation of suffering has brought upon him. The figures are so terrible, for Job sees behind his sufferings a hostile hideous God as their author ; they are the outburst of His anger, His quivering looks, His piercing darts, His shattering missiles. His sufferings are a witness *de facto* against him, the sufferer ; but they are this not merely in themselves, but also in the eyes of the people around him. To the sufferings which he has directly to endure in body and soul there is added, as it were, as their other equally painful part, misconstruction and scorn, which he has to suffer from without. Not only does he experience the wrath of God contrary to the testimony to his righteousness which his consciousness gives him, but also

the scoff of the ungodly, who now deridingly triumph over him. Therefore he clothes himself in mourning, and lies with his former majesty in the dust ; his face is red with weeping, and his eyes are become almost blind, although there is no wrong in his hand, and his prayer is free from hypocrisy. Who does not here think of the servant of Jehovah, of whom Isaiah, ch. liii. 9 (in similar words to those which Job uses of himself, ch. xvi. 16), says, that he is buried among the godless *עַל לְאִדְחָמָם עָשָׂה וְלֹא מָרַמָּה בְּפִי* ? All that Job says here of the scorn that he has to endure by being regarded as one who is punished of God and tormented, agrees exactly with the description of the sufferings of the servant of Jehovah in the Psalms and the second part of Isaiah. Job says : they gape at me with their mouth ; and in Ps. xxii. 8 (comp. xxxv. 21) it is : all they that see me laugh me to scorn, they open wide the lips, they shake the head. Job says : they smite my cheeks in contempt ; and the servant of Jehovah, Isa. l. 6, is compelled to confess : I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that pluck off the hair ; I hid not my face from shame and spitting. Like Job, the servant of Jehovah in the Psalms and in Isaiah II. is delivered over into the hands of the unrighteous, and reckoned among evil-doers, although he is the servant of Jehovah, and knows himself to be Jehovah's servant. The same hope that he expresses in Isa. l. 8 sq. in the words : he is near who justifieth me, who will condemn me !—the same hope in Job breaks through the night of conflict, with which his direct and indirect suffering has surrounded him.

Just when Job becomes conscious of his doubled affliction in all its heaviness, when he feels himself equally rejected of men as of God, must this hope break forth. For there is only a twofold possibility for a man who thinks God has become his enemy, and that he has not a friend among men : either he sinks into the abyss of despair ; or if faith still exists,

he struggles upwards through his desertion by God and man to the love that lies deep in the heart of God, which in spite of hostile manifestation cannot abandon the righteous. Whither shall Job turn when God seems to him as an enemy, and when he nevertheless will not renounce God? He can only turn from the hostile God to the God who is differently disposed towards him, and that is equivalent to saying from the imaginary to the real God, to whom faith clings throughout every outward manifestation of wrath and wrathful feeling.<sup>1</sup> Since both, however, is one God, who only seems to be other than He is, that bold grasp of faith is the exchange of the phantom-god of the conflict of temptation for the true God. Faith, which in its essence is a perception capable of taking root, seizes the real existence behind the appearance, the heart behind the countenance, that which remains the same behind the change, and defies a thousand contradictions with the saintly Nevertheless: God *nevertheless* does not belie himself.

Job challenges the earth not to hide his blood; unceasingly without restraint shall the cry of his blood rise up. What he says in ch. xvi. 18 is to be taken not so much as the expression of a desire as of a demand, and better still as a command; for even in case he should succumb to his sufferings, and consequently in the eyes of men die the death of a sinner, his clear consciousness of innocence does not allow him to renounce his claim to a public declaration that he has died guiltless. But to whom shall the blood of the slain cry out? To whom else but God; and yet it is God who has slain him? We see distinctly here how Job's idea of God is lighted up by the prospect of a decisive trial of his cause. The God who abandons Job to death as guilty, and the God who

<sup>1</sup> Compare the prayer of Juda ha-Levi, *اعوذ لك* (أعوذ لك), in Kämpf's *Nichtandalusische Poesien andalusischer Dichter* (1858), ii. 206.

cannot (and though it should be only after death) leave him unvindicated, come forth distinct and separate as darkness from light from the chaos of the conflict of temptation. Since, however, the thought of a vindication after death for Job, who knows only of a seeming life after death, according to the notion that rules him, and which is here not yet broken through, is only the extreme demanded by his moral consciousness, he is compelled to believe in a vindication in this world; and he expresses this faith (ch. xvi. 19) in these words: "Even now, behold, my Witness is in heaven, and One who acknowledgeth me is in the heights." He pours forth tears to this God that He would decide between God and him, between his friends and him. He longs for this decision now, for he will now soon be gone beyond return. Thus Job becomes here the prophet of the issue of his own course of suffering; and over his relation to Eloah and to the friends, of whom the former abandons him to the sinner's death, and the latter declare him to be guilty, hovers the form of the God of the future, which now breaks through the darkness, from whom Job believingly awaits and implores what the God of the present withholds from him.<sup>1</sup>

What Job (ch. xvi. 20 sq.), by reason of that confident "Behold, my Witness is in heaven," had expressed as the end of his longing,—that God would vindicate him both before Himself, and before the friends and the world,—urges him onward, when he reflects upon his twofold affliction, that he is sick unto death and one who is misjudged even to mockery, to the importunate request: Lay down now (a pledge), be surety for me with Thyself; for who else should strike his hand into mine, *i.e.* in order to become bondsman to me, that

<sup>1</sup> Ewald very truly says: "This is the true turn of the human controversy, indeed of the whole of Job's life, in his favour, that he, though in the present utterly despairing of all, even God, still holds fast to the eternal hidden God of the future, and with this faith rises wondrously, when to all human appearance it seemed that he must succumb."

Thou dost not regard me as an unrighteous person? The friends are far from furnishing a guarantee of this; for they, on the contrary, are desirous of persuading him, that, if he would only let his conscience speak, he must regard himself as an unrighteous one, and that he is regarded as such by God. Therefore God cannot give them the victory; on the contrary, he who so uncompassionately abandons his friends, must on his own children experience similar suffering to that which he made heavier for his friend, instead of making it lighter to him. The three have no insight into the affliction of the righteous one; they dispose of him mercilessly, as of spoil or property that has fallen into the hands of the creditor; therefore he cannot hope to obtain justice unless God become surety for him with Himself,—a thought so extraordinary and bold, that one cannot wonder that the old expositors were misled by it: God was in Christ, and reconciled the world with Himself, 2 Cor. v. 19. The God of holy love has reconciled the world with himself, the God of righteous anger, as Job here prays that the God of truth may become surety for him with the God of absolute sovereignty.

When Job then complains of the misconstruction of his character, and tracing it to God, says: He hath made me *לְיָשָׁר עֲמִים*, one is reminded, in connection with this extravagant expression, of complaints of a like tone in the mouth of the true people of Israel, Ps. xlv. 15, and of the great sufferer, Ps. lxxix. 12. When we further read, that, according to Job's affirmation, the godly are scared at his affliction, the parallel Isa. lii. 14 forces itself upon us, where it is said of the servant of Jehovah, "How were many astonished at thee." And when, with reference to himself, Job says that the suffering of the righteous must at length prove a gain to him that hath clean hands, who does not call to mind the fact that the glorious issue of the suffering of the servant of Jehovah which the Old Testament evangelist sets before us,

—that servant of Jehovah who, once himself a prey to oppression and mocking, now divides the spoil among the mighty,—tends to the reviving, strengthening, and exaltation of Israel? All these parallels cannot and are not intended to prove that the book of Job is an allegorical poem; but they prove that the book of Job stands in the closest connection, both retrospective and prospective, with the literature of Israel; that the poet, by the relation to the passion-psalms stamped on the picture of the affliction of Job, has marked Job, whether consciously or unconsciously, as a typical person; that, by taking up, probably not unintentionally, many national traits, he has made it natural to interpret Job as a *Mashal* of Israel; and that Isaiah himself confirms this typical relation, by borrowing some Job-like expressions in the figure of the עֶבֶר יִהוּה, who is a personification of the true Israel. The book of Job has proved itself a mirror of consolation for the people, faithful to God, who had cause to complain, as in Ps. xliv., and a mirror of warning to their scoffers and persecutors, who had neither true sympathy with the miserable state of God's people, nor a true perception of God's dealings. At the same time, however, Job appears in the light which the New Testament history, by the fulfilment of the prophecies of suffering in the Psalms, Isaiah, and also Zechariah, throws upon him, as a type of Him who suffers in like manner, in order that Satan may have his deserts, and thereby be confounded; who also has an affliction to bear which in itself has the nature and form of wrath, but has its motive and end in the love of God; who is just so misjudged and scorned of men, in order at length to be exalted, and to enter in as intercessor for those who despised and rejected Him. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that there remains an infinite distance between the type and anti-type, which, however, must be in the very nature of a type, and does not annul the typical relation, which exists only *exceptis*



*excipiendis.* Who could fail to recognise the involuntary picture of the three friends in the penitent ones of Isa. liii., who esteemed the servant of Jehovah as one smitten of God, for whom, however, at last His sacrifice and intercession avail?

Job at last considers his friends as devoid of wisdom, because they try to comfort him with the nearness of light, while darkness is before him; because they give him the hope of a bodily restoration, while he has nothing to expect but death, and earnestly longs for the rest of death. It is surprising that the speech of Job plunges again into complete hopelessness, after he has risen to the prospect of being vindicated in this life. He certainly does not again put forth that prospect, but he does not even venture to hope that it can be realized by a blessing in this life after a seeming curse. It is in this hopelessness that the true greatness of Job's faith becomes manifest. He meets death, and to every appearance is overwhelmed by death, as a sinner, while he is still conscious that he is righteous. Is it not faith in and fidelity to God, then, that, without praying for recovery, he is satisfied with this one thing, that God acknowledges him? The promises of the friends ought to have rested on a different foundation, if he was to have the joy of appropriating them to himself. He feels himself to be inevitably given up as a prey to death, and as from the depth of Hades, into which he is sinking, he stretches out his hands to God, not that He would sustain him in life, but that He would acknowledge him before the world as His. If he is to die even, he desires only that he may not die the death of a criminal. And is this intended at the same time for the rescue of his honour? No, after all, for the honour of God, who cannot possibly destroy as an evil-doer one who is in everything faithful to Him. When, then, the issue of the history is that God acknowledges Job as His servant, and after he is proved and refined by the temptation, preserves to him a doubly rich and

prosperous life, Job receives beyond his prayer and comprehension ; and after he has learned from his own experience that God brings to Hades and out again, he has for ever conquered all fear of death, and the germs of a hope of a future life, which in the midst of his affliction have broken through his consciousness, can joyously expand. For Job appears to himself as one who is risen from the dead, and is a pledge to himself of the resurrection from the dead.

*Bildad's Second Speech.*—Chap. xviii.

*Schema :* 4. 9. 8. 8. 8. 4.

[Then began Bildad the Shuhite, and said :]

2 *How long will ye hunt for words ? !*

*Attend, and afterwards we will speak.*

3 *Wherefore are we accounted as beasts,*

*And narrow-minded in your eyes ?*

Job's speeches are long, and certainly are a trial of patience to the three, and the heaviest trial to Bildad, whose turn now comes on, because he is at pains throughout to be brief. Hence the reproach of endless babbling with which he begins here, as at ch. viii. 2, when he at last has an opportunity of speaking ; in connection with which it must, however, not be forgotten that Job also, ch. xvi. 3, satirically calls upon them to cease. He is indeed more entitled than his opponents to the entreaty not to weary him with long speeches. The question, ver. 2a, if קַנְיִי is derived from קָנָה, furnishes no sense, unless perhaps it is, with Ralbag, explained : how long do you make close upon close in order, when you seem to have come to an end, to begin continually anew ? For to give the thought : how long do you make no end of speaking, it must have been עַד־אֵינָהּ לֹא, as the LXX. (μέχρι τίνος οὐ παύσης;) involuntarily inserts the negative. And what should the plur. mean

by this rendering? The form קָנַי = קָנַי would not cause doubt; for though קָנַי does not occur elsewhere in the Old Testament, it is nevertheless sufficient that it is good Aramaic (קָנַי), and that another Hebr. plural, as קָנַי, קָנַי, קָנַי, would have been hardly in accordance with the usage of the language here. But the plural would not be suitable here generally, the over-delicate explanation of Ralbag perhaps excepted. Since the book of Job abounds in Arabisms, and in Arabic قَنَصٌ (as synon. of صَاد) signifies *venari, venando capere*, and قَنْصٌ (مَقْنَصٌ) *cassis, rete venatorium*; since, further, שִׁים קָנַי (comp. שִׁים אָרַב, Jer. ix. 7) is an incontrovertible reading, and all the difficulties in connection with the reference to קָנַי lying in the עֲרֵאנָה for עֲרֵאנָה and in the plur. vanish, we translate with Castell., Schultens, J. D. Mich., and most modern expositors: how long (here not different from ch. viii. 2, xix. 2) will ye lay snares (construct state, as also by the other rendering, like ch. xxiv. 5, according to Ges. § 116, 1) for words; which, however, is not equivalent to hunt for words in order to contradict, but in order to talk on continually.<sup>1</sup> Job is the person addressed, for Bildad agrees with the two others. It is remarkable, however, that he addresses Job with “you.” Some say that he thinks of Job as one of a number; Ewald observes that the controversy becomes more wide and general; and Schlottm. conjectures that Bildad fixes his eye on individuals of his hearers, on whose countenances he believed he saw a certain inclination to side with Job. This conjecture we will leave to itself; but the remark which Schlottm. also makes, that Bildad regards

<sup>1</sup> In post-bibl. Hebrew, קָנַי has become common in the signification, proofs, arguments, as e.g. a Karaite poet says, וַיְחַד שְׁמֶךָ בְּקָנַיִם הַקִּימוֹתִי, the oneness of thy name have I upheld with proofs; vid. Pinsker, *Likute Kadmoniot. Zur Gesch. des Karaismus und der karäischen Literatur*, 1860, S. קסו.

Job as a type of a whole class, is correct, only one must also add, this address in the *plur.* is a reply to Job's sarcasm (xii. 2) by a similar one. As Job has told the friends that they act as if they were mankind in general, and all wisdom were concentrated in them, so Bildad has taken it amiss that Job connects himself with the whole of the truly upright, righteous, and pure; and he addresses him in the plural, because he, the unit, has puffed himself up as such a collective whole. This wrangler—he means—with such a train behind him, cannot accomplish anything: Oh that you would understand (הִבֵּן, as *e.g.* ch. xlii. 3, not causative, as vi. 24), *i.e.* come to your senses, and afterward we will speak, *i.e.* it is only then possible to walk in the way of understanding. That is not now possible, when he, as one who plays the part of their many, treats them, the three who are agreed in opposition to him, as totally void of understanding, and each one of them unwise, in expressions like ch. xvii. 4, 10. Looking to Ps. xlix. 13, 21, one might be tempted to regard בְּטָמִי (on the vowel *i* instead of *e*, *vid.* Ges. § 75, rem. 7) as an interchange of consonants from נִרְמִי: silenced, made an end of, *profligati*; but the supposition of this interchange of consonants would be arbitrary. On the other hand, there is no suitable thought in “why are we accounted unclean?” (Vulg. *sordui-mus*), from טָמָה = טָמָא, Lev. xi. 43 (Ges. § 75, vi.); the complaint would have no right connection, except it were a very slight one, with ch. xvii. 9. On the contrary, if we suppose a verb טָמָה in the signification *opplere, obturare*, which is peculiar to this consonant-combination in the whole range of the Semitic languages (comp. אָטַם, *obstruere*, Aram. טָמַם, Arab. طَمَّ, *e.g.* Talm.: transgression stoppeth up, טָמַם, man's heart), and after which this טָמָה has been explained by the Jewish expositors (Raschi: נִחְשְׁבוּ טְמוּמִים), and is interpreted by סָתַם (Parchon: נִסְתָּמָה דַּעְתּוֹ), we gain a

sense which corresponds both with previous reproaches of Job and the parallelism, and we decide in its favour with the majority of modern expositors. With the interrogative Wherefore, Bildad appeals to Job's conscience. These invectives proceed from an impassioned self-delusion towards the truth, which he wards off from himself, but cannot however alter.

- 4 *Thou art he who teareth himself in his anger :  
Shall the earth become desolate for thy sake,  
And a rock remove from its place ?*
- 5 *Notwithstanding, the light of the wicked shall be put out,  
And the glow of his fire shineth not ;*
- 6 *The light becometh dark in his tent,  
And his lamp above him is extinguished ;*
- 7 *His vigorous steps are straitened,  
And his own counsel casteth him down.*

The meaning of the strophe is this : Dost thou imagine that, by thy vehement conduct, by which thou art become enraged against thyself, thou canst effect any change in the established divine order of the world ? It is a divine law, that sufferings are the punishment of sin ; thou canst no more alter this, than that at thy command, or for thy sake, the earth, which is appointed to be the habitation of man (Isa. xlv. 18), will become desolate (*té'ázab* with the tone drawn back, according to Ges. § 29, 3, *b*, Arab. with similar signification in intrans. *Kal t'azibu*), or a rock remove from its place (on *פָּרַץ*, *vid.* ch. xiv. 18). Bildad here lays to Job's charge what Job, in ch. xvi. 9, has said of God's anger, that it tears him : he himself tears himself in his rage at the inevitable lot under which he ought penitently to bow. The address, ver. 4a, as *apud Arabes ubique fere* (Schult.), is put objectively (not : Oh thou, who) ; comp. what is said on *כָּפַר*, ch. xvii. 10, which is influenced by the same syntactic custom

The LXX. transl. ver. 4b: Why! will Hades be tenantless if thou diest (ἐὰν σὺ ἀποθάνῃς)? after which Rosenm. explains: *tuâ causâ h. e. te cadente*. But that ought to be הַכְּסִיפָה. The peopling of the earth is only an example of the arrangements of divine omnipotence and wisdom, the continuance of which is exalted over the human power of volition, and does not in the least yield to human self-will, as (ver. 4c) the rock is an example, and at the same time an emblem, of what God has fixed and rendered immoveable. That of which he here treats as fixed by God is the law of retribution. However much Job may rage, this law is and remains the unavoidable power that rules over the evil-doer.

Ver. 5. דֵּא is here equivalent to nevertheless, or prop. even, ὅμως, as e.g. Ps. cxxix. 2 (Ew. § 354, a). The light of the evil-doer goes out, and the comfortable brightness and warmth which the blaze (אֵשׁ, only here as a Hebr. word; according to Raschi and others, *étincelle*, a spark; but according to LXX., Theod., Syr., Jer., a flame; Targ. the brightness of light) of his fire in his dwelling throws out, comes to an end. In one word, as the *præt.* אֶשְׁתִּי implies, the light in his tent is changed into darkness; and his lamp above him, i.e. the lamp hanging from the covering of his tent (ch. xxix. 3, comp. xxi. 17), goes out. When misfortune breaks in upon him, the Arab says: *ed-dahru attfaa es-sirâgi*, fate has put out my lamp; this figure of the decline of prosperity receives here a fourfold application. The figure of straitening one's steps is just as Arabic as it is biblical; צִמְצִימוֹ, the steps of his strength (צִמְצִימוֹ synon. of הִצְרִיחוֹ, ch. xl. 16) become narrow (comp. Prov. iv. 12, Arab. *takâssarat*), by the wide space which he could pass over with a self-confident feeling of power becoming more and more contracted; and the purpose formed selfishly and without any recognition of God, the success of which he considered infallible, becomes his overthrow.

- 8 *For he is driven into the net by his own feet,  
And he walketh over a snare.*
- 9 *The trap holdeth his heel fast,  
The noose bindeth him.*
- 10 *His snare lieth hidden in the earth,  
His nets upon the path ;*
- 11 *Terrors affright him on every side,  
And scare him at every step.*

The *Pual* שָׁחַץ signifies not merely to be fallen into, but driven into, like the *Piel*, ch. xxx. 12, to drive away, and as it is to be translated in the similar passage in the song of Deborah, Judg. v. 15 : "And as Issachar, Barak was driven (*i.e.* with desire for fighting) behind him down into the valley (the place of meeting under Mount Tabor) ;" בְּרַגְלָיו, which there signifies, according to Judg. iv. 10, viii. 5, "upon his feet = close behind him," is here intended of the intermediate cause : by his own feet he is hurried into the net, *i.e.* against his will, and yet with his own feet he runs into destruction. The same thing is said in ver. 8*b* ; the way on which he complacently wanders up and down (which the *Hithp.* signifies here) is שְׂכַבְכָּה, lattice-work, here a snare (Arab. *schabacah*, a net, from שָׁבַח, *schabaca*, to intertwine, weave), and consequently will suddenly break in and bring him to ruin. This fact of delivering himself over to destruction is established in *futt.* (ver. 9) used as *præs.*, of which one is contracted, without the voluntative signification in accordance with the poetic licence : a trap catches a heel (poetic brevity for : the trap catches his heel), a noose seizes upon him, עָלָיו (but with the accompanying notion of overpowering him, which the translation "bind" is intended to express). Such is the meaning of צָמִים here, which is not *plur.*, but *sing.*, from צָמַם

(צָמַם), to tie, and it unites in itself the meanings of snare-

layer (ch. v. 5) and of snare; the form (as אֶרֶר, אֶרֶר) corresponds more to the former, but does not, however, exclude the latter, as רָצַח and לָפִיד (λαμπάς) show.

The continuation in ver. 10 of the figure of the fowler affirms that that issue of his life (ver. 9) has been preparing long beforehand; the prosperity of the evil-doer from the beginning tends towards ruin. Instead of חָבְלוֹ we have the pointing חָבְלִי, as it would be in Arab. in a similar sense *hhabluhu* (from *hhabl*, a cord, a net). The nearer destruction is now to him, the stronger is the hold which his foreboding has over him, since, as ver. 11 adds, terrible thoughts (בְּקִלְחֹת) and terrible apparitions fill him with dismay, and haunt him, following upon his feet. לְרַגְלָיו, close behind him, as Gen. xxx. 30, 1 Sam. xxv. 42, Isa. xli. 2, Hab. iii. 5. The best authorized pointing of the verb is חָפְצָיו, with *Segol* (Ges. § 104, 2, c), *Chateph-Segol*, and *Kibbutz*. Except in Hab. iii. 14, where the prophet includes himself with his people, חָפִיץ, *diffundere*, *dissipare* (vid. ch. xxxvii. 11, xl. 11), never has a person as its obj. elsewhere. It would also probably not be used, but for the idea that the spectres of terror pursue him at every step, and are now here, now there, and his person is as it were multiplied.

- 12 *His calamity looketh hunger-bitten,  
And misfortune is ready for his fall.*
- 13 *It devoureth the members of his skin;  
The first-born of death devoureth his members.*
- 14 *That in which he trusted is torn away out of his tent,  
And he must march on to the king of terrors.*
- 15 *Beings strange to him dwell in his tent;  
Brimstone is strewn over his habitation.*

The description of the actual and total destruction of the evil-doer now begins with יָיָ (as ch. xxiv. 14, after the manner of the voluntative forms already used in ver. 9).



Step by step it traces his course to the total destruction, which leaves no trace of him, but still bears evident marks of being the fulfilment of the curse pronounced upon him. In opposition to this explanation, Targ., Raschi, and others, explain חֲזָקָה according to Gen. xlix. 3: the son of his manhood's strength becomes hungry, which sounds comical rather than tragic; another Targ. transl.: he becomes hungry in his mourning, which is indeed inadmissible, because the signif. *planctus, luctus*, belongs to the derivatives of חָנָה, חָנָן, but not to חָזָק. But even the translation recently adopted by Ew., Stick., and Schlottm., "his strength becomes hungry," is unsatisfactory; for it is in itself no misfortune to be hungry, and רָעֵב does not in itself signify "exhausted with hunger." It is also an odd metaphor, that strength becomes hungry; we would then rather read with Reiske, רָעֵב בָּאֵנוּ, *famelicus in media potentia sua*. But as חָזָק signifies strength (ch. xviii. 7), so חָנָן (root חָנָן, to breathe and pant) signifies both wickedness and evil (the latter either as evil = calamity, or as *anhelitus*, sorrow, Arab. *ain*); and the thought that his (i.e. appointed to the evil-doer) calamity is hungry to swallow him up (Syr., Hirz., Hahn, and others), suits the parallelism perfectly: "and misfortune stands ready for his fall."<sup>1</sup> חָנָן signifies prop. a weight, burden, then a load of suffering, and gen. calamity (root חָנָן, Arab. *āda*, e.g. *Sur.* 2, 256, *la ja'ūdhu*, it is not difficult for him, and *adda*, comp. on Ps. xxxi. 12); and חָנָן

<sup>1</sup> If רָעֵב elsewhere corresponds to the Arabic رَغِبَ, to be voraciously hungry, the Arab. رَعِبَ, to be paralyzed with fright, might correspond to it in the present passage: "from all sides spectres alarm him (בְּעֵתוֹ) from בְּעֵת = بَغَتْ, to fall suddenly upon any one; or better: = بَغَتْ, to hunt up, *excitare*, to cause to rise, to fill with alarm) and urge him forward, seizing on his heels; then his strength becomes a paralyzing fright (רָעֵב), and destruction is ready to overwhelm him." The *ro' b* (רָעֵב, thus in Damascus) or *ra' b* (רָעֵב, thus in Hauran and among the

not : at his side (Ges., Ew., Schlottm., Hahn), but, according to Ps. xxxv. 15, xxxviii. 18 : for his fall (LXX. freely, but correctly : ἐξίσωον); for instead of "at the side" (Arab. *ila ganbi*), they no more say in Hebrew than in Germ. "at the ribs."

Ver. 13 figuratively describes how calamity takes possession of him. The members, which are called *אֲרָיִם* in ch. xvii. 7, as parts of the form of the body, are here called *אֲרָיִם*, as the parts into which the body branches out, or rather, since the word originally signifies a part, as that which is actually split off (*vid.* on ch. xvii. 16, where it denotes "cross-bars"), or according to appearance that which rises up, and from this primary signification applied to the body and plants, the members (not merely as Farisol interprets : the veins) of which the body consists and into which it is distributed. *עוֹר* (distinct from *בָּשָׂר*, ch. xvi. 15, similar in meaning to Arab. *baschar*, but also to the Arab. *gild*, of which the former signifies rather the epidermis, the latter the skin in the widest sense) is the soluble surface of the naked animal body. *מָכֹרֶם* devours this, and indeed, as the repetition implies, gradually, but surely and entirely. "The first-born of the poor," Isa. xiv. 30, are those not merely who belong (*בְּנֵי*) to the race of the poor, but the poor in the highest sense and first rank. So here diseases are conceived of as children of death, as in the Arabic malignant fevers are called *benât el-*

Beduins) is a state of mind which only occurs among us in a lower degree, but among the Arabs it is worthy of note as a psychological fact. If the *wahm* (الوهم), or idea of some great and inevitable danger or misfortune, overpowers the Arab, all strength of mind and body suddenly forsakes him, so that he breaks down powerless and defenceless. Thus on July 8, 1860, in Damascus, in a few hours, about 6000 Christian men were slain, without any one raising a hand or uttering a cry for mercy. Both European and native doctors have assured me the *ro'b* in Arabia kills, and I have witnessed instances myself. Since it often produces a stiffness of the limbs with chronic paralysis, all kinds of paralysis are called *ro'b*, and the paralytics *mar'ûb*.—WETZST.

*menîjeh*, daughters of fate or death; that disease which Bildad has in his mind, as the one more terrible and dangerous than all others, he calls the "first-born of death," as that in which the whole destroying power of death is contained, as in the first-born the whole strength of his parent.<sup>1</sup> The Targ. understands the figure similarly, since it transl. מַלְאֲךְ מוֹתָא (angel of death); another Targ. has instead שְׂרִיר מוֹתָא, the firstling of death, which is intended in the sense of the *primogenita* (= *præmatura*) *mors* of Jerome. Least of all is it to be understood with Ewald as an intensive expression for בְּרִמָּה, 1 Sam. xx. 31, of the evil-doer as liable to death. While now disease in the most fearful form consumes the body of the evil-doer, מִבְּטָחוֹ (with *Dag. f. impl.*, as ch. viii. 14, xxxi. 24, Olsh. § 198, *b*) (a collective word, which signifies everything in which he trusted) is torn away out of his tent; thus also Rosenm., Ew., and Umbr. explain, while Hirz., Hlgst., Schlottm., and Hahn regard מִבְּטָחוֹ as in apposition to אֱדָלָה, in favour of which ch. viii. 14 is only a seemingly suitable parallel. It means everything that made the ungodly man

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic the positive is expressed in the same metonymies with *abu*, e.g. *abû 'l-chêr*, the benevolent; on the other hand, e.g. *ibn el-ḥhâge* is much stronger than *abu 'l-ḥhâge*: the person who is called *ibn* is conceived of as a child of these conditions; they belong to his inmost nature, and have not merely affected him slightly and passed off. The Hebrew בְּכוֹר represents the superlative, because among Semites the power and dignity of the father is transmitted to the first-born. So far as I know, the Arab does not use this superlative; for what is terrible and revolting he uses "mother," e.g. *umm el-fûritt*, mother of death, a name for the plague (in one of the modern popular poets of Damascus), *umm el-qashshâsh*, mother of the sweeping death, a name for war (in the same); for that which awakens the emotions of joy and grief he frequently uses "daughter." In an Arabian song of victory the fatal arrows are called *benât el-môt*, and the heroes (slayers) in the battle *bent el-môt*, which is similar to the figure used in the book of Job. Moreover, that disease which eats up the limbs could not be described by a more appropriate epithet than בְּכוֹר מוֹת. Its proper name is shunned in common life; and if it is necessary to mention those who are affected with it, they always say *sâdât el-gudhamâ*, in order by the addition of "gentlemen" to avoid offence or to escape of those named.—WETZS.

happy as head of a household, and gave him the brightest hopes of the future. This is torn away (*evellitur*) from his household, so that he, who is dying off, alone survives. Thus, therefore, ver. 14*b* describes how he also himself dies at last. Several modern expositors, especially Stickel, after the example of Jerome (*et calcet super eum quasi rex interitus*), and of the Syr. (*præcipitem eum reddent terrores regis*), take בְּלִהוּת as subj., which is syntactically possible (*vid.* ch. xxvii. 20, xxx. 15): and destruction causes him to march towards itself (Ges.: *fugant eum*) like a military leader; but since הִצְעִיר signifies to cause to approach, and since no אֵלָיו (to itself) stands with it, מֶלֶךְ is to be considered as denoting the goal, especially as לְ never directly signifies *instar*. In the passage advanced in its favour it denotes that which anything becomes, that which one makes a thing by the mode of treatment (ch. xxxix. 16), or whither anything extends (*e.g.* in Schultens on ch. xiii. 12: they had claws *li-machálîbi*, *i.e.* "approaching to the claws" of wild beasts).<sup>1</sup> One falls into these strange interpretations when one departs from the accentuation, which unites מֶלֶךְ בְּלִהוּת quite correctly by *Munach*.

Death itself is called "the king of terrors," in distinction from the terrible disease which is called its first-born. Death is also personified elsewhere, as Isa. xxviii. 15, and esp. Ps. xlix. 15, where it appears as a רֵעָה, ruler in Hades, as in the Indian mythology the name of the infernal king *Jamas* signifies the tyrant or the tamer. The biblical representation does not recognise a king of Hades, as *Jamas* and Pluto: the judicial power of death is allotted to angels, of whom one, the angel of the abyss, is called *Abaddon* (אֲבַדּוֹן), Apoc. ix. 11; and the chief possessor of this judicial power, ὁ τὸ κράτος ἔχων τοῦ θανάτου, is, according to Heb. ii. 14, the angel-prince, who, according to the prologue of our book, has also

<sup>1</sup> [Comp. a note *infra* on ch. xxi. 4.—TR.]

brought a fatal disease upon Job, without, however, in this instance being able to go further than to bring him to the brink of the abyss. It would therefore not be contrary to the spirit of the book if we were to understand Satan by the king of terrors, who, among other appellations in Jewish theology, is called *שר על-ההור*, because he has his existence in the *Thohu*, and seeks to hurl back every living being into the *Thohu*. But since the prologue casts a veil over that which remains unknown in this world in the midst of tragic woes, and since a reference to Satan is found nowhere else in the book—on the contrary, Job himself and the friends trace back directly to God that mysterious affliction which forms the dramatic knot—we understand (which is perfectly sufficient) by the king of terrors death itself, and with Hirz., Ew., and most expositors, transl.: “and it causes him to march onward to the king of terrors.” The “it” is a secret power, as also elsewhere the *fem.* is used as *neut.* to denote the “dark power” (Ewald, § 295,<sup>a</sup>) of natural and supernatural events, although sometimes, *e.g.* ch. iv. 16, Isa. xiv. 9, the *masc.* is also so applied. After the evil-doer is tormented for a while with temporary *בלהות*, and made tender, and reduced to ripeness for death by the first-born of death, he falls into the possession of the king of *בלהות* himself; slowly and solemnly, but surely and inevitably (as *תצעיר* implies, with which is combined the idea of the march of a criminal to the place of execution), he is led to this king by an unseen arm.

In ver. 15 the description advances another step deeper into the calamity of the evil-doer's habitation, which is now become completely desolate. Since ver. 15*b* says that brimstone (from heaven, Gen. xix. 24, Ps. xi. 6) is strewn over the evil-doer's habitation, *i.e.* in order to mark it as a place that, having been visited with the fulfilment of the curse, shall not henceforth be rebuilt and inhabited (*vid.* Deut. xix. 22 sq., and *supra*, on ch. xv. 28), ver. 15*a* cannot be

intended to affirm that a company of men strange to him take up their abode in his tent. But we shall not, however, on that account take בלחות as the subj. of תשכן. The only natural translation is : what does not belong to him dwells in his tent (Ew. § 294, *b*) ; מבלי, elsewhere *præpos.* (ch. iv. 11, 20, xxiv. 7 sq.), is here an adverb of negation, as which it is often used as an intensive of אף, *e.g.* Ex. xiv. 11. It is unnecessary to take the כ as partitive (Hirz.), although it can have a special signification, as Deut. xxviii. 55 (because not), by being separated from בלי. The neutral *fem.* תשכן refers to such inhabitants as are described in Isa. xiii. 20 sqq., xxvii. 10 sq., xxxiv. 11 sqq., Zeph. ii. 9, and in other descriptions of desolation. Creatures and things which are strange to the deceased rich man, as jackals and nettles, inhabit his domain, which is appointed to eternal unfruitfulness ; neither children nor possessions survive him to keep up his name. What does dwell in his tent serves only to keep up the recollection of the curse which has overtaken him.<sup>1</sup>

- 16 *His roots wither beneath,  
And above his branch is lopped off.*  
17 *His remembrance is vanished from the land,  
And he hath no name far and wide on the plain ;*  
18 *They drive him from light into darkness,  
And chase him out of the world.*  
19 *He hath neither offspring nor descendant among his people,  
Nor is there an escaped one in his dwellings.*

The evil-doer is represented under the figure of a plant, ver. 16, as we have had similar figures already, ch. viii. 16

<sup>1</sup> The desolation of his house is the most terrible calamity for the Semite, *i.e.* when all belonging to his family die or are reduced to poverty, their habitation is desolated, and their ruins are become the byword of future generations. For the Beduin especially, although his hair tent leaves no mark, the thought of the desolation of his house, the extinction of his hospitable hearth, is terrible.—WETZST.

sq., xv. 30, 32 sq.;<sup>1</sup> his complete extirpation is like the dying off of the root and of the branch, as Amos ii. 9, Isa. v. 24, and "let him not have a root below and a branch above" in the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eschmunazar. Here we again meet with **יָפַל**, the proper meaning of which is so disputed; it is translated by the Targ. (as by us) as *Niph.* **יִפְּלוּ**, but the meaning "to wither" is near at hand, which, as we said on ch. xiv. 2, may be gained as well from the primary notion "to fall to pieces" (whence LXX. *ἐπιπνεσείται*), as from the primary notion "to parch, dry." **אָמַל** (whence **אָמַל**, formed after the manner of the Arabic IX. form, usually of failing; *vid.* Caspari, § 59) offers a third possible explanation; it signifies originally to be long and lax, to let anything hang down, and thence in Arab. (*amala*) to hope, i.e. to look out into the distance. Not the evil-doer's family alone is rooted out, but also his memory. With **חָרַץ**, a very relative notion, both the street outside in front of the house (ch. xxxi. 32), and the pasture beyond the dwelling (ch. v. 10), are described; here it is to be explained according to Prov. viii. 26 (**אֶרֶץ חֲרוּצֹת**), where Hitz. remarks: "The LXX. translates correctly *ἀουλήτους*. The districts beyond each person's land, which also belong to no one else, the desert, whither one goes forth, is meant." So **אֶרֶץ** seems also here (comp. ch. xxx. 8) to denote the land that is regularly inhabited—Job himself is a large proprietor within the range of a city (ch. xxix. 7)—and **חָרַץ** the steppe traversed by the wandering tribes which lies out beyond. Thus also the Syr. version transl. *'al apai barito*, over the plain of the desert, after which

<sup>1</sup> To such biblical figures taken from plants, according to which root and branch are become familiar in the sense of ancestors and descendants (comp. Sir. xxiii. 25, xl. 15; Wisd. iv. 3-5; Rom. xi. 16), the *arbor consanguineitatis*, which is not Roman, but is become common in the Christian refinement of the Roman right, may be traced back; the first trace of this is found in Isidorus Hispalensis (as also the Cabbalistic tree **אֵיל**, which represents the Sphir-genealogy, has its origin in Spain).

the Arabic version is *el-barrīje* (the synon. of *bedu*, *bādīje*, whence the name of the Beduin<sup>1</sup>). What is directly said in ver. 17 is repeated figuratively in ver. 18; as also what has been figuratively expressed in ver. 16 is repeated in ver. 19 without figure. The subj. of the verbs in ver. 18 remains in the background, as ch. iv. 19, Ps. lxxiii. 11, Luke xii. 20: they thrust him out of the light (of life, prosperity, and fame) into the darkness (of misfortune, death, and oblivion); so that the *illustris* becomes not merely *ignobilis*, but totally *ignotus*, and they hunt him forth (יִנְדְּוּ from the *Hiph.* יָנַדַּהּ of the verb נָדַד, instead of which it might also be יִנְדְּוּ from יָנַדַּהּ, they banish him) out of the habitable world (for this is the signification of תִּבְלָה, the earth as built upon and inhabited). There remains to him in his race neither sprout nor shoot; thus the rhyming alliteration נֶזֶק and נִכְר (according to Luzzatto on Isa. xiv. 22, used only of the descendants of persons in high rank, and certainly a nobler expression than our rhyming pairs: Germ. *Stumpf und Stiel, Mann und Maus, Kind und Kegel*). And there is no escaped one (as Deut. ii. 34 and freq., Arab. *shārid*, one fleeing; *sharūd*, a fugitive) in his abodes (בְּנֵי, as only besides Ps. lv. 16). Thus to die away without descendant and remembrance is still at the present day among the Arab races that profess *Dīn Ibrāhīm* (the religion of Abraham) the most unhappy thought, for the point of gravitation of continuance beyond the grave is transferred by them to the immortality of the righteous in the continuance of his posterity and works in this world (*vid. supra*, p. 260); and where else should it be at the time of Job, since no revelation had as yet drawn the curtain aside

<sup>1</sup> The village with its meadow-land is *el-beled wa 'l-berr*. The arable land, in distinction from the steppe, is *el-ardd el-āmira*, and the steppe is *el-berrīje*. If both are intended, *ardd* can be used alone. Used specially, *el-berrīje* is the proper name for the great Syrian desert; hence the proverb: *el-hhurrijje fi 'l-berrīje*, there is freedom in the steppe (not in towns and villages).—WETZST.



from the future world? Now follows the declamatory conclusion of the speech.

- 20 *Those who dwell in the west are astonished at his day,  
And trembling seizeth those who dwell in the east ;*  
21 *Surely thus it befalleth the dwellings of the unrighteous,  
And thus the place of him that knew not God.*

It is as much in accordance with the usage of Arabic as it is biblical, to call the day of a man's doom "his day," the day of a battle at a place "the day of that place." Who are the *אֲחֻזִּים* who are astonished at it, and the *קִרְבָּנִים* whom terror (*שֹׁעַר* as twice besides in this sense in Ezek.) seizes, or as it is properly, who seize terror, *i.e.* of themselves, without being able to do otherwise than yield to the emotion (as ch. xxi. 6, Isa. xiii. 8; comp. on the contrary Ex. xv. 14 sq.)? Hirz., Schlottm., Hahn, and others, understand posterity by *אֲחֻזִּים*, and by *קִרְבָּנִים* their ancestors, therefore Job's cotemporaries. But the return from the posterity to those then living is strange, and the usage of the language is opposed to it; for *קִרְבָּנִים* is elsewhere always what belongs to the previous age in relation to the speaker (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xxiv. 14, comp. Eccles. iv. 16). Since, then, *קִרְבָּנִי* is used in the signification eastern (*e.g.* *הַיָּם הַקִּדְמוֹנִי*, the eastern sea = the Dead Sea), and *אֲחֻזִּים* in the signification western (*e.g.* *הַיָּם הַמִּזְרָחִי*, the western sea = the Mediterranean), it is much more suited both to the order of the words and the usage of the language to understand, with Schult., Oetinger, Umbr., and Ew., the former of those dwelling in the west, and the latter of those dwelling in the east. In the summarizing ver. 21, the retrospective pronouns are also *prægn.*, like ch. viii. 19, xx. 29, comp. xxvi. 14: Thus is it, *viz.* according to their fate, *i.e.* thus it befalls them; and *אֵי* here retains its original affirmative signification (as in the concluding verse of Ps. lviii.), although in Hebrew this is blended with the restrictive. *אֵי*

has *Rebia mugrasch* instead of great *Schalscheleth*,<sup>1</sup> and דִּמָּךְ has in correct texts *Legarme*, which must be followed by לֹא־יָדַעַתְּ with *Illuj* on the penult. On the relative clause לֹא־יָדַעַתְּ without אֵיךְ, comp. e.g. ch. xxix. 16; and on this use of the *st. constr.*, vid. Ges. § 116, 3. The last verse is as though those mentioned in ver. 20 pointed with the finger to the example of punishment in the "desolated" dwellings which have been visited by the curse.

This second speech of Bildad begins, like the first (ch. viii. 2), with the reproach of endless babbling; but it does not end like the first (ch. viii. 22). The first closed with the words: "Thy haters shall be clothed with shame, and the tent of the godless is no more;" the second is only an amplification of the second half of this conclusion, without taking up again anywhere the tone of promise, which there also embraces the threatening.

It is manifest also from this speech, that the friends, to express it in the words of the old commentators, know nothing of evangelical but only of legal suffering, and also only of legal, nothing of evangelical, righteousness. For the righteousness of which Job boasts is not the righteousness of single works of the law, but of a conduct ordered according to God's will, proceeding from faith, or (as the Old Testament generally says) from trust in God's mercy, the weaknesses of which are forgiven because they are exonerated by the habitual disposition of the man and the primary aim of his actions. The fact that the principle, "suffering is the consequence of human unrighteousness," is accounted by Bildad as the formula of an inviolable law of the moral order of the world, is closely connected with that outward aspect of human righteousness. One can only thus judge when one regards human righteousness and human destiny from the purely

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Psalter ii. 503, and comp. Davidson, *Outlines of Hebrew Accentuation* (1861), p. 92, note.

legal point of view. A man, as soon as we conceive him in faith, and therefore under grace, is no longer under that supposed exclusive fundamental law of the divine dealing. Brentius is quite right when he observes that the sentence of the law certainly is modified for the sake of the godly who have the word of promise. Bildad knows nothing of the worth and power which a man attains by a righteous heart. By faith he is removed from the domain of God's justice, which recompenses according to the law of works; and before the power of faith even rocks move from their place.

Bildad then goes off into a detailed description of the total destruction into which the evil-doer, after going about for a time oppressed with the terrors of his conscience as one walking over snares, at last sinks beneath a painful sickness. The description is terribly brilliant, solemn, and pathetic, as becomes the stern preacher of repentance with haughty mien and pharisaic self-confidence; it is none the less beautiful, and, considered in itself, also true—a masterpiece of the poet's skill in poetic idealizing, and in apportioning out the truth in dramatic form. The speech only becomes untrue through the application of the truth advanced, and this untruthfulness the poet has most delicately presented in it. For with a view of terrifying Job, Bildad interweaves distinct references to Job in his description; he knows, however, also how to conceal them under the rich drapery of diversified figures. The first-born of death, that hands the ungodly over to death itself, the king of terrors, by consuming the limbs of the ungodly, is the Arabian leprosy, which slowly destroys the body. The brimstone indicates the fire of God, which, having fallen from heaven, has burned up one part of the herds and servants of Job; the withering of the branch, the death of Job's children, whom he himself, as a drying-up root that will also soon die off, has survived. Job is the ungodly man, who, with wealth, children, name, and all that he possessed, is

being destroyed as an example of punishment for posterity both far and near.

But, in reality, Job is not an example of punishment, but an example for consolation to posterity; and what posterity has to relate is not Job's ruin, but his wondrous deliverance (Ps. xxii. 31 sq.). He is no <sup>ל</sup>עָל, but a righteous man; not one who <sup>ל</sup>א יִדְעָאֵל, but he knows God better than the friends, although he contends with Him, and they defend Him. It is with him as with the righteous One, who complains, Ps. lxix. 21: "Contempt hath broken my heart, and I became sick: I hoped for sympathy, but in vain; for comforters, and found none;" and Ps. xxxviii. 12 (comp. xxxi. 12, lv. 13-15, lxix. 9, lxxxviii. 9, 19): "My lovers and my friends stand aloof from my stroke, and my kinsmen stand afar off." Not without a deep purpose does the poet make Bildad to address Job in the plural. The address is first directed to Job alone; nevertheless it is so put, that what Bildad says to Job is also intended to be said to others of a like way of thinking, therefore to a whole party of the opposite opinion to himself. Who are these like-minded? Hirzel rightly refers to ch. xvii. 8 sq. Job is the representative of the suffering and misjudged righteous, in other words: of the "congregation," whose blessedness is hidden beneath an outward form of suffering. One is hereby reminded that in the second part of Isaiah the <sup>ע</sup>בֵר יְהוָה is also at one time spoken of in the sing., and at another time in the plur.; since this idea, by a remarkable contraction and expansion of expression (*systole* and *diastole*), at one time describes the one servant of Jehovah, and at another the congregation of the servants of Jehovah, which has its head in Him. Thus we again have a trace of the fact that the poet is narrating a history that is of universal significance, and that, although Job is no mere personification, he has in him brought forth to view an idea connected with the history of redemption. The ancient interpreters

were on the track of this idea when they said in their way, that in Job we behold the image of Christ, and the figure of His church. *Christi personam figuraliter gessit*, says Beda; and Gregory, after having stated and explained that there is not in the Old Testament a righteous man who does not typically point to Christ, says: *Beatus Iob venturi cum suo corpore typum redemptoris insinuat.*

*Job's Second Answer.—Chap. xix.*

*Schema:* 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10.

[Then began Job, and said:]

- 2 *How long will ye vex my soul,  
And crush me with your words?*
- 3 *These ten times have ye reproached me;  
Without being ashamed ye astound me.*
- 4 *And if I have really erred,  
My error rests with myself.*
- 5 *If ye will really magnify yourselves against me,  
And prove my reproach to me:*
- 6 *Know then that Eloah hath wronged me,  
And hath compassed me with His net.*

This controversy is torture to Job's spirit; enduring in himself unutterable agony, both bodily and spiritually, and in addition stretched upon the rack by the three friends with their united strength, he begins his answer with a well-justified *quousque tandem*. חֲנִין (Norzi: חוֹנִין) is *fut. energicum* from חָנָה (יָנָה), with the retention of the third radical, Ges. § 75, rem. 16. And in חֲדָרְכָּאִינִי (Norzi: חֲדָרְכָּאִינִי with quiescent *Aleph*) the suff. is attached to the *ûn* of the *fut. energicum*, Ges. § 60, rem. 3; the connecting vowel is *a*, and the suff. is *ani*, without epenthesis, not *anni* or *an'ni*, Ges. § 58,

4. In ver. 3 Job establishes his How long? Ten times is not to be taken strictly (Saad.), but it is a round number; ten, from being the number of the fingers on the human hand, is the number of human possibility, and from its position at the end of the row of numbers (in the decimal system) is the number of that which is perfected (*vid. Genesis*, S. 640 sq.); as not only the Sanskrit *daṣan* is traceable to the radical notion "to seize, embrace," but also the Semitic עשר is traceable to the radical notion "to bind, gather together" (cogn. קשר). They have already exhausted what is possible in reproaches, they have done their utmost. Renan, in accordance with the Hebr. expression, transl.: *Voilà* (וְהִנֵּה), as e.g. Gen. xxvii. 36) *la dixième fois que vous m'insultez*. The אר. יעץ is connected by the Targ. with הָבִיר (of respect of persons = partiality), by the Syr. with פָּרַא (to pain, of *crève-cœur*), by Raschi and Parchon with בָּרַא (to mistake) or הַחֲבִיר (to alienate one's self), by Saadia (*vid. Ewald's Beitr.* S. 99) with עָבַר (to dim, grieve<sup>1</sup>); he, however, compares the Arab. هكّر, *stupere* (which he erroneously regards as differing only in sound from تَهَر, to overpower, oppress); and Abulwalid (*vid.*

Rödiger in *Thes.* p. 84 *suppl.*) explains تَهَكَّرُونَ مِنِّي, ye gaze at me, since at the same time he mentions as possible that הִכַר may be = כִּהַר, to treat indignantly, insultingly (which is only a different shade in sound of تَهَر,<sup>2</sup> and therefore refers to Saadia's interpretation). David Kimchi interprets according to Abulwalid, לוֹ, תַחֲמָדוּ; he however remarks at the same time, that his father Jos. Kimchi interprets after the Arab. هَكَّر, which also signifies "shamelessness," תַעֲזוּ פְנֵיכֶם לוֹ. Since the idea of dark wild looks is connected with הִכַר, he has un-

<sup>1</sup> Reiske interprets according to the Arabic عَكَر, *denso et turbido agmine cum impetu ruitis in me*.

<sup>2</sup> In *Sur.* 93, 9 (oppress not the orphan), the reading تَهَر is found alternating with تَهَر.

doubtedly this verb in his mind, not that compared by Ewald (who translates, "ye are devoid of feeling towards me"), and especially *حكر*, to deal unfairly, used of usurious trade in corn (which may also have been thought of by the LXX. *ἐπικεισθέ μοι*, and Jerome *opprimentes*), which signifies as intrans. to be obstinate about anything, pertinacious. Gesenius also, *Thes.* p. 84, *suppl.*, suggests whether *תִּהְיֶה* may not perhaps be the reading. But the comparison with *הָקַר* is certainly safer, and gives a perfectly satisfactory meaning, only *תִּהְיֶה* must not be regarded as *fut. Kal* (as *יִהְיֶה*, Ps. lxxiv. 6, according to the received text), but as *fut. Hiph.* for *תִּהְיֶה*, according to Ges. § 53, rem. 4, 5, after which Schultens transl.: *quod me ad stuporem redigatis*. The connection of the two verbs in ver. 3b is to be judged of according to Ges. § 142, 3, a: ye shamelessly cause me astonishment (by the assurance of your accusations). One need not hesitate because it is *תִּהְיֶה* instead of *תִּהְיֶה*; this indication of the obj. by *לְ*, which is become a rule in Arabic with the inf. and part. (whence *e.g.* it would here be *muhkerina li*), and is still more extended in Aramaic, is also frequent in Hebrew (*e.g.* Isa. liii. 11, Ps. cxvi. 16, cxxix. 3, and 2 Chron. xxxii. 17, *לְ*, after which Olsh. proposes to read *תִּהְיֶה* in the passage before us).

Much depends upon the correct perception of the structure of the clauses in ver. 4. The rendering, *e.g.*, of Olshausen, gained by taking the two halves of the verse as independent clauses, "yea certainly I have erred, I am fully conscious of my error," puts a confession into Job's mouth, which is at present neither mature nor valid. Hirz., Hahn, Schlottm., rightly take ver. 4a as a hypothetical antecedent clause (comp. ch. vii. 20, xi. 18): and if I have really erred (*אִם אֶמְשָׁךְ*, as ch. xxxiv. 12, yea truly; Gen. xviii. 13, and if I should really), my error remains with me, *i.e.* I shall have to expiate it, without your having on this account any right to take upon yourselves the office of God and to treat me uncharitably; or

what still better corresponds with **אָמִי תִלֶּן**: my transgression remains with me, without being communicated to another, *i.e.* without having any influence over you or others to lead you astray or involve you in participation of the guilt. Ver. 6 stands in a similar relation to ver. 5. Hirz., Ew., and Hahn take ver. 5 as a double question: "or will ye really boast against me, and prove to me my fault?" Schlottm., on the contrary, takes **אָמִי** conditionally, and begins the conclusion with ver. 5b: "if ye will really look proudly down upon me, it rests with you at least, to prove to me by valid reasons, the contempt which ye attach to me." But by both of these interpretations, especially by the latter, ver. 6 comes in abruptly. Even **אָמִי** (written thus in three other passages besides this) indicates in ver. 5 the conditional antecedent clause (comp. ix. 24, xxiv. 25) of the expressive *γῶτε οὖν* (*δη*): if ye really boast yourselves against me (*vid.* Ps. lv. 13 sq., comp. xxxv. 26, xxxviii. 17), and prove upon me, *i.e.* in a way of punishment (as ye think), my shame, *i.e.* the sins which put me to shame (not: the right of shame, which has come upon me on account of my sins, an interpretation which the conclusion does not justify), therefore: if ye really continue (which is implied by the *futt.*) to do this, then know, etc. If they really maintain that he is suffering on account of flagrant sins, he meets them on the ground of this assumption with the assertion that God has wronged him (**עָוִת מַשְׁפָּטִי** short for **עָוִת מַשְׁפָּטִי**, ch. viii. 3, xxxiv. 12, as Lam. iii. 36), and has cast His net (**מַצֹּרִי**, with the change of the *o* of **מַצֹּר** from **צוּר**, to search, hunt, into the deeper *u* in inflexion, as **מַנְטִי** from **מָנוס**, **מַצֹּרֶךְ**, Ezek. iv. 8, from **מַצֹּר**) over him, together with his right and his freedom, so that he is indeed obliged to endure punishment. In other words: if his suffering is really not to be understood otherwise than as the punishment of sin, as they would uncharitably and censoriously persuade him, it urges on his self-consciousness, which rebels against it, to the



conclusion which he hurls into their face as one which they themselves have provoked.

- 7 *Behold I cry violence, and I am not heard ;  
I cry for help, and there is no justice.*  
8 *My way He hath fenced round, that I cannot pass over,  
And He hath set darkness on my paths.*  
9 *He hath stripped me of mine honour,  
And taken away the crown from my head.*  
10 *He destroyed me on every side, then I perished,  
And lifted out as a tree my hope.*  
11 *He kindled His wrath against me,  
And He regarded me as one of His foes.*

He cries aloud **הַקּוֹל** (that which is called out regarded as *accus.* or as an interjection, *vid.* on Hab. i. 2), *i.e.* that illegal force is exercised over him. He finds, however, neither with God nor among men any response of sympathy and help; he cries for help (which **אֶשׁוּא**, perhaps connected with **אֶשׁוּא**, **אֶשׁוּא**, from **אֶשׁוּא**, **אֶשׁוּא**, seems to signify), without justice, *i.e.* the right of an impartial hearing and verdict, being attainable by him. He is like a prisoner who is confined to a narrow space (comp. ch. iii. 23, xiii. 27) and has no way out, since darkness is laid upon him wherever he may go. One is here reminded of Lam. iii. 7-9; and, in fact, this speech generally stands in no accidental mutual relation to the lamentations of Jeremiah. The "crown of my head" has also its parallel in Lam. v. 16; that which was Job's greatest ornament and most costly jewel is meant. According to ch. xxix. 14, **קִטְרוֹן** and **מִשְׁמַח** were his robe and diadem. These robes of honour God has stripped from him, this adornment more precious than a regal diadem. He has taken from him since, *i.e.*, his affliction puts him down as a transgressor, and abandons him to the insult of those around him. God destroyed him round about (*destruxit*), as a house that is broken down on all sides,

and lifted out as a tree his hope. *וְהִסִּי* does not in itself signify to root out, but only to lift out (ch. iv. 21, of the tent-cord, and with it the tent-pin) of a plant: to remove it from the ground in which it has grown, either to plant it elsewhere, as Ps. lxxx. 9, or as here, to put it aside. The ground was taken away from his hope, so that its greenness faded away like that of a tree that is rooted up. The *fut. consec.* is here to be translated: then I perished (different from ch. xiv. 20: and consequently he perishes); he is now already one who is passed away, his existence is only the shadow of life. God has caused, *fut. Hiph. apoc.* *וַיִּחַר*, His wrath to kindle against him, and regarded him in relation to Himself as His opponents, therefore as one of them. Perhaps, however, the expression is intentionally intensified here, in contrast with ch. xiii. 24: he, the one, is accounted by God as the host of His foes; He treats him as if all hostility to God were concentrated in him.

- 12 *His troops came together,  
And threw up their way against me,  
And encamped round about my tent.*
- 13 *My brethren hath He removed far from me,  
And my acquaintance are quite estranged from me.*
- 14 *My kinsfolk fail,  
And those that knew me have forgotten me.*
- 15 *The slaves of my house and my maidens,  
They regard me as a stranger,  
I am become a perfect stranger in their eyes.*

It may seem strange that we do not connect ver. 12 with the preceding strophe or group of verses; but between vers. 7 and 21 there are thirty *στίχοι*, which, in connection with the arrangement of the rest of this speech in decastichs (accidentally coinciding remarkably with the prominence given to the number ten in ver. 3a), seem intended to be divided into

three decastichs, and can be so divided without doing violence to the connection. While in ver. 12, in connection with ver. 11, Job describes the course of the wrath, which he has to withstand as if he were an enemy of God, in vers. 13 sqq. he refers back to the degradation complained of in ver. 9. In ver. 12 he compares himself to a besieged (perhaps on account of revolt) city. God's **נִדְרִים** (not : bands of marauders, as Dietr. interprets, but : troops, *i.e.* of regular soldiers, synon. of **צבא**, ch. x. 17, comp. xxv. 3, xxix. 25, from the root **נדר**, to unite, join, therefore prop. the assembled, a heap ; *vid.* Fürst's *Handwörterbuch*) are the bands of outward and inward sufferings sent forth against him for a combined attack (**יחד**). Heaping up a way, *i.e.* by filling up the ramparts, is for the purpose of making the attack upon the city with battering-rams (ch. xvi. 14) and javelins, and then the storm, more effective (on this erection of offensive ramparts (*approches*), called elsewhere **שֹׁפַר סִלְלָה**, *vid.* Keil's *Archäologie*, § 159). One result of this condition of siege in which God's wrath has placed him is that he is avoided and despised as one smitten of God : neither love and fidelity, nor obedience and dependence, meet him from any quarter. What he has said in ch. xvii. 6, that he is become a byword and an abomination (an object to spit upon), he here describes in detail. There is no ground for understanding **אֶחָי** in the wider sense of relations ; brethren is meant here, as in Ps. lxi. 9. He calls his relations **קִרְבָּי**, as Ps. xxxviii. 12. **יָדָעִי** are (in accordance with the pregnant biblical use of this word in the sense of *nosse cum affectu et effectu*) those who know him intimately (with objective suff. as Ps. lxxxvii. 4), and **מִיָּדָעִי**, as Ps. xxxi. 12, and freq., those intimately known to him ; both, therefore, so-called heart- or bosom-friends. **בְּיָמֵי** Jer. well translates *inquilini domus meæ* ; they are, in distinction from those who by birth belong to the nearer and wider circle of the family, persons who are received into this circle as ser-

vants, as vassals (comp. Ex. iii. 22, and Arabic جار, an associate, one sojourning in a strange country under the protection of its government, a neighbour), here espec. the domestics. The verb תַּחֲשֹׁבֵנִי (Ges. § 60) is construed with the nearest feminine subject. These people, who ought to thank him for taking them into his house, regard him as one who does not belong to it (וְלֹ); he is looked upon by them as a perfect stranger (נִכְרִי), as an intruder from another country.

- 16 *I call to my servant and he answereth not,  
I am obliged to entreat him with my mouth.*
- 17 *My breath is offensive to my wife,  
And my stench to my own brethren.*
- 18 *Even boys act contemptuously towards me;  
If I will rise up, they speak against me.*
- 19 *All my confidential friends abhor me,  
And those whom I loved have turned against me.*
- 20 *My bone cleaveth to my skin and flesh,  
And I am escaped only with the skin of my teeth.*

His servant, who otherwise saw every command in his eyes, and was attent upon his wink, now not only does not come at his call, but does not return him any answer. The one of the home-born slaves (*vid.* on Gen. xiv. 14<sup>1</sup>), who stood in the same near connection to Job as Eliezer to Abraham, is intended here, in distinction from גַּר בֵּיתִי, ver. 15. If he, his master, now in such need of assistance, desires any service from him, he is obliged (*fut.* with the sense of being compelled, as *e.g.* ch. xv. 30b, xvii. 2) to entreat him with his mouth. הִתְחַנֵּן, to beg הֵן of any one for one's self (*vid. supra*, p. 222),

<sup>1</sup> The (black) slaves born within the tribe itself are in the present day, from their dependence and bravery, accounted as the stay of the tribe, and are called *fadāwīje*, as those who are ready to sacrifice their life for its interest. The body-slave of Job is thought of as such a יָלִיד בֵּיתִי.

therefore to implore, *supplicare*; and **בְּמַרְפִּי** here (as Ps. lxxxix. 2, cix. 30) as a more significant expression of that which is loud and intentional (not as ch. xvi. 5, in contrast to that which proceeds from the heart). In ver. 17a, **רָחִי** signifies neither my vexation (Hirz.) nor my spirit = I (Umbr., Hahn, with the Syr.), for **רַחַם** in the sense of angry humour (as ch. xv. 13) does not properly suit the predicate, and **רוּחִי** in the signification *ipse* may certainly be used in Arabic, where **روح** (perhaps under the influence of the philosophical usage of the language) signifies the animal spirit-life (*Psychol.* p. 182), not however in Hebrew, where **נַפְשִׁי** is the stereotype form in that sense. If one considers that the elephantiasis, although its proper pathological symptom consists in an enormous hypertrophy of the cellular tissue of single distinct portions of the body, still easily, if the bronchia are drawn into sympathy, or if (what is still more natural) putrefaction of the blood with a scorbutic ulcerous formation in the mouth comes on, has difficulty of breathing (ch. vii. 15) and stinking breath as its result, as also a stinking exhalation and the discharge of a stinking fluid from the decaying limbs is connected with it (*vid.* the testimony of the Arabian physicians in Stickel, S. 169 f.), it cannot be doubted that Jer. has lighted upon the correct thing when he transl. *halitum meum exhorruit uxor mea*. **רוּחִי** is intended as in ch. xvii. 1, and it is unnecessary to derive **זָרָה** from a special verb **זָרַח**, although in Arab. the notions which are united in the Hebr. **זָרַח**, *deflectere* and *abhorreere* (to turn one's self away from what is disgusting or horrible), are divided between **زَارَ** *med. Wau* and **زَارَ** *med. Je* (*vid.* Fürst's *Handwörterbuch*).

In ver. 17 the meaning of **חַנּוּתִי** is specially questionable. In Ps. lxxvii. 10, **חַנּוּת** is, like **שְׂפּוֹת**, Ezek. xxxvi. 3, an infinitive from **חָנַן**, formed after the manner of the *Lamed He* verbs. Ges. and Olsh. indeed prefer to regard these forms as plurals of substantives (**חַנּוּת**, **חַנּוּתִּים**), but the respective pas-

sages, regarded syntactically and logically, require infinitives. As regards the accentuation, according to which חֲנוּתִי is accented by *Rebia mugrasch* on the *ultima*, this does not necessarily decide in favour of its being *infin.*, since in the 1 *præt.* כָּבַחְתִּי, which, according to rule, has the tone on the *penultima*, the *ultima* is also sometimes (apart from the *perf. consec.*) found accented (on this, *vid.* on Ps. xvii. 3, and Ew. § 197, a), as כָּבַחְתִּי, קִימָה, קִימָה, also admit of both accentuations.<sup>1</sup> If חֲנוּתִי is *infin.*, the clause is a nominal clause, or a verbal one, that is to be supplemented by the *v. fin.* וְרָה; if it is first pers. *præt.*, we have a verbal clause. It must be determined from the matter and the connection which of these explanations, both of which are in form and syntax possible, is the correct one. The translation, "I entreat (groan to) the sons of my body," is not a thought that accords with the context, as would be obtained by the *infin.* explanation: my entreating (is offensive); this signif. (prop. to *Hithp.* as above) assigned to *Kal* by von Hofmann (*Schriftbew.* ii. 2, 612) is at least not to be derived from the derivative חָנַן; it might be more easily de-

<sup>1</sup> The *ultima*-accentuation of the form כָּבַחְתִּי is regular, if the *Waw conv. præt. in fut.* is added, as Ex. xxxiii. 19, 22, 2 Kings xix. 34, Isa. lxxv. 7, Ezek. xx. 38, Mal. ii. 2, Ps. lxxxix. 24. Besides, the *penultima* has the tone regularly, e.g. Josh. v. 9, 1 Sam. xii. 3, xxii. 22, Jer. iv. 28, Ps. xxxv. 14, xxxviii. 7, Job xl. 4, Eccles. ii. 20. There are, however, exceptions, Deut. xxxii. 41 (שָׁנוּתִי), Isa. xlv. 16 (חֲמוּתִי), Ps. xvii. 3 (וּמָתִי), xcii. 11 (בְּלָחִי), cxvi. 6 (רָלוּתִי). Perhaps the *ultima*-accentuation in these exceptional instances is intended to protect the indistinct pronunciation of the consonants *Beth*, *Waw*, or even *Resh*, at the beginning of the following words, which might easily become blended with the final syllable תִּי; certainly the reason lies in the pronunciation or in the rhythm (*vid.* on Ps. cxvi. 6, and comp. the retreating of the tone in the *infin.* חָלוּתִי (Ps. lxxvii. 11). Looking at this last exception, which has not yet been cleared up, חֲנוּתִי in the present passage will always be able to be regarded on internal grounds either as *infin.* or as 1 *præt.* The *ultima*-accentuation makes the word at first sight appear to be *infin.*, whereas in comparison with וְרָה, which is accented on the *penult.*, and therefore as 3 *præt.*, חֲנוּתִי seems also to be intended as *præt.* The accentuation, therefore, leaves the question in uncertainty.

duced from נִחַנָּה, Jer. xxii. 23, which appears to be a *Niph.* like נִחַם, נִחַנָּה from נָחַן, but might also be derived from נִחַחָה = נִחַחָה by means of a transposition (*vid. Hitz.*). In the present passage one might certainly compare חֲנִי the usual word for the utterance and emotion of longing and sympathy, or also חֲנִי, *fut. i* (with the infin. noun *chanin*), which occurs in the signifn. of weeping, and transl. : my imploring, groaning, weeping, is offensive, etc. Since, however, the X. form of the Arab. حَنَّ (*istachanna*) signifies to give forth an offensive smell (esp. of the stinking refuse of a well that is dried up); and besides, since the significatn. *fastere* is supported for the root חָן (comp. חָנָן) by the Syriac *chanino* (e.g. *meshcho chanino*, rancid oil), we may also translate: "My stinking is offensive," etc., or: "I stink to the children of my body" (Rosenm., Ew., Hahn, Schlottm.); and this translation is not only not hazardous in a book that so abounds in derivations from the dialects, but it also furnishes a thought that is as closely as possible connected with ver. 17a.<sup>1</sup>

The further question now arises, who are meant by בְּנֵי בִטְנִי. Perhaps his children? But in the prologue these have utterly

<sup>1</sup> Supplementary: Instead of *istachanna* (of the stinking of a well, perhaps *denom.* from حَنَّ, prop. to smell like a hen-house), the verb *hhannana* (with ح) = 'affana, "to be corrupt, to have a mouldy smell," can, with Wetzstein, be better compared with חֲנִינָה; thence comes *zêl mohhannin* = *mo'afin*, corrupt rancid oil, corresponding to the Syriac חֲנִינָה. Thus ambiguously do the sellers of walnuts in Damascus cry out their wares with the words: *el-mohhanmin maugûd*, "the merciful One liveth," i.e. He will send me buyers, and "there are (among them) corrupt (nuts)," i.e. I do not guarantee the quality of my wares. In like manner, not only can ذَار inf. *dheir* (*dhêr*), to be offensive, be compared with זָרָה, but, with Wetzstein, also the very common steppe word for "to be bad, worthless," زَرَّ, whence adj. *zarf* (with nunation *zartjun*).

perished. Are we to suppose, with Eichhorn and Olshausen, that the poet, in the heat of discourse, forgets what he has laid down in the prologue? When we consider that this poet, within the compass of his work,—a work into which he has thrown his whole soul,—has allowed no anachronism, and no reference to anything Israelitish that is contradictory to its extra-Israelitish character, to escape him, such forgetfulness is very improbable; and when we, moreover, bear in mind that he often makes the friends refer to the destruction of Job's children (as ch. viii. 4, xv. 30, xviii. 16), it is altogether inconceivable. Hence Schröring has proposed the following explanation: "My soul [a substitution of which Hahn is also guilty] is strange to my wife; my entreaty does not even penetrate to the sons of my body, it cannot reach their ear, for they are long since in Sheôl." But he himself thinks this interpretation very hazardous and insecure; and, in fact, it is improbable that in the division, vers. 13-19, where Job complains of the neglect and indifference which he now experiences from those around him, בני בטי should be the only dead ones among the living, in which case it would moreover be better, after the Arabic version, to translate: "My longing is for, or: I yearn after, the children of my body." Grandchildren (Hirz., Ew., Hlgst., Hahn) might be more readily thought of; but it is not even probable, that after having introduced the ruin of all of Job's children, the poet would represent their children as still living, some mention of whom might then at least be expected in the epilogue. Others, again (Rosenm., Justi, Gleiss), after the precedent of the LXX. (*υιοι παλλακιδων μου*), understand the sons of concubines (slaves). Where, however, should a trace be found of the poet having conceived of his hero as a polygamist,—a hero who is even a model of chastity and continence (ch. xxxi. 1)?

But must בני בטי really signify his sons or grandsons?



Children certainly are frequently called, in relation to the father, פֶּרִי בֶטֶן (*e.g.* Deut. vii. 13), and the father himself can call them פֶּרִי בֶטֶן (Mic. vi. 7); but בֶּטֶן in this reference is not the body of the father, but the mother's womb, whence, begotten by him, the children issue forth. Hence "son of my body" occurs only once (Prov. xxxi. 2) in the mother's mouth. In the mouth of Job even (where the first origin of man is spoken of), בֶּטֶן signifies not Job's body, but the womb that conceived him (*vid.* ch. iii. 10); and thus, therefore, it is not merely possible, but it is natural, with Stuhlm., Ges., Umbr., and Schlottm., to understand בְּנֵי בֶטֶן of the sons of his mother's womb, *i.e.* of her who bare him; consequently, as בְּנֵי אִמִּי, Ps. lxi. 9, of natural brethren (brothers and sisters, *sorores uterinæ*), in which sense, regarding מִנְחָתִי according to the most natural influence of the tone as *infin.*, we transl.: "and my stinking is offensive (supply וְרַח) to the children of my mother's womb." It is also possible that the expression, as the words seem to be taken by Symmachus (*υἱοὺς παιδῶν μου*, my slaves' children), and as they are taken by Kosegarten, in comparison with the Arab. بطن in the signification race, subdivision (in the downward gradation, the third) of a greater tribe, may denote those who with him belong in a wider sense to one mother's bosom, *i.e.* to the same clan, although the mention of בְּנֵי בֶטֶן in close connection with אִשְׁתִּי is not favourable to this extension of the idea. The circle of observation is certainly widened in ver. 18, where עֲוִילִים are not Job's grandchildren (Hahn), but the children of neighbouring families and tribes; עוֹל (*vid.* ch. xvi. 11) is a boy, and especially (perh. on account of the similarity in sound between מַעֲלֵל and עֹל) a rude, frolicsome, mischievous boy. Even such make him feel their contempt; and if with difficulty, and under the influence of pain which distorts his countenance, he attempts to raise himself אֶקְמָה, LXX. *ἔταν ἀναστῶ*, hypothetical cohortative, as ch. xi. 17,

xvi. 6), they make him the butt of their jesting talk (דִּבְרֵי בִּזְיוֹן, as Ps. l. 20).

Ver. 19. סֵתִי סֵדִי is the name he gives those to whom he confides his most secret affairs; סֵדִי (*vid.* on Ps. xxv. 14) signifies either with a verbal notion, secret speaking (Arab. *sāwada*, III. form from *sāda*, to press one's self close upon, esp. as *sārra*, to speak in secret with any one), or what is made firm, *i.e.* what is impenetrable, therefore a secret (from *sāda*, to be or make close, firm, compact; cognate root, יָסַד, *wasada*, cognate in signification, *sirr*, a secret, from *sarra*, שָׂרַר, which likewise signifies to make firm). Those to whom he has made known his most secret plans (comp. Ps. lv. 13-15) now abhor him; and those whom he has thus (חָנַן, as ch. xv. 17) become attached to, and to whom he has shown his affection,—he says this with an allusion to the three,—have turned against him. They gave tokens of their love and honour to him, when he was in the height of his happiness and prosperity, but they have not once shown any sympathy with him in his present form of distress.<sup>1</sup> His bones cleave (רָבַח, Aq. ἐκολλήθη, LXX. erroneously ἐσάπυσαν, *i.e.* רָבַח) to his skin, *i.e.* the bones may be felt and seen through the skin, and the little flesh that remains is wasted away almost to a skeleton (*vid.* ch. vii. 15). This is not contradictory to the primary characteristic symptom of

<sup>1</sup> The disease which maims or devours the limbs, *dā'u el-gudhām* [*vid. supra*, p. 69], which generically includes Arabian leprosy, cancer, and syphilis, and is called the "first-born of death" in ch. xviii. 13, is still in Arabia the most dreaded disease, in the face of which all human sympathy ceases. In the steppe, even the greatest personage who is seized with this disease is removed at least a mile or two from the encampment, where a *charbūsh*, *i.e.* a small black hair-tent, is put up for him, and an old woman, who has no relations living, is given him as an attendant until he dies. No one visits him, not even his nearest relations. He is cast off as *muqātal ollah*.—WETZST. The prejudice combated by the book of Job, that the leper is, as such, one who is smitten by the wrath of God, has therefore as firm hold of the Arabian mind in the present day as it had centuries ago.

the *lepra nodosa*; for the wasting away of the rest of the body may attain an extraordinarily high degree in connection with the hypertrophy of single parts. He can indeed say of himself, that he is only escaped (*se soit échappé*) with the skin of his teeth. By the "skin of his teeth" the gums are generally understood. But (1) the gum is not skin, and can therefore not be called "skin of the teeth" in any language; (2) Job complains in ver. 17 of his offensive breath, which in itself does not admit of the idea of healthy gums, and especially if it be the result of a scorbutic ulceration of the mouth, presupposes an ulcerous destruction of the gums. The current translation, "with my gums," is therefore to be rejected on account both of the language and the matter. For this reason Stickel (whom Hahn follows) takes עור as *inf.* from ערר, and translates: "I am escaped from it with my teeth naked" [lit. with the being naked of my teeth], i.e. with teeth that are no longer covered, standing forward uncovered. This explanation is pathologically satisfactory; but it has against it (1) the translation of עור, which is wide of the most natural interpretation of the word; (2) that in close connection with ואחמלטה one expects the mention of a part of the body that has remained whole. Is there not, then, really a skin of the teeth in the proper sense? The gum is not skin, but the teeth are surrounded with a skin in the jaw, the so-called periosteum. If we suppose, what is natural enough, that his offensive breath, ver. 17, arises from ulcers in the mouth (in connection with scorbutus, as is known, the breath has a terribly offensive smell), we obtain the following picture of Job's disease: his flesh is in part hypertrophically swollen, in part fearfully wasted away; the gums especially are destroyed and wasted away from the teeth, only the periosteum round about the teeth is still left to him, and single remnants of the covering of his loose and projecting teeth. Thus we interpret עור עני in the first signification of the words,

and have also no need for supposing that ver. 20b is a proverbial phrase for "I have with great care and difficulty escaped the extreme." The declaration perfectly corresponds to the description of the disease; and it is altogether needless with Hupfeld, after ch. xiii. 14, to read עִיר בְּשֵׁנִי, *vitam solam et nudam vix reportavi*, which is moreover inappropriate, since Job regards himself as one who is dying. Symm. alters the position of the פַּרְסִי similarly, since he translates after the Syriac Hexapla: καὶ ἐξέτιλλον (תלשתי) τὸ δέρμα τοῖς ὀδοῦσι μου, from מִלֵּט = מִרֵּם, לֵט, *nudare pilis*, which J. D. Michaelis also compares; the sense, however, which is thereby gained, is beneath all criticism. On the aoristic פָּרַסְתִּי, *vid.* on ch. i. 15. Stickel has on this passage an excursus on this *ah*, to which he also attributes, in this addition to the historic tense, the idea of striving after a goal: "I slip away, I escape;" it certainly gives vividness to the notion of the action, though it may not always have the force of direction towards anything. Therefore: with a destroyed flesh, and indeed so completely destroyed that there is even nothing left to him of sound skin except the skin of his teeth, wasted away to a skeleton, and become both to sight and smell a loathsome object;—such is the sufferer the friends have before them,—one who is tortured, besides, by a dark conflict which they only make more severe,—one who now implores them for pity, and because he has no pity to expect from man, presses forward to a hope which reaches beyond the grave.

- 21 *Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends,  
For the hand of Eloah hath touched me.*  
22 *Wherefore do ye persecute me as God,  
And are never satisfied with my flesh?*  
23 *Oh that my words were but written,*

- That they were recorded in a book,*  
 24 *With an iron pen, filled in with lead,*  
*Graven in the rock for ever !*  
 25 *And I know : my Redeemer liveth,*  
*And as the last One will He arise upon the dust.*

In ver. 21 Job takes up a strain we have not heard previously. His natural strength becomes more and more feeble, and his tone weaker and weaker. It is a feeling of sadness that prevails in the preceding description of suffering, and now even stamps the address to the friends with a tone of importunate entreaty which shall, if possible, affect their heart. They are indeed his friends, as the emphatic אָמְנָם אֵלֵי affirms; impelled towards him by sympathy they are come, and at least stand by him while all other men flee from him. They are therefore to grant him favour (הֵנִן, prop. to incline to) in the place of right; it is enough that the hand of Eloah has touched him (in connection with this, one is reminded that leprosy is called נִגַע, and is pre-eminently accounted as *plaga divina*; wherefore the suffering Messiah also bears the significant name הַצֵּרֵא דְּבֵי רַבִּי, "the leprous one from the school of Rabbi," in the Talmud, after Isa. liii. 4, 8), they are not to make the divine decree heavier to him by their uncharitableness. Wherefore do ye persecute me—he asks them in ver. 22—like as God (בְּמִרְאֵי, according to Saad. and Ralbag = בְּמִרְאָה, which would be very tame); by which he means not merely that they add their persecution to God's, but that they take upon themselves God's work, that they usurp to themselves a judicial divine authority, they act towards him as if they were superhuman (*vid.* Isa. xxxi. 3), and therefore inhumanly, since they, who are but his equals, look down upon him from an assumed and false elevation. The other half of the question: wherefore are ye not full of my flesh (*de ma chair*, with כֶּן, as ch. xxxi. 31), but still continue to

devour it? is founded upon a common Semitic figurative expression, with which may be compared our [Germ.] expression, "to gnaw with the tooth of slander" [comp. Engl. "backbiting"]. In Chaldee, אכל קרצוֹתָי, to eat the pieces of (any one), is equivalent to, to slander him; in Syriac, *ochelgarssso* is the name of Satan, like διάβολος. The Arabic here, as almost everywhere in the book of Job, presents a still closer parallel; for أكل لحم signifies to eat any one's flesh, then (different from אכל בשר, Ps. xxvii. 2) equivalent to, to slander,<sup>1</sup> since an evil report is conceived of as a wild beast, which delights in tearing a neighbour to pieces, as the friends do not refrain from doing, since, from the love of their assumption that his suffering must be the retributive punishment of heinous sins, they lay sins to his charge of which he is not conscious, and which he never committed. Against these uncharitable and groundless accusations he wishes (vers. 23 sq.) that the testimony of his innocence, to which they will not listen, might be recorded in a book for posterity, or because a book may easily perish, graven in a rock (therefore not on leaden plates) with an iron style, and the addition of lead, with which to fill up the engraved letters, and render them still more imperishable. In connection with the remarkable fidelity with which the poet throws himself back into the pre-Israelitish patriarchal time of his hero, it is of no small importance that he ascribes to him an acquaintance not only with monumental writing, but also with book and documentary writing (comp. ch. xxxi. 35).

The *fut.*, which also elsewhere (ch. vi. 8, xiii. 5, xiv. 13,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Schultens' *ad Prov. Meidanii*, p. 7 (where "to eat his own flesh" is equivalent to: to censure his kinsmen himself without allowing others to do it), and comp. the phrase أكل الاعراض (*aclu-l-ā'rādhi*) in the signification *arrodere existimationem hominum* in Makkari, i. 541, 13.

once the *præt.*, ch. xxiii. 3, *noverim*) follows *מִי־יֵתֵן*, *quis dabit* = *utinam*, has *Waw consec.* here (as Deut. v. 26 the *præt.*); the arrangement of the words is extremely elegant, *בַּפֶּפֶר* stands *per hyperbaton* emphatically prominent. *בָּרַב* and *הִקָּק* (whence *fut. Hoph.* *יִהְיֶה* with *Dag. implicitum* in the *ו*, comp. ch. iv. 20, and the *Dag.* of the *ו* omitted, for *יִהְיֶה*, according to Ges. § 67, rem. 8) interchange also elsewhere, Isa. xxx. 8. *סֵפֶר*, according to its etymon, is a book formed of the skin of an animal, as Arab. *sufre*, the leathern table-mat spread on the ground instead of a table. It is as unnecessary to read *לְעַר* (comp. ch. xvi. 8, LXX., *εἰς μαρτύριον*) instead of *לְעַר* here, as in Isa. xxx. 8. He wishes that his own declaration, in opposition to his accusers, may be inscribed as on a monument, that it may be immortalized,<sup>1</sup> in order that posterity may behold it, and, it is to be hoped, judge him more justly than his cotemporaries. He wishes this, and is certain that his wish is not vain. His testimony to his innocence will not descend to posterity without being justified to it by God, the living God.

Thus is *יִדְעֵנִי יְיָ* connected with what precedes. *יִדְעֵנִי* is followed, as in ch. xxx. 23, Ps. ix. 21, by the *oratio directa*. The monosyllable tone-word *יָ* (on account of which *יִדְעֵנִי* has the accent drawn back to the *penult.*) is 3 *præt.*: I know: my redeemer liveth; in connection with this we recall the name of God, *הוּא הָעֵלֹהִים*, Dan. xii. 7, after which the Jewish oath *per Anchialum* in Martial is to be explained. *יִדְעֵנִי* might (with Umbr. and others), in comparison with ch. xvi. 18, as Num. xxxv. 12, be equivalent to *יִדְעֵנִי הָרֹם*: he who will redeem, demand back, avenge the shedding of his blood and maintain his honour as of blood that has been innocently

<sup>1</sup> *לְעַר* is differently interpreted by Jerome: evermore hewn in the rock; for so it seems his *vel certe* (instead of which *celte* is also read, which is an old northern name for a chisel) *sculptantur in silice* must be explained.

shed; in general, however, נָסַל signifies to procure compensation for the down-trodden and unjustly oppressed, Prov. xxiii. 11, Lam. iii. 58, Ps. cxix. 154. This Rescuer of his honour lives and will rise up as the last One, as one who holds out over everything, and therefore as one who will speak the final decisive word. To אַחֲרָיו have been given the significations Afterman in the sense of *vindex* (Hirz., Ewald), or Rearman in the sense of a second [*lit.* in a duel,] (Hahn), but contrary to the usage of the language: the word signifies *postremus*, *novissimus*, and is to be understood according to Isa. xlv. 6, xlviii. 12, comp. xli. 4. But what is the meaning of עַל-עָפָר? Is it: upon the dust of the earth, having descended from heaven? The words may, according to ch. xli. 25 [Hebr., Engl. xli. 33], be understood thus (without the accompanying notion, formerly supposed by Umbreit, of *pulvis* or *arena* = *palæstra*, which is Classic, not Hebraic); but looking to the process of destruction going on in his body, which has been previously the subject of his words, and is so further on, it is far more probable that עַל-עָפָר is to be interpreted according to ch. xvii. 16, xx. 11, xxi. 26, Ps. xxx. 10. Moreover, an Arab would think of nothing else but the dust of the grave if he read *على تراب* in this connection.<sup>1</sup>

Besides, it is unnecessary to connect *על* קום, as perhaps 2 Chron. xxi. 4, and the Arab. *قام على* (to stand by, help): *על-עָפָר* is first of all nothing more than a defining of locality. To affirm that if it refer to Job it ought to be *עָפָר*, is unfounded. Upon the dust in which he is now soon to be laid,

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic *عَفَر* belongs only to the ancient language (whence '*afarahu*, he has cast him into the dust, placed him upon the sand, inf. '*afra*'); *غبار* (whence the *Ghobar*, a peculiar secret-writing, has its name) signifies the dry, flying dust; *تراب*, however, is dust in gen., and particularly the dust of the grave, as *e.g.* in the forcible proverb: nothing but the *turāb* fills the eyes of man. So common is this signification, that a tomb is therefore called *turbe*



into which he is now soon to be changed, will He, the Rescuer of his honour, arise (עָרָא, as in Deut. xix. 15, Ps. xxvii. 12, xxxv. 11, of the rising up of a witness, and as *e.g.* Ps. xii. 6, comp. xciv. 16, Isa. xxxiii. 10, of the rising up and interposing of a rescuer and help) and set His divine seal to Job's own testimony thus made permanent in the monumental inscription. Oetinger's interpretation is substantially the same: "I know that He will at last come, place himself over the dust in which I have mouldered away, pronounce my cause just, and place upon me the crown of victory."

A somewhat different connection of the thought is obtained, if יָדָעַי is taken not progressively, but adversatively: "Yet I know," etc. The thought is then, that his testimony of his innocence need not at all be inscribed in the rock; on the contrary, God, the ever living One, will verify it. It is difficult to decide between them; still the progressive rendering seems to be preferable, because the human vindication after death, which is the object of the wish expressed in vers. 23 sq., is still not essentially different from the divine vindication hoped for in ver. 25, which must not be regarded as an antithesis, but rather as a perfecting of the other designed for posterity. Ver. 25 is, however, certainly a higher hope, to which the wish in vers. 23 sq. forms the stepping-stone. God himself will avenge Job's blood, *i.e.* against his accusers, who say that it is the blood of one who is guilty; over the dust of the departed He will arise, and by His majestic testimony put to silence those who regard this dust of decay as the dust of a sinner, who has received the reward of his deeds.

But is it perhaps this his hope of God's vindication, expressed in vers. 25-27, which (as Schlottmann and Hahn,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hahn, after having in his pamphlet, *de spe immortalitatis sub V.T. gradatim exulta*, 1845, understood Job's confession distinctly of a future beholding in this world, goes further in his *Commentary*, and entirely deprives this confession of the character of hope, and takes all as an expression of what is present. We withhold our further assent.

though in other respects giving very different interpretations, think) is, according to Job's wish, to be permanently inscribed on the monument, in order to testify to posterity with what a steadfast and undismayed conviction he had died? The high-toned *introitus*, vers. 23 sq., would be worthy of the important inscription it introduces. But (1) it is improbable that the inscription would begin with וָאֵנִי, consequently with *Waw*,—a difficulty which is not removed by the translation, "Yea, I know," but only covered up; the appeal to Ps. ii. 6, Isa. iii. 14, is inadmissible, since there the divine utterance, which begins with *Waw*, *per aposiopesis* continues a suppressed clause; וָאֵנִי would be more admissible, but that which is to be written down does not even begin with וָ in either Hab. ii. 3 or Jer. xxx. 3. (2.) According to the whole of Job's previous conduct and habitual state of mind, it is to be supposed that the contents of the inscription would be the expression of the steadfast consciousness of his innocence, not the hope of his vindication, which only here and there flashes through the darkness of the conflict and temptation, but is always again swallowed up by this darkness, so that the thought of a perpetual preservation, as on a monument, of this hope can by no means have its origin in Job; it forms everywhere only, so to speak, the golden web of the tragic warp, which in itself consists of the tension of the two opposites: Job's consciousness of innocence, and the dogmatic postulate of the friends; and its intensity gradually increases with the intensity of this very tension. So also here, where the strongest expression is given both to the confession of his innocence as a confession which does not shun, but even desires, to be recorded in a permanent form for posterity, and also at the same time in connection with this to the confidence that to him, who is misunderstood by men, the vindication from the side of God, although it may be so long delayed that he even dies, can nevertheless not be wanting. Accord-

ingly, by מִי we understand not what immediately follows, but the words concerning his innocence which have already been often repeated by him, and which remain unalterably the same; and we are authorized in closing one strophe with ver. 25, and in beginning a new one with ver. 26, which indeed is commended by the prevalence of the decastich in this speech, although we do not allow to this observance of the strophe division any influence in determining the exposition. It is, however, of use in our exposition. The strophe which now follows develops the chief reason of believing hope which is expressed in ver. 25; comp. the hexastich ch. xii. 11-13, also there in vers. 14 sqq. is the expansion of ver. 13, which expresses the chief thought as in the form of a thema.

- 26 *And after my skin, thus torn to pieces,  
And without my flesh shall I behold Eloah,*  
27 *Whom I shall behold for my good,  
And mine eyes shall see Him and no other—  
My reins languish in my bosom.*  
28 *Ye think: "How shall we persecute him?"  
Since the root of the matter is found in me—*  
29 *Therefore be ye afraid of the sword,  
For wrath meeteth the transgressions of the sword,  
That ye may know there is a judgment!*

If we have correctly understood על־עַמֶּר, ver. 25b, we cannot in this speech find that the hope of a bodily recovery is expressed. In connection with this rendering, the oldest representative of which is Chrysostom, מִבְּשָׁרִי is translated either: free from my flesh = having become a skeleton (Umbr., Hirz., and Stickel, in *comm. in Iobi loc. de Goele*, 1832, and in the transl., Gleiss, Hlgest., Renan), but this מִבְּשָׁרִי, if the מ is taken as privative, can signify nothing else but fleshless = bodiless; or: from my flesh, i.e. the flesh when made whole

again (viz. Eichhorn in the Essay, which has exercised considerable influence, to his *Allg. Bibl. d. bibl. Lit.* i. 3, 1787, von Cölln, BCr., Knapp, von Hofm.,<sup>1</sup> and others), but hereby the relation of ver. 26*b* to 26*a* becomes a contrast, without there being anything to indicate it. Moreover, this rendering, however מְבֹשֵׁי may be explained, is in itself contrary to the spirit and plan of the book; for the character of Job's present state of mind is, that he looks for certain death, and will hear nothing of the consolation of recovery (ch. xvii. 10-16), which sounds to him as mere mockery; that he, however, notwithstanding, does not despair of God, but, by the consciousness of his innocence and the uncharitableness of the friends, is more and more impelled from the God of wrath and caprice to the God of love, his future Redeemer; and that then, when at the end of the course of suffering the actual proof of God's love breaks through the seeming manifestation of wrath, even that which Job had not ventured to hope is realized: a return of temporal prosperity beyond his entreaty and comprehension.

On the other hand, the mode of interpretation of the older translators and expositors, who find an expression of the hope of a resurrection at the end of the preceding strophe or the beginning of this, cannot be accepted. The LXX., by reading יָקִים instead of יָקִים, and connecting וְאֵת נֶפֶשׁוֹ יָקִים, translates: ἀναστήσει δέ (Cod. Vat. only ἀναστήσαι) μου τὸ σῶμα (Cod. Vat. τὸ δέρμα μου) τὸ ἀναντλοῦν μοι (Cod. Vat. om. μοι) ταῦτα, —but how can any one's skin be said to awake (Italic: *super terram resurget cutis mea*),<sup>2</sup> and whence does the verb יָקִים obtain

<sup>1</sup> Von Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, ii. 2, 508) translates: "I know, however, my Redeemer is living, and hereafter He will stand forth [which must have been יָמַח instead of יָקִים] upon the earth and after my skin, this surrounding (נֶפֶשׁ), Chaldaism, instead of נֶפֶשׁוֹ after the form וְאֵת (עַצְמִי), and from my flesh shall I behold God, whom I shall behold for myself, and my eyes see [Him], and He is not strange."

<sup>2</sup> Stickel therefore maintains that this ἀνίσταμαι of the LXX. is to be

the signification *exhaurire* or *exantllare*? Jerome's translation is not less bold: *Scio enim quod redemptor meus vivit et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum*, as though it were אָקום, not יָקום, and as though אַחֲרָיו could signify *in novissimo die* (in favour of which Isa. viii. 23 can only seemingly be quoted)! The Targ. translates: "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and hereafter His redemption will arise (become a reality) over the dust (into which I shall be dissolved), and after my skin is again made whole (thus<sup>1</sup> אֶתְחַלֵּם seems to require to be translated, not *intumuit*) this will happen; and from my flesh I shall again behold God." It is evident that this is intended of a future restoration of the corporeal nature that has become dust, but the idea assigned to נָקַפּוּ is without foundation. Luther also cuts the knot by translating: (But I know that my Redeemer liveth), and He will hereafter raise me up out of the ground, which is an impossible sense that is word for word forced upon the text. There is just as little ground for translating ver. 26a with Jerome: *et rursum circumdabor pelle mea* (after which Luther: and shall then be surrounded with this my skin); for נָקַפּוּ can as *Niph.* not signify *circumdabor*, and as *Piel* does not give the meaning *cutis mea circumdabit* (*scil. me*), since נָקַפּוּ cannot be predicate to the *sing.* עוֹרִי. In general, נָקַפּוּ cannot be understood as *Niph.*, but only as *Piel*; the *Piel* נִקַּף, however, signifies not: to surround, but: to strike down, *e.g.* olives from the tree, Isa. xvii. 6, or the trees themselves, so that they lie felled on the ground, Isa. x. 34, comp. نَقَفَ, to strike into the skull and injure the soft brain, then: to strike forcibly on the head (*gen.* on the upper part), or also: to deal a blow with a lance understood not of being raised from the dead, but of being restored to health; *vid.* on the contrary, Umbreit in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1840, i, and Ewald in *d. Theol. Jahrb.*, 1843, iv.

<sup>1</sup> In this signification, to recover, *prop.* to recover one's self, אֶתְחַלֵּם is used in Talmudic; *vid.* Buxtorf, פָּחַח and תָּפַח. The rabbinical expositors ignore this Targum, and in general furnish but little that is useful here.

or stick.<sup>1</sup> Therefore ver. 26a, according to the usage of the Semitic languages, can only be intended of the complete destruction of the skin, which is become cracked and broken by the leprosy; and this was, moreover, the subject spoken of above (ver. 20, comp. xxx. 19). For the present we leave it undecided whether Job here confesses the hope of the resurrection, and only repel those forced misconstructions of his words which arbitrarily discern this hope in the text. Free from such violence is the translation: and after this my skin is destroyed, *i.e.* after I shall have put off this my body, from my flesh (*i.e.* restored and transfigured), I shall behold God. Thus is מְבֹשֵׁר understood by Rosenm., Kosegarten (*diss. in Job*, xix., 1815), Umbreit (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1840, i.), Welte, Carey, and others. But this interpretation is also untenable. For, 1. In this explanation ver. 26a is taken as an antecedent; a *præpos.*, however, like אֲחֵר or עַר, used as a *conj.*, has, according to Hirzel's correct remark, the verb always immediately after it, as ch. xlii. 7, Lev. xiv. 43; whereas 1 Sam. xx. 41, the single exception, is critically doubtful. 2. It is not probable that the poet by עָרַי should have thought of the body, which disease is rapidly hurrying on to death, and by בְּשָׁרִי, on the other hand, of a body raised up and glorified. 3. Still more improbable is it that בָּשָׂר should be so used here as in the church's term, *resurrectio carnis*, which is certainly an allowable expression, but one which exceeds the meaning of the language of Scripture. בָּשָׂר, σάρξ, is in general, and especially in the Old Testament, a notion which has grown up in almost inseparable connection with the marks of frailty

<sup>1</sup> Thus, according to the Turkish Kamus: to sever the skull from (عَن) the brain, *i.e.* so that the brain is laid bare, or also *e.g.* to split the colocynthida [or bitter cucumber], so that the seeds are laid bare, or: to crack the bones and take out the marrow, cognate with نَقَب, for the act of piercing an egg is called both *naqaba* and *naqafa-i-beidha*. In Hebrew נָקַב coincides with נָקַח, not with נָקַב.

and sinfulness. And 4. The hope of a resurrection as a settled principle in the creed of Israel is certainly more recent than the Salomonic period. Therefore by far the majority of modern expositors have decided that Job does not indeed here avow the hope of the resurrection, but the hope of a future spiritual beholding of God, and therefore of a future life; and thus the popular idea of Hades, which elsewhere has sway over him, breaks out. Thus, of a future spiritual beholding of God, are Job's words understood by Ewald, Umbreit (who at first explained them differently), Vaihinger, Von Gerlach, Schlottmann, Hölemann (*Sächs. Kirchen- u. Schulbl.* 1853, Nos. 48, 50, 62), König (*Die Unsterblichkeitsidee im B. Iob*, 1855), and others, also by the Jewish expositors Arnheim and Löwenthal. This rendering, which is also adopted in the Art. *Hiob* in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, does not necessitate any impossible misconstruction of the language, but, as we shall see further on, it does not exhaust the meaning of Job's confession.

First of all, we will continue the explanation of each expression. אַחֲרַי is a *præpos.*, and used in the same way as the Arabic <sup>بعد</sup> is sometimes used: after my skin, *i.e.* after the loss of it (comp. ch. xxi. 21, אַחֲרָיו, after he is dead). נִקְפִּי is to be understood relatively: which they have torn in pieces, *i.e.* which has been torn in pieces (comp. the same use of the 3 *pers.*, ch. iv. 19, xviii. 18); and וְאֵת, which, according to Targ., Koseg., Stickel *de Goële*, and Ges. *Thes.*, ought to be taken inferentially, equivalent to *hoc erit* (this, however, cannot be accepted, because it must have been וְאֵת אַחֲרֵי וְנָוִי, <sup>وذلك بعد أن</sup>, *idque postquam*, and moreover would require the words to be arranged אַחֲרֵי נִקְפִּי עוֹרִי), commonly however taken together with עוֹרִי (which is nevertheless *masc.*), is understood as pointing to his decayed body, seems better to be taken adverbially: in this manner (Arnheim, Stickel in

his translation, von Gerl., Hahn) ; it is the *acc.* of reference, as ch. xxxiii. 12. The ׀ of מִן־בְּשָׂרִי is the negative ׀: free from my flesh (prop. away, far from, Num. xv. 25, Prov. xx. 3),—a rather frequent way of using this preposition (*vid.* ch. xi. 15, xxi. 9 ; Gen. xxvii. 39 ; 2 Sam. i. 22 ; Jer. xlviii. 45). Accordingly, we translate: “and after my skin, which they tear to pieces thus, and free from my flesh, shall I behold Eloah.” That Job, after all, is permitted to behold God in this life, and also in this life receives the testimony of his justification, does not, as already observed, form any objection to this rendering of ver. 26 : it is the reward of his faith, which, even in the face of certain death, has not despaired of God, that he does not fall into the power of death at all, and that God forthwith condescends to him in love. And that Job here holds firm, even beyond death, to the hope of beholding God in the future as a witness to his innocence, does not, after ch. xiv. 13-15, xvi. 18-21, come unexpectedly ; and it is entirely in accordance with the inner progress of the drama, that the thought of a redemption from Hades, expressed in the former passage, and the demand expressed in the latter passage, for the rescue of the honour of his blood, which is even now guaranteed him by his witness in heaven, are here comprehended in the confident certainty that his blood and his dust will not be declared by God the Redeemer as innocent, without his being in some way conscious of it, though freed from this his decaying body. In ver. 27 he declares how he will behold God : whom I shall behold to me, *i.e.* I, the deceased one, as being *for* me (cf. like Ps. lvi. 10, cxviii. 6), and my eyes see Him, and not a stranger. Thus (*neque alius*) LXX., Targ., Jerome, and most others translate ; on the other hand, Ges. *Thes.*, Umbr., Vaih., Stick., Hahn, and von Hofm. translate : my eyes see Him, and indeed not as an enemy ; but ׀ signifies *alienus* and *alius*, not however *adversarius*, which latter meaning it in



general obtains only in a national connection ; here (used as in Prov. xxvii. 2) it excludes the three : none other but Job, by which he means his opponents, will see God rising up for him, taking up his cause. אֲנִי is *præt.* of the future, therefore *præt. propheticum*, or *præt. confidentiæ* (as frequently in the Psalms). His reins within him pine after this vision of God. Hahn, referring to ch. xvi. 13, translates incorrectly : " If even my reins within me perish," which is impossible, according to the syntax ; for Ps. lxxiii. 26 has כָּלָה in the sense of *licet defecerit* as hypothetical antecedent. The Syriac version is altogether wrong : my reins (*culjot*) vanish completely away by reason of my lot (עֲלֵי). It would be expressed in Arabic exactly as it is here : *culāja* (or, dual, *culatāja*) *tadhûbu*, my reins melt ; for in Arab. also, as in the Semitic languages generally, the reins are considered as the seat of the tenderest and deepest affections (*Psychol.* p. 316 sq.), especially of love, desire, longing, as here, where הִלָּךְ, as in Ps. cxix. 123 and freq., is intended of wasting away in earnest longing for salvation.

Having now ended the exposition of the single expressions, we inquire whether those do justice to the text who understand it of an absolutely bodiless future beholding of God. We doubt it. Job says not merely that he, but that his eyes, shall behold God. He therefore imagines the spirit as clothed with a new spiritual body instead of the old decayed one ; not so, however, that this spiritual body, these eyes which shall behold in the future world, are brought into combination with the present decaying body of flesh. But his faith is here on the direct road to the hope of a resurrection ; we see it germinating and struggling towards the light. Among the three pearls which become visible in the book of Job above the waves of conflict, viz. ch. xiv. 13-15, xvi. 18-21, xix. 25-27, there is none more costly than this third. As in the second part of Isaiah, the fifty-third chapter is outwardly and

inwardly the middle and highest point of the  $3 \times 9$  prophetic utterances, so the poet of the book of Job has adorned the middle of his work with this confession of his hero, wherein he himself plants the flag of victory above his own grave.

Now in ver. 28 Job turns towards the friends. He who comes forth on his side as his advocate, will make Himself felt by them to be a judge, if they continue to persecute the suffering servant of God (comp. ch. xiii. 10-12). It is not to be translated: for then ye will say, or: forsooth then will ye say. This would be *כִּי אָז תֹּאמְרוּ*, and certainly imply that the opponents will experience just the same theophany, that therefore it will be on the earth. Oehler (in his *Veteris Test. sententia de rebus post mortem futuris*, 1846) maintains this instance against the interpretation of this confession of Job of a future beholding; it has, however, no place in the text, and Oehler rightly gives no decisive conclusion.<sup>1</sup> For ver. 28, as is rightly observed by C. W. G. Köstlin (in his *Essay, de immortalitatis spe, quæ in l. Iobi apparere dicitur*, 1846) against Oehler, and is even explained by Oetinger, is the antecedent to ver. 29 (comp. ch. xxi. 28 sq.): if ye say: how, *i.e.* under what pretence of right, shall we prosecute him (*נִרְדֵּף לִי*, prop. pursue him, comp. Judg. vii. 25), and (so that) the root of the matter (treated of) is found in me (*בִּי*, not *בְּי*, since the *oratio directa*, as in ch. xxii. 17, passes into the *oratio obliqua*, Ew. § 338, a); in other words: if ye continue to seek the cause of my suffering in my guilt, fear ye the sword, *i.e.* God's sword of vengeance (as ch. xv. 22, and perhaps as Isa. xxxi. 8: a sword, without the *art.* in order to combine the idea of what is boundless, endless, and terrific with the indefinite—the indetermination *ad amplificandum* described on Ps. ii. 12). The confirmatory substantival

<sup>1</sup> He remains undecided between a future spiritual and a present beholding of God: *harum interpretationum utra rectior sit, viz erit dijudicandum, nam in utramque partem facile potest disputari.*

clause which follows has been very variously interpreted. It is inadmissible to understand חֲסֵה of the rage of the friends against Job (Umbr., Schlottm., and others), or עֲנֹת חֲרִיב of their murderous sinning respecting Job; both expressions are too strong to be referred to the friends. We must explain either: the glow, *i.e.* the glow of the wrath of God, are the expiations which the sword imposes (Hirz., Ew., and others); but apart from חֲרִיב not signifying directly the punishment of sin, this thought is strained; or, which we with Rosenm. and others prefer: glow, *i.e.* the glow of the wrath of God, are the sword's crimes, *i.e.* they carry glowing anger as their reward in themselves, wrath overtakes them. Crimes of the sword are not such as are committed with the sword—for such are not treated of here, and, with Arnh. and Hahn, to understand חֲרִיב of the sword “of hostilely mocking words,” is arbitrary and artificial—but such as have incurred the sword. Job thinks of slander and blasphemy. These are even before a human tribunal capital offences (comp. ch. xxxi. 11, 28). He warns the friends of a higher sword and a higher power, which they will not escape: “that ye may know it.” חֲרִיב, for which the *Keri* is חֲרִיב. An ancient various reading (in Pinsker) is חֲרִיב (instead of חֲרִיב). The LXX. shows how it is to be interpreted: θυμὸς γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀνόμους (*Cod. Alex.* —ois) ἐπελεύσεται, καὶ τότε γνώσονται. According to *Cod. Vat.* the translation continues ποῦ ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἡ ὕλη (חֲרִיב, comp. ch. xxix. 5, where חֲרִיב is translated by ὕλη); according to *Cod. Alex.* οὐδαμοῦ αὐτῶν ἡ ἰσχύς ἐστίν (חֲרִיב from חֲרִיב). Ewald in the first edition, whom Hahn follows, considers, as Eichhorn already had, חֲרִיב as a secondary form of חֲרִיב; Hlgst. wishes to read חֲרִיב at once. It might sooner, with Raschi, be explained: that ye might only know the powers of justice, *i.e.* the manifold power of destruction which the judge has at his disposal. But all these explanations are unsupported by the usage of the language, and

Ewald's conjecture in his second edition : **אֵי שְׁרָפָם** (where is your violence), has nothing to commend it; it goes too far from the received text, calls the error of the friends by an unsuitable name, and gives no impressive termination to the speech. On the other hand, the speech could not end more suitably than by Job's bringing home to the friends the fact that there is a judgment; accordingly it is translated by Aq. *ὅτι κρίσις*; by Symm., Theod., *ὅτι ἔσται κρίσις*. **ש** is=**אשר** once in the book of Job, as probably also once in the Pentateuch, Gen. vi. 3. **יָד** or **יֵד** are infinitive forms; the latter from the *Kal*, which occurs only in Gen. vi. 3, with *Cholem*, which being made a substantive (as *e.g.* **בַּח**), signifies the judging, the judgment. Why the *Keri* substitutes **יָד**, which does not occur elsewhere in the signification *judicium*, for the more common **יָד**, is certainly lost to view, and it shows only that the reading **שָׂרָפָם** was regarded in the synagogue as the traditional. **יָד** has everywhere else the signification *judicium*, *e.g.* by Elihu, ch. xxxvi. 17, and also often in the book of Proverbs, *e.g.* ch. xx. 8 (comp. in the Arabizing supplement, ch. xxxi. 8). The final judgment is in Aramaic **יָדֵינָא רִבְנָא**; the last day in Hebrew and Arabic, **יּוֹם הַיָּדִין**, *jaum ed-dîn*. To give to "**שָׂרָפָם**, that [there is] a judgment," this dogmatically definite meaning, is indeed, from its connection with the historical recognition of the plan of redemption, inadmissible; but there is nothing against understanding the conclusion of Job's speech according to the conclusion of the book of Ecclesiastes, which belongs to the same age of literature.

The speech of Job, now explained, most clearly shows us how Job's affliction, interpreted by the friends as a divine retribution, becomes for Job's nature a wholesome refining crucible. We see also from this speech of Job, that he can only regard his affliction as a kindling of divine wrath, and God's meeting him as an enemy (ch. xix. 11). But the more decidedly the friends affirm this, and describe the root of the

manifestation as lying in himself, in his own transgression; and the more uncharitably, as we have seen it at last in Bildad's speech, they go to an excess in their terrible representations of the fate of the ungodly with unmistakeable reference to him: the more clearly is it seen that this indirect affliction of misconstruction must tend to help him in his suffering generally to the right relation towards God. For since the consolation expected from man is changed into still more cutting accusation, no other consolation remains to him in all the world but the consolation of God; and if the friends are to be in the right when they persist unceasingly in demonstrating to him that he must be a heinous sinner, because he is suffering so severely, the conclusion is forced upon him in connection with his consciousness of innocence, that the divine decree is an unjust one (ch. xix. 5 sq.). From such a conclusion, however, he must shrink back; and this produces a twofold result. The crushing anguish of soul which the friends inflict on him, by forcing upon him a view of his suffering which is as strongly opposed to his self-consciousness as to his idea of God, and must therefore bring him into the extremest difficulty of conscience, drives him to the mournful request, "Have pity upon, have pity upon me, O ye my friends" (ch. xix. 21); they shall not also pursue him whom God's hand has touched, as if they were a second divine power in authority over him, that could dispose of him at its will and pleasure; they shall, moreover, cease from satisfying the insatiable greed of their nature upon him. He treats the friends in the right manner; so that if their heart were not encrusted by their dogma, they would be obliged to change their opinion. This in Job's conduct is an unmistakeable step forward to a more spiritual state of mind. But the stern inference of the friends has a beneficial influence not merely on his relation to them, but also on his relation to God. To the wrathful God, whom they compel him to regard also as

unjust, he cannot in itself cling. He is so much the less able to do this, as he is compelled the more earnestly to long for vindication, the more confidently he is accused.

When he now wishes that the testimony which he has laid down concerning his innocence, and which his cotemporaries do not credit, might be graven in the rock with an iron pen, and filled in with lead, the memorial in words of stone is but a dead witness; and he cannot even for the future rely on men, since he is so contemptuously misunderstood and deceived by them in the present. This impels his longing after vindication forward from a lifeless thing to a living person, and turns his longing from man below to God above. He has One who will acknowledge his misjudged cause, and set it right,—a *Goël*, who will not first come into being in a later generation, but *liveth*—who has not to come into being, but *is*. There can be no doubt that by the words *וְנֹאֲמָר* he means the same person of whom in ch. xvi. 19 he says: “Behold, even now *in heaven* is my Witness, and One who acknowledges me *is in the heights*.” The *וְ* here corresponds to the *וְהָ* in that passage; and from this—that the heights of heaven is the place where this witness dwells—is to be explained the manner in which Job (ch. xix. 25*b*) expresses his confident belief in the realization of that which he (ch. xvi. 20 sq.) at first only importunately implores: as the Last One, whose word shall avail in the ages of eternity, when the strife of human voices shall have long been silent, He shall stand forth as finally decisive witness over the dust, into which Job has passed away as one who in the eye of man was regarded as an object of divine punishment. And after his skin, in such a manner destroyed, and free from his flesh, which is even now already so fallen in that the bones may be seen through it (ch. xix. 20), he will behold Eloah; and he who, according to human judgment, has died the death of the unrighteous, shall behold Eloah on his side, *his* eyes shall see and not a

stranger; for entirely for his profit, in order that he may bask in the light of His countenance, will He reveal himself.

This is the picture of the future, for the realization of which Job longs so exceedingly, that his reins within him pine away with longing. Whence we see, that Job does not here give utterance to a transient emotional feeling, a merely momentary flight of faith; but his hidden faith, which during the whole controversy rests at the bottom of his soul, and over which the waves of despair roll away, here comes forth to view. He knows, that although his outward man may decay, God cannot, however, fail to acknowledge his inner man. But does this confidence of faith of Job really extend to the future life? It has, on the contrary, been observed, that if the hope expressed with such confidence were a hope respecting the future life, Job's despondency would be trifling, and to be rejected; further, that this hope stands in contradiction to his own assertion, ch. xiv. 14: "If man dies, shall he live again? All the days of my warfare would I wait, till my change should come;" thirdly, that Job's character would be altogether wrongly drawn, and would be a psychological caricature, if the thought slumbering in Job's mind, which finds utterance in ch. xix. 25-27, were the thought of a future vision of God; and finally, that the unravelling of the knot of the puzzle, which continually increases in entanglement by the controversy with the friends, at the close of the drama, is effected by a theophany, which issues in favour of one still living, not, as ought to be expected by that rendering, a celestial scene unveiled over the grave of Job. But such a conclusion was impossible in an Old Testament book. The Old Testament as yet knew nothing of a heaven peopled with happy human spirits, arrayed in white robes (the *stola prima*). And at the time when the book of Job was composed, there was also neither a positive revelation nor a dogmatic confession of the resurrection of the

dead, which forms the boundary of the course of this world, in existence. The book of Job, however, shows us how, from the conflict concerning the mystery of this present life, faith struggled forth towards a future solution. The hope which Job expresses is not one prevailing in his age—not one that has come to him from tradition—not one embracing mankind, or even only the righteous in general. All the above objections would be really applicable, if it were evident here that Job was acquainted with the doctrine of a beholding of God after death, which should recompense the pious for the sufferings of this present time. But such is not the case. The hope expressed is not a finished and believingly appropriating hope; on the contrary, it is a hope which is first conceived and begotten under the pressure of divinely decreed sufferings, which make him appear to be a transgressor, and of human accusations which charge him with transgression. It is impossible for him to suppose that God should remain, as now, so hostilely turned from him, without ever again acknowledging him. The truth must at last break through the false appearance, and wrath again give place to love. That it should take place after his death, is only the extreme which his faith assigns to it.

If we place ourselves on the standpoint of the poet, he certainly here gives utterance to a confession, to which, as the book of Proverbs also shows, the Salomonic Chokma began to rise in the course of believing thought; but also on the part of the Chokma, this confession was primarily only a *theologoumenon*, and was first in the course of centuries made sure under the combined agency of the progressive perception and revelation and facts connected with redemption; and it is first of all in the New Testament, by the descent to Hades and the ascension to Heaven of the Prince of Life, that it became a fully decided and well-defined element of the church's creed. If, however, we place ourselves on the



standpoint of the hero of the drama, this hope of future vindication which flashes through the fierceness of the conflict, far from making it a caricature,<sup>1</sup> gives to the delineation of his faith, which does not forsake God, the final perfecting stroke. Job is, as he thinks, meeting certain death. Why then should not the poet allow him to give utterance to that demand of faith, that he, even if God should permit him apparently to die the sinner's death, nevertheless cannot remain unvindicated? Why should he not allow him here, in the middle of the drama, to rise from the thought, that the cry of his blood should not ascend in vain, to the thought that this vindication of his blood, as of one who is innocent, should not take place without his being consciously present, and beholding with his own eyes the God by whose judicial wrath he is overwhelmed, as his Redeemer? This hope, regarded in the light of the later perception of the plan of redemption, is none other than the hope of a resurrection; but it appears here only in the germ, and comes forward as purely personal: Job rises from the dust, and, after the storm of wrath is passed, sees Eloah, as one who acknowledges him in love, while his surviving opponents fall before the tribunal of this very God. It is therefore not a share in the resurrection of the righteous (in Isa. xxvi., which is uttered prophetically, but first of all nationally), and not a share in the general resurrection of the dead (first expressed in Dan. xii. 2), with which Job consoled himself; he does not speak of what shall happen at the end of the days, but of a purely personal matter after his death. Considering himself as one who must die, and thinking of himself as deceased, and indeed, according to appearance, overwhelmed by the

<sup>1</sup> If Job could say, like Tobia, ch. ii. 17 sq., Vulg.: *fili sanctorum sumus et vitam illam expectamus, quam Deus daturus est his qui fidem suam nunquam mutant ab eo*, his conduct would certainly be different; but what he expresses in ch. xix. 25-27 is very far removed from this confession of faith of Tobia.

punishment of his misdeeds, he would be compelled to despair of God, if he were not willing to regard even the incredible as unfailing, this, viz., that God will not permit this mark of wrath and of false accusation to attach to his blood and dust. That the conclusion of the drama should be shaped in accordance with this future hope, is, as we have already observed, not possible, because the poet (apart from his transferring himself to the position and consciousness of his patriarchal hero) was not yet in possession, as a dogma, of that hope which Job gives utterance to as an aspiration of his faith, and which even he himself only at first, like the psalmists (*vid.* on Ps. xvii. 15, xlix. 15 sq., lxxiii. 26), had as an aspiration of faith;<sup>1</sup> it was, however, also entirely unnecessary, since it is indeed not the idea of the drama that there is a life after death, which adjusts the mystery of the present, but that there is a suffering of the righteous which bears the disguise of wrath, but nevertheless, as is finally manifest, is a dispensation of love.

If, however, it is a germinating hope, which in this speech of Job is urged forth by the strength of his faith, we can, without anachronistically confusing the different periods of the development of the knowledge of redemption, regard it as a full, but certainly only developing, preformation of the later belief in the resurrection. When Job says that with his own eyes he shall behold Eloah, it is indeed possible by these eyes to understand the eyes of the spirit;<sup>2</sup> but it is just as possible to understand him to mean the eyes of his renewed body (which the old theologians describe as *stola secunda*, in distinction from the *stola prima* of the intermediate state); and when Job thinks of him-

<sup>1</sup> The view of Böttcher, *de inferis*, p. 149, is false, that the poet by the conclusion of his book disapproves the hope expressed, as *dementis somnium*.

<sup>2</sup> Job's wish, ch. xix. 23 sq., is accomplished, as *e.g.* James v. 11 shows, and his hope is realized, since he has beheld God the Redeemer enter Hades, and is by Him led up on high to behold God in heaven. We

self (ver. 25*b*) as a mouldering corpse, should he not by his eyes, which shall behold Eloah, mean those which have been dimmed in death, and are now again become capable of seeing? While, if we wish to expound grammatico-historically, not practically, not homiletically, we also dare not carry back the definiteness of the later dogma into the affirmation of Job. It is related to eschatology as the protevangelium is to soteriology; it presents only the first lines of the picture, which is worked up in detail later on, but also an outline, sketched in such a way that every later perception may be added to it. Hence Schlottmann is perfectly correct when he considers that it is justifiable to understand these grand and powerful words, in hymns, and compositions, and liturgies, and monumental inscriptions, of the God-man, and to use them in the sense which "the more richly developed conception of the last things might so easily put upon them." It must not surprise us that this sublime hope is not again expressed further on. On the one hand, what Sanctius remarks is not untrue: *ab hoc loco ad finem usque libri aliter se habet Iobus quam prius*; on the other hand, Job here, indeed in the middle of the book, soars triumphantly over his opponents to the height of a believing consciousness of victory, but as yet he is not in that state of mind in which he can attain to the beholding of God on his behalf, be it in this world or in the world to come. He has still further to learn submission in relation to God, gentleness in relation to the friends. Hence, inexhaustibly rich in thought and variations of thought, the poet allows the controversy to become more and more involved, and the fire in which Job is to be proved, but also purified, to burn still longer.

assume the historical reality of Job and the consistence of his history with the rest of Scripture, which we have treated in *Bibl. Psychol.* ch. vi. § 3, on the future life and redemption. Accordingly, one might, with the majority of modern expositors, limit Job's hope to the beholding of God in the intermediate state; but, as is further said above, such particularizing is unauthorized.

*Zophar's Second Speech.—Chap. xx.**Schema* : 8. 12. 10. 8. 12. 7. 2.

[Then began Zophar the Naamathite, and said:]

- 2 *Therefore do my thoughts furnish me with a reply,  
And indeed by reason of my feeling within me.*
- 3 *The correction of my reproach I must hear,  
Nevertheless the spirit of my understanding informeth me.*
- 4 *Knowest thou this which is from everlasting,  
Since man was placed upon the earth :*
- 5 *That the triumphing of the evil-doer is not long,  
And the joy of the godless is but for a moment ?*

All modern expositors take ver. 2 as an apology for the opposition which follows, and the majority of them consider *בְּעִבּוֹר* as elliptical for *בְּעִבּוֹר זֶמֶן*, as Tremell., Piscator, and others have done, partly (but wrongly) by referring to the *Rebia mugrasch*. Ewald observes: “*בְּעִבּוֹר* stands without addition, because this is easily understood from the *לֵבָן* in כֵּן.” But although this ellipsis is not inadmissible (comp. *לֵבָן* = *אִשֶׁר*, ch. xxxiv. 25 ; *כַּעַל*, Isa. lix. 18), in spite of it ver. 2b furnishes no meaning that can be accepted. Most expositors translate: “and hence the storming within me” (thus *e.g.* Ewald); but the signification *perturbatio animi*, proposed by Schultens for *חֲרָשִׁי*, after the Arab. *حاش*, is too remote from the usage of Hebrew. Moreover, this *حاش* signifies prop. to scare, hunt, of game; not, however: to be agitated, to storm, —a signification which even the corresponding Hebr. *חָרַשׁ*, *properare*, does not support. Only a few expositors (as Umbreit, who translates: because of my storm within me) take *בְּעִבּוֹר* (which occurs only this once in the book of Job) as *præpos.*, as it must be taken in consideration of the infin. which follows (comp. Ex. ix. 16, xx. 20; 1 Sam. i. 6; 2 Sam. x. 3). Further, *לֵבָן* (only by Umbreit translated by “yet,”

after the Arab. *lākin*, *lākinna*, which it never signifies in Hebr., where לָּ is not = לָּ, but = לָּ with *Kametz* before the tone) with that which follows is referred by several expositors to the preceding speech of Job, *e.g.* Hahn: "under such circumstances, if thou behavest thus;" by most, however, it is referred to ver. 3, *e.g.* Ew.: "*On this account* he feels called upon by his thoughts to answer, and *hence* his inward impulse leaves him no rest: *because* he hears from Job a contemptuous wounding reproof of himself." In other words: in consequence of the reproach which Job casts upon him, especially with his threat of judgment, Zophar's mind and feelings fall into a state of excitement, and give him an answer to which he now gives utterance. This prospective sense of לָּכֵן may at any rate be retained, though בַּעֲבוּר is taken as a preposition (wherefore . . . and indeed on account of my inward commotion); but it is far more natural that the beginning of Zophar's speech should be connected with the last word of Job's. Ver. 2 may really be so understood if we connect חָשׂ, not with חָשׂ, to excite, to make haste (after which also Saad. and Aben-Ezra: on account of my inward hastening or urging), but with חָשׂ, to feel; in this meaning חָשׂ is usual in all the Semitic dialects, and is even biblical also; for Eccles. ii. 25 is to be translated: who hath feeling (pleasure) except from Him (read מִמֶּנּוּ)? *i.e.* even in pleasure man is not free, but has conditions fixed by God.

With לָּכֵן (used as in ch. xlii. 3) Zophar draws an inference from Job's conduct, esp. from the turn which his last speech has taken, which, as שְׂעִיפִי יִשְׁכַּחֲנִי<sup>1</sup> affirms, urges him involuntarily and irresistibly forward, and indeed, as he adds with

<sup>1</sup> Thus it is to be read according to the Masoretic note, לֵית וּמְלָא (*i.e.* plene, as nowhere else), which occurs in Codd., as is also attested by Kimchi in his Gramm., *Moznajim*, p. 8; Aben-Ezra in his Gramm., *Zachoth* 1, b; and the punctuator Jekuthiel, in his *Darche ha-Nikkud* (chapter on the letters יוּדָא).

*Waw explic.*: on account of the power of feeling dwelling in him, by which he means both his sense of truth and his moral feeling, in general the capacity of direct perception, not perception that is only attained after long reflection. On שְׁעֵי, of thoughts which, as it were, branch out, *vid.* on ch. iv. 13, and *Psychol.* p. 214. הָשִׁיב signifies, as everywhere, to answer, not causative, to compel to answer. חֲשִׁי is *n. actionis* in the sense of חֲשִׁי (Targ.), or חֲשִׁי (Ralbag), which also signifies “my feeling (*αἰσθησις*),” and the combination חֲשִׁי בִּי is like ch. iv. 21, vi. 13. Wherein the inference consists is self-evident, and proceeds from vers. 4 sq. In ver. 3 expression is given to the ground of the conclusion intended in לִבִּי: the chastisement of my dishonour, *i.e.* which tends to my dishonour (comp. Isa. liii. 5, chastisement which conduces to our peace), I must hear (comp. on this modal signification of the future, *e.g.* ch. xvii. 2); and in ver. 3b Zophar repeats what he has said in ver. 2, only somewhat differently applied: the spirit, this inner light (*vid.* ch. xxxii. 8; *Psychol.* p. 182 sq.), answers him from the perception which is peculiar to himself, *i.e.* out of the fulness of this perception it furnishes him with information as to what is to be thought of Job with his insulting attacks, viz. (this is the substance of the חֲשִׁי of the thoughts, and of the עֲנִית of the spirit), that in this conduct of Job only his godlessness is manifest. This is what he warningly brings against him, vers. 4 sq.: knowest thou indeed (which, according to ch. xli. 1, 1 Kings xxi. 19, sarcastically is equivalent to: thou surely knowest, or in astonishment: what! dost thou not know?!) this from the beginning, *i.e.* this law, which has been in operation from time immemorial (or as Ew.: *hoccine scis æternum esse*, so that מֵנִי־עַד is not a virtual adj., but virtual predicate-acc.), since man was placed (שָׂם *infin.*, therefore prop., since one has placed man) upon the earth (comp. the model passage, Deut. iv. 32), that the exulting of the wicked is מִקְרִיב, from near, *i.e.* not extending

far, enduring only a short time (Arab. قَرِيب often directly signifies *brevis*); and the joy of the godless עֲרִירָנָה, only for a moment, and continuing no longer?

- 6 *If his aspiration riseth to the heavens,  
And he causeth his head to touch the clouds :*
- 7 *Like his dung he perisheth for ever ;  
Those who see him say : Where is he ?*
- 8 *As a dream he flieth away, and they cannot find him ;  
And he is scared away as a vision of the night.*
- 9 *The eye hath seen him, and never again,  
And his place beholdeth him no more.*
- 10 *His children must appease the poor,  
And his hands give up his wealth.*
- 11 *His bones were full of youthful vigour ;  
Now it is laid down with him in the dust.*

If the exaltation of the evil-doer rises to heaven, and he causes his head to reach to the clouds, *i.e.* to touch the clouds, he notwithstanding perishes like his own dung. We are here reminded of what Obadiah, ver. 4, says of Edom, and Isaiah, ch. xiv. 13-15, says of the king of Babylon. שָׁא is equivalent to נָשָׂא, like שָׂא, Ps. lxxxix. 10 = נָשָׂא; the first weak radical is cast away, as in בָּלִי = נָבִיל, *fraudulentus, machinator*, Isa. xxxii. 5, and according to Olsh. in שָׂבָה = שָׁבָה, 2 Sam. xix. 33. הִנִּיעַ is to be understood as causative (at least this is the most natural) in the same manner as in Isa. xxv. 12, and freq. It is unnecessary, with Ew., Hirz., and Hlgt., after Schultens, to transl. בגָּלוּ, ver. 7a, according to the Arab. جَلال (whence the name *Gelâl-ed-dîn*): *secundum majestatem suam*, or with Reiske to read בגָּלוּ, *in magnificentia sua*, and it is very hazardous, since the Hebrew גָּל has not the meaning of جَل, *illustrem esse*. Even Schultens, in his *Commentary*, has retracted the explanation commended in his *Animadv.*

and maintained the correctness of the translation, *sicut stercus suum* (Jer. *sicut sterquilinum*), which is also favoured by the similar figurative words in 1 Kings xiv. 10: as one burneth up (not: brushes away) dung (הַנִּלְלָהּ), probably cow-dung as fuel, until it is completely gone. הַנִּלְלָהּ (or הַנִּלְלָהּ with an audible *Sh'vā*) may be derived from הַנִּלְלָהּ, but the analogy of הַנִּלְלָהּ favours the primary form הַנִּלְלָהּ (Ew. § 255, b); on no account is it הַנִּלְלָהּ. The word is not low, as Ezek. iv. 12, comp. Zeph. i. 17, shows, and the figure, though revolting, is still very expressive; and how the fulfilment is to be thought of may be seen from an example from 2 Kings ix. 37, according to which, "as dung upon the face of the field shall it be, so that they cannot say: this is Jezebel."<sup>1</sup> The continuation here, ver. 7b,

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic, *gille* (הַנִּלְלָהּ) and *gelle* (הַנִּלְלָהּ) is the usual and preferred fuel (hence used as synon. of *hhattab*) formed of the dung of cows, and not indeed yoke-oxen (*baqar 'ammāle*), because they have more solid fodder, which produces no material for the *gelle*, but from cattle that pasture in the open fields (*baqar bat.tāle*), which are almost entirely milking cows. This dung is collected by women and children in the spring from the pastures as perfectly dry cakes, which have the green colour of the grass. Every husbandman knows that this kind of dung—the product of a rapid, one might say merely half, digestion, even when fresh, but especially when dry—is perfectly free from smell. What is collected is brought in baskets to the forming or pressing place (*matbā'a*, מַטְבָּעָה), where it is crumbled, then with water made into a thick mass, and, having been mixed with chopped straw, is formed by the women with the hand into round cakes, about a span across, and three fingers thick. They resemble the tanners' tan-cakes, only they are not square. Since this compound has the form of a loaf it is called *qurs* (which also signifies a loaf of bread); and since a definite form is given to it by the hand, it is called *ttabbu'* (מַטְבָּעָה), collective *ttēbābi'*, which צַפְפִּי (צַפְפִּי), Ezek. iv. 15, resembles in meaning; for *ssaf'*, צַפַּע (cogn. *ssaf' hā*, צַפַּח), signifies to beat anything with the palm of the hand. First spread out, then later on piled up, the *gelle* lies the whole summer in the *matbā'a*. The domes (*qubeb*) are not formed until a month before the rainy season, i.e. a circular structure is built up of the cakes skilfully placed one upon another like bricks; it is made from six to eight yards high, gradually narrowed and finished with a vaulted dome, whence this structure has its name, *qubbe* (קִבְבָּה). Below it measures about eight or ten paces, it is always hollow,



is just the same: they who saw him (*partic.* of what is past, Ges. § 134, 1) say: where is he? As a dream he flieth away, so that he is not found, and is scared away (יָרָד *Hoph.*, not יָרָא *Kal*) as a vision of the night (חֲזִיוֹן everywhere in the book of Job instead of חֶזֶן, from which it perhaps differs, as *visum* from *visio*), which one banishes on waking as a trick of his fancy (comp. Ps. lxxiii. 20, Isa. xxix. 7 sq.). Eyes looked upon him (רָאָה only in the book of Job in this signification of a fixed scorching look, cogn. שָׂרַף, *adurere*, as is manifest from Cant. i. 6), and do it no more; and his place (מְקוֹמוֹ construed as *fem.*, as Gen. xviii. 24, 2 Sam. xvii. 12, *Cheth.*) shall not henceforth regard him (שָׁרַח, especially frequent in the book of Job, prop. to go about, cogn. חָרַח, then to look about one). The *futt.* here everywhere describe what shall meet the evil-doer. Therefore Ewald's transl., "his fists smote down the weak," cannot be received. Moreover, חֲסִינֵי, which must then

and is filled from beneath by means of an opening which serves as a door. The outside of the *qubbe* is plastered over with a thick solution of dung; and this coating, when once dried in the sun, entirely protects the building, which is both storehouse and store, against the winter rains. When they begin to use the fuel, they take from the inside first by means of the doorway, and afterwards (by which time the heavy rains are over) they use up the building itself, removing the upper part first by means of a ladder. By the summer the *qubbe* has disappeared. Many large households have three or four of these stores. Where walled-in courts are spacious, as is generally the case, they stand within; where not, outside. The communities bordering on the desert, and exposed to attacks from the Arabs, place them close round their villages, which gives them a peculiar appearance. When attacked, the herds are driven behind these buildings, and the peasants make their appearance between them with their javelins. Seetzen reckons the *gelle* among the seven characteristics of the district of *Haurân* (*Basan*).

It appears that Ezek. iv. 12 sqq.—where the prophet is allowed the usual cow-dung, the flame of which has no smell whatever, and its ashes, which smoulder for a long time, are as clean as wood ashes, instead of the cakes (פֶּלֶא) of human dung—is to be explained according to this custom. My fellow-travellers have frequently roasted mushrooms (*futtr*) and truffles (*faq'*, פֶּקֶט) in the early spring in the glowing ashes of the *gelle*. On the other hand, it would be an error to infer from this passage that

be read instead of בָּנָיו, does not occur elsewhere in this athletic signification; and it is quite unnecessary to derive יָרִיו from a יָרָה = יָרַץ (to crush, to hurl to the ground), or to change it to יָרִיו (Schnurrer) or יָרִיו (Olsh.); for although the thought, *filios ejus vexabunt egeni* (LXX. according to the reading θλάσειαν, and Targ. according to the reading יָרִיעַן), is not unsuitable for ver. 10b, a sense more natural in connection with the position of בָּנָיו, and still more pleasing, is gained if יָרָה is taken in the usual signification: to conciliate, appease, as the Targ. according to the reading יָרַעַן (Peschito-word for ἀποκαταλλάσσειν), and Ges., Vaih., Schlottm., and others, after Aben-Ezra, Ralbag, Merc.: *fili ejus placabunt tenues, quos scilicet eorum pater diripuerat, vel eo inopie adigentur, ut pauperibus sese adjungere et ab illis inire gratiam cogantur*. Its retributive relation to ver. 19a is also retained by this rendering. The children of the unfeeling oppressor of the poor

the Semites made use of human dung for fuel; the Semites (including the Nomads) are the most scrupulously particular people respecting cleanliness. According to the above, Zeph. i. 17 may be explained: "their flesh shall become like dung," i.e. be burned or destroyed like dung. And also we understand the above passage in the book of Job, "as his heap of dung-cakes shall he be consumed away," exactly like 1 Kings xiv. 10: "I will burn (take away) the remnant of the house of Jeroboam, as a man burneth the dung-cakes until they are consumed." The suff. in בָּנָיו refers to the habitation of the evil-doer, above whose grovelling joy the high dome of the dung-cakes rises, which, before one becomes aware of it, has disappeared; and throughout the description of the sudden destruction of the evil-doer, vers. 8, 9, the reader must keep the figure of this dome and its disappearing before his mind. If it be objected that by such a rendering בָּנָיו would be expected, 1 Kings xiv. 10 shows that גִּל (גִּל) was also used as a collective, and the Arabic *gelle* is never used in any other way, which is the more remarkable, as one from the first regards its termination as the "s of unity." My attendants on my journey from Damascus (where there is no *gelle*, and consequently the word is not used) always took it so, and formed the plural *gellât* and the col-

lective *gilel*, and were always laughed at and corrected: say اقراص جلة or طبابيع جلة—WETZST.

will be obliged, when the tyrant is dead, to conciliate the destitute; and his hands, by means of his children, will be obliged to give back his property, i.e. to those whom his covetousness had brought to beggary (פֶּן, exertion, strength, ch. xviii. 7, then as פֶּן, and synon. לֵב, wealth, prob. from the radical meaning to breathe, which is differently applied in the Arabic *aun*, rest, and *haun*, lightness). Carey thinks that the description is retrospective: even he himself in his lifetime, which, however, does not commend itself, since here it is throughout the deceased who is spoken of. As in ver. 9, so now in ver. 11 also, *perf.* and *fut.* interchange, the former of the past, the latter of the future. Jerome, by an amalgamation of two distinct radical significations, translates: *ossa ejus implebuntur* (it should be *impleta erant*) *vitiis adolescentiæ ejus*, which is to be rejected, because עָלִים, Ps. xc. 8, is indeed intended of secret sin, but signifies generally that which is secret (veiled). On the contrary, עֲלִיפִים, ch. xxxiii. 25, certainly signifies *adolescentia* (Arab. غُلُومَة), and is accordingly, after LXX., Targ., and Syr., to be translated: his bones were full of youthful vigour. In ver. 11b, עֲשֵׂה, as ch. xiv. 19, might refer to the purely plural עֲשֵׂהוּ, but the predicate belonging to it would then be plur. in ver. 11a, and sing. in ver. 11b; on which account the reference to עֲלִיפִים, which is in itself far more suitable, is to be preferred (Hirz., Schlottm.): his youthful vigour, on which he relied, lies with him in the dust (of the grave).

- 12 *If wickedness tasted sweet in his mouth,  
He hid it under his tongue;*
- 13 *He carefully cherished it and did not let it go,  
And retained it in his palate:*
- 14 *Yet his bread is now changed in his bowels,  
It is the gall of vipers within him.*

15 *He hath swallowed down riches and now he spitteth them out,*

*God shall drive them out of his belly.*

16 *He sucked in the poison of vipers,*

*The tongue of the adder slayeth him.*

The evil-doer is, in vers. 12 sq., likened to an epicure; he keeps hold of wickedness as long as possible, like a delicate morsel that is retained in the mouth (Renan: *comme un bonbon qu'on laisse fondre dans la bouche*), and seeks to enjoy it to the very last. הִסְתִּיךְ, to make sweet, has here the intransitive signification *dulcescere*, Ew. § 122, c. הִכְחִיד, to remove from sight, signifies elsewhere to destroy, here to conceal (as the *Piel*, ch. vi. 10, xv. 18). הִסֵּל, to spare, is construed with עָל, which is usual with verbs of covering and protecting. The conclusion of the hypothetical antecedent clauses begins with ver. 14; the *perf.* נִהַפָּה (with *Kametz* by *Athnach*) describes the suddenness of the change; the מְרוֹרָה which follows is not equivalent to לְמְרוֹרָה (Luther: *His food shall be turned to adder's gall in his body*), but ver. 14b expresses the result of the change in a substantival clause. The bitter and poisonous are synonymous in the ancient languages; hence we find the meanings poison and gall (ver. 25) in מְרוֹרָה, and רִאֵשׁ signifies both a poisonous plant which is known by its bitterness, and the poison of serpents like to the poison of plants (ver. 16; Deut. xxxii. 33). חֵל (ver. 15) is property, without the accompanying notion of forcible acquisition (Hirz.), which, on the contrary, is indicated by the בָּלַע. The following *fut. consec.* is here not *aor.*, but expressive of the inevitable result which the performance of an act assuredly brings: he must vomit back the property which he has swallowed down; God casts it out of his belly, i.e. (which is implied in הוֹרִישׁ, *expellere*) forcibly, and therefore as by the pains of colic. The LXX., according to whose taste the

mention of God here was contrary to decorum, transl. ἐξ οἰκίας (read κοιλίας, according to *Cod. Alex.*) αὐτοῦ ἐξελεύσει αὐτὸν ἄγγελος (Theod. δυνάστης). The *perf.*, ver. 15*a*, is in ver. 16*a* changed into the *imperf. fut.* πῶς, which more strongly represents the past action as that which has gone before what is now described; and the ἀσυνδέτως *fut.*, which follows, describes the consequence which is necessarily and directly involved in it. Ps. cxl. 4 may be compared with ver. 16*a*, Prov. xxiii. 32 with 16*b*. He who sucked in the poison of low desire with a relish, will meet his punishment in that in which he sinned: he is destroyed by the poisonous deadly bite of the serpent, for the punishment of sin is fundamentally nothing but the nature of sin itself brought fully out.

- 17 *He shall not delight himself in streams,  
Like to rivers and brooks of honey and cream.*  
18 *Giving back that for which he laboured, he shall not swallow it;  
He shall not rejoice according to the riches he hath gotten.*  
19 *Because he cast down, let the destitute lie helpless;  
He shall not, in case he hath seized a house, finish building it.*  
20 *Because he knew no rest in his craving,  
He shall not be able to rescue himself with what he most loveth.*

As poets sing of the *aurea ætas* of the paradise-like primeval age: *Flumina jam lactis, jam flumina nectaris ibant*,<sup>1</sup> and as the land of promise is called in the words of Jehovah in

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Metam.* i. 112, comp. Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 30:

*Et duræ quercus sudabant roscida mella;*

and Horace, *Epod.* xvi. 47:

*Mella cava manant ex ilice, montibus altis  
Levis crepante lympa desilit pede.*

the Thora, "a land flowing with milk and honey," the puffed-up prosperity to which the evil-doer has attained by injustice is likened to streams (פְּלִיטוֹת, prop. dividings, and indeed either of a country = districts, Judg. v. 15 sq., or as here, of a fountain = streams) of rivers, of brooks (two *gen. appositionis* which are co-ordinate, of which Hupfeld thinks one must be crossed out; they, however, are not unpoetical, since, just as in Ps. lxxviii. 9, the flow of words is suspended, Ew. § 289, c) of honey and cream (comp. cream and oil, ch. xxix. 6), if נהרי נחלי is not perhaps (which is more in accordance with the accentuation) intended as an explanatory permutative of בַּפְּלִיטוֹת: he shall not feast himself upon streams, streamings of rivers of honey and cream (Dachselt); and by אֶל־יִירָא (*seq. Beth*, to fasten one's gaze upon anything = feast one's self upon it), the prospect of enjoying this prosperity, and indeed, since the moral judgment and feeling are concerned in the affirmation of the fact (אֵל, as ch. v. 22, Ps. xli. 3, Prov. iii. 3, 25), the privilege of this prospect, is denied him. This thought, that the enjoyment aimed at and anticipated shall not follow the attainment of this height of prosperity, is reiterated in a twofold form in ver. 18.

Ver. 18a is not to be translated: He gives back that which he has gained without swallowing it down, which must have been חָשִׁיב; the syntactic relation is a different one: the *Waw* of וְלֹא is not expressive of detail; the detailing is implied in the *partic.*, which is made prominent as an antecedent, as if it were: because, or since, he gives out again that which he has acquired (יָצָא only here instead of יָצִיעַ, ch. x. 3 and freq.), he has no pleasure in it, he shall or may not altogether swallow it down (Targ. incorrectly וְלֹא־יִנְמַר, after the Arabic بَلַغ, to penetrate, attain an object). The formation of the clause corresponds entirely with ver. 18b. All attempts at interpretation which connect פְּחִיל תְּמַרְתּוֹ with חָשִׁיב, ver. 18a, are to be objected to: (he gives it back again) as

property of his restitution, *i.e.* property that is to be restored (Schlottom.), or the property of another (Hahn). Apart from the unsuitableness of the expression to the meaning found in it, it is contrary to the relative independence of the separate lines of the verse, which our poet almost always preserves, and is also opposed by the interposing of *לֹא יָבֹלֵעַ*. The explanation chosen by Schult., Oet., Umbr., Hirz., Renan, and others, after the Targ., is utterly impossible: as his possession, so his exchange (which is intended to mean: restitution, giving up); this, instead of *בְּחִיל*, must have been not merely *בְּחִיל*, but *בְּחִילוֹ*. The designed relation of the members of the sentence is without doubt, as 18a, this: *כֹּחַל תְּמֹרָתוֹ* is a nearer defining of *לֹא יָעֲלֶם*, after the manner of an antecedent clause, from which, that it may be emphatically prominent, it begins by means of *Waw apod.* (to which Schult. not unsuitably compares Jer. vi. 19, 1 Kings xv. 13). The following explanation is very suitable: according to the power, *i.e.* entire fulness of his exchange, but not in the sense of "to the full amount of its value" (Carey, as Rosenm.), connected with *כִּשְׁכֵּשׁ*, but connected with what follows: "how great soever his exchange (gain), still he does not rejoice" (Ew.). But it is not probable that *חֵיל* here signifies power = a great quantity, where property and possessions are spoken of. The most natural rendering appears to me to be this: according to the relation of the property of his exchange (*תְּמֹרָה* from *מֹר*, Syr. directly *emere*, cogn. *מָחַר*, *מָחָר*, and perhaps also *מָכַר*, here of exchange, barter, or even acquisition, as ch. xv. 31; comp. xxviii. 17, of the means of exchange), *i.e.* of the property exchanged, bartered, gained by barter by him, he is not to rejoice, *i.e.* the rejoicing which might have been expected in connection with the greatness of the wealth he has amassed, departs from him.

Jerome is not the only expositor who (as though the Hebrew tenses were subject to no rule, and might mean

everything) translates ver. 19, *domum rapuit et non ædificavit eam* (equivalent to *quam non ædificaverat*). Even Hupfeld translates thus, by taking *לֹא יִבְנֶהּ* as imperfect = *לֹא בָנָהּ*; but he, of course, fails to furnish a grammatical proof for the possibility of inferring a *plusquamperfectum* sense. It might sooner be explained: instead of building it (*Lit. Centralblatt*, 1853, Nr. 24). But according to the syntax, ver. 19a must be an antecedent clause: because he crushed, left (therefore: crushed by himself) the destitute alone;<sup>1</sup> and 19b the conclusion: he has pillaged a house, and will not build it, *i.e.* in case he has plundered a house, he will not build it up. For *בֵּית נָזַל*, according to the accents, which are here correct, is not to be translated: *domus, quam rapuit*, but hypothetically: *si (ἐάν) domum rapuit*, to which *לֹא יִבְנֶהּ* is connected by *Waw apod.* (comp. ch. vii. 21b); and *בָּנָהּ* signifies here, as frequently, not: to build, but: to build round, build additions to, continue building (comp. 2 Chron. xi. 5, 6; Ps. lxxxix. 3, 5). In ver. 20 similar periodizing occurs: because he knew not *שָׁלוֹם* (neutral = *שְׁלֵמָה*, Prov. xvii. 1; Ew. § 293, c), contentment, rest, and sufficiency (comp. Isa. lix. 8, *לֹא יָרַע שְׁלוֹם* in his belly, *i.e.* his craving, which swallows up everything: he will not be able to deliver himself *מִלֵּט* like *פָּלַט*, ch. xxiii. 7, as intensive of *Kal*: to escape, or also = *מִלֵּט נָפְשׁוֹ*, which Amos ii. 25 seems to favour) with (*אֲנִי* as ch. xix. 20) his dearest treasure (thus *e.g.* Ewald), or: he will not be able to rescue his dearest object, prop. not to effect a rescue with his dearest object, the obj., as ch. xvi. 4, 10, xxxi. 12, conceived of as the instrument (*vid. e.g.* Schlottm.). The former explanation is more natural and simple. *הַמִּדָּה*,

<sup>1</sup> The Targ. translates: because he brought to ruin the business of the poor (*עֲזָבָה עֲזָבָהּ* after *עֲזָבָהּ* in Ezekiel); and Parchon: because he brought to ruin the courts of the poor (after the Mishna-word *מַעְזִיבָה*, a paved floor); but *עֲזָבָהּ*, according to the Masora on Isa. lviii. 2 (comp. Kimchi, *Michlol*, p. 35), is to be read *עָזַבָהּ*, as a verb.



that which is exceedingly desired (Ps. xxxix. 12, of health and pleasantness; Isa. xlv. 9, of idols, as the cherished objects of their worshippers), is the dearest and most precious thing to which the sinner clung with all his soul, not, as Böttch. thinks, the soul itself.<sup>1</sup>

- 21 *Nothing escaped his covetousness,  
Therefore his prosperity shall not continue.*  
22 *In the fulness of his need it shall be strait with him,  
Every hand of the needy shall come upon him.*  
23 *It shall come to pass : in order to fill his belly,  
He sendeth forth the glow of His anger into him,  
And He causeth it to rain upon him into his flesh.*  
24 *If he is obliged to flee before an iron weapon,  
Then a brazen bow pierceth him through.*  
25 *It teareth, then it cometh forth out of his body,  
And the steel out of his gall,  
The terrors of death come upon him.*

The words of ver. 21a are : there was nothing that escaped

(שָׁרִיד, as ch. xviii. 19, from שָׁרַד, שָׁרֵד, *aufugere*) his eating (from אָכַל, not from אָכַל), i.e. he devoured everything without sparing, even to the last remnant; therefore טוֹבוֹ, his prosperity, his abundant wealth, will not continue or hold out (יָחִיל, as Ps. x. 5, to be solid, powerful, enduring, whence

<sup>1</sup> Hupfeld interprets : *non fruitur securus ventre suo h. e. cibo quo venter potitus erat et deliciis quas non salvas retinebit* (or also ver. 20b as a clause by itself : *cum deliciis suis non evadet*), but without any proof that פָּרַע can signify *frui*, and בָּרֶן metonymically food, whereas the assertion that שָׁלֵן cannot be equivalent to שָׁלַח, and cannot be used of rest with reference to the desire, is unfounded. In Hebrew the neuter adj. can be used as a substantive, just as in Greek, e.g. τὸ ἀσφάλειν, security, τὸ εὐτυχία, success (comp. e.g. the combination וְאִמָּתָא וְאִמָּתָא, and שְׁלוֹ signifies

release and ease (Arab. followed by عَمَل), without distinction of what disturbs, be it danger, or pain, or any kind of emotion whatever.

(חֵיל, חוֹל, חֵיל). Hupf. transl. differently: *nihil ei superstes ad vescendum, itaque non durant ejus bona*; but שָׂרִיר signifies first *elapsum*, and עַל־כֵּן *propterea*; and we may retain these first significations, especially since ver. 21a is not future like 21b. The tone of prediction taken up in ver. 21b is continued in what follows. The *inf. constr.* מְלֹאֹת (prop. מְלֹאֹת, but with *Cholem* by the *Aleph*, since the *Waw* is regarded as *superfluous*), formed after the manner of the verbs *Lamed He* (Ew. 238, c), is written like מְלֹאֹת, Judg. viii. 1 (comp. on the other hand the *scriptio defectiva*, Lev. viii. 33, xii. 4); and שָׂפֶק (with *Sin*, as Norzi decides after Codd., Kimchi, and Farisol, not *Samech*) is to be derived from שָׂפֶק (שָׂפֶק), *sufficiencia* (comp. the verb, 1 Kings xx. 10): when his sufficiency exists in abundance, not from שָׂפֶק = سَفَقَة, صَفَقَة, *complosio*, according to which Schultens explains: when his joyous clapping of hands has reached its highest point (Elizabeth Smith: "while clapping the hands in the fulness of joy"), to which מְלֹאֹת is not suitable, and which ought at least to be שָׂפֶק בְּפִי. Therefore: in the fulness of his need shall he be straitened (יָצַר with the tone drawn back, for יָצַר on account of the following monosyllable, although also apocopated *futt.* follow further on in the strict future signification, according to poetic usage), by which not merely the fearful foreboding is meant, which just in the fullest overflow makes known his impending lot, but the real calamity, into which his towering prosperity suddenly changes, as ver. 22b shows: All the hands of the destitute come upon him (בָּא seq. acc.: *invadere*) to avenge on him the injustice done to the needy. It is not necessary to understand merely such as he has made destitute, it is בָּלִיִּד; the assertion is therefore general: the rich uncompassionate man becomes a defenceless prey of the proletaries.

Ver. 23. The  $\text{וַיִּשְׁלַח}$  which opens this verse (and which also occurs elsewhere, *e.g.* ch. xviii. 12, in a purely future signification), here, like  $\text{וַיִּשְׁלַח}$ , 2 Sam. v. 24 (Ew. § 333, *b*), serves to introduce the following  $\text{יִשְׁלַח}$  (it shall happen : He shall send forth) ;  $\text{וַיִּשְׁלַח}$  (*e.g.* Gen. xl. 1) frequent in the historical style, and  $\text{וַיִּשְׁלַח}$  in the prophetic, are similarly used. In order to fill his belly, which is insatiable, God will send forth against him His glowing wrath (comp. Lam. i. 13, from on high hath He sent fire into my bones), and will rain upon him into his flesh, or his plumpness (Arab. *fi lachmihi*). Thus we believe  $\text{בְּלֶחְמוֹ}$  must be understood by referring to Zeph. i. 17 ; where, perhaps not without reference to this speech of Zophar, the  $\text{בְּלֶחְמוֹ}$ , which serves to explain ver. 7, coincides with  $\text{בְּלֶחְמוֹ}$ , which serves to explain this  $\text{בְּלֶחְמוֹ}$  ; and the right meaning is not even missed by the LXX., which translates *καὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν ὡς βόλβιτα*.<sup>1</sup> A suitable thought is obtained if  $\text{לֶחֶם}$  is taken in the signification, food : He will rain upon him his food, *i.e.* what is fit for him (with *Beth* of the instrument instead of the accusative of the object), or : He will rain down (His wrath) upon him as his food (with *Beth essent.*, according to which Ew. : what can satisfy him ; Bridel : *pour son aliment* ; Renan : *en guise de pain*) ; but we give the preference to the other interpretation, because it is at once natural in this book, abounding in Arabisms, to sup-

pose for  $\text{לֶחֶם}$  the signification of the Arab.  $\text{لَحْم}$ , which is also supported in Hebrew by Zeph. i. 17 ; further, because the Targ. favours it, which transl.  $\text{בְּשִׁלְיָהּ}$ , and expositors, as Aben-Ezra and Ralbag, who interpret by  $\text{בְּבִשּׁוֹ}$  ; finally, because it gives an appropriate idea, to which Lam. i. 13 presents a commendable parallel, comp. also James v. 3, and Koran,

<sup>1</sup> This passage is translated : and their blood is poured forth as dust, *i.e.* useless rubbish (Arab. *el-ghabra*  $\text{أَلْعَبْرَة}$ ), and their flesh as filth. The form of inflection  $\text{לֶחֶם}$  is referable to  $\text{לֶחֶם}$  after the form  $\text{לֶחֶם}$ .

*Sur.* 2, 169: "those who hide what God has sent down by the Scripture, and thereby obtain a small profit, eat only fire into their belly." That *עָלַם* can be used pathetically for *עָלַי* is unmistakeably clear from ch. xxii. 2, comp. xxvii. 23, and on Ps. xi. 7; the morally indignant speech which threatens punishment, intentionally seeks after rare solemn words and darksome tones. Therefore: Upon his flesh, which has been nourished in unsympathizing greediness, God rains down, *i.e.* rain of fire, which scorches it. This is the hidden background of the lot of punishment, the active principle of which, though it be effected by human agency, is the punitive power of the fire of divine wrath. Vers. 24 sq. describe, by illustration, how it is worked out. The evil-doer fleeing before a hostile superior power, is hit in the back by the enemy's arrows; and when, having fallen, he seeks to get free from them, he is made to feel the terrors of inevitably approaching death.

Ver. 24. The two *futt.* may be arranged as in a conditional clause, like Ps. xci. 7a, comp. Amos ix. 2-4; and this is, as it seems, the mutual relation of the two expressions designed by the poet (similar to Isa. xxiv. 18): if he flee from the weapons of iron, *i.e.* the deadly weapon in the thick of the fight, he succumbs to that which is destructive by and by: the bow of brass (*נְחֹשֶׁת* poet. for *נְחָשֶׁת*, as Ps. xviii. 35, although it might also be an adj., since *eth*, as the Arab. *قوس* shows, is really a feminine termination) will pierce him through (*fut. Kal* of *חָלַף*, *חָלַף*, to press further and further, press after, here as in Judg. v. 26). The flight of the disheartened is a punishment which is completed by his being hit while fleeing by the arrow which the brazen bow with its powerful spring sends after him. In ver. 25 the Targ. reads *מִנְחָה* with *He mappie.*, and translates: he (the enemy, or God) draws (*stringit*), and it (the sword) comes out of its sheath, which is to be rejected

because יָי cannot signify *vagina*. Kimchi and most Jewish expositors interpret מִגֵּרָה by מִנְיָה; the LXX. also translates it σῶμα. To understand it according to יָי (back), of the hinder part of the body, gives no suitable sense, since the evil-doer is imagined as hit in the back, the arrow consequently as passing out at the front;<sup>1</sup> whereas the signification body is suitable, and is also made sufficiently certain by the cognate form מִיָּה. The verb שָׁלַף, however, is used as in Judg. iii. 22: he who is hit draws the arrow out, then it comes out of his body, into which it is driven deep; and the glance, i.e. the metal head of the arrow (like לֶהֱב, Judg. iii. 22, the point in distinction from the shaft), out of his gall (מִיָּה = מִרְרָה, ch. xvi. 13, so called from its bitterness, as *χολή*, *χόλος*, comp. *χλός*, *χλωρός*, from the green-yellow colour), since, as the Syriac version freely translates, his gall-bladder is burst.<sup>2</sup> Is יִהְיֶה, as a parallel word to נִצָּא, to be connected with מִמֶּרְרוֹ, or with what follows? The accentuation varies. The ordinary interpunction is וּבֶרֶךְ with *Dechi*, מִמֶּרְרוֹ *Mercha*, or more correctly *Mercha-Zinnorith*, יִהְיֶה *Rebia mugrasch* (according to which, Ew., Umbr., Vaih., Welte, Hahn, Schlottm., and Olsh. divide); מִמֶּרְרוֹ is, however, also found with *Athnach*. Although the latter mode of accentuation is only feebly supported, we nevertheless consider it as the more correct, for עָלָיו אֵמִים, in the mind of the poet, can hardly have formed

<sup>1</sup> Thus sings the warrior *Canā'an Tējār* (died about 1815) after the loss of his wife:—

“My grief for her is the grief of him whose horse is dashed in pieces in the desert.

The way is wild, and there is no help from the travellers who have hurried on before.

My groaning is like the groaning of one who, mortally wounded between the shoulders,

Will flee, and trails after him the lance that is fastened in him.”

—WEIZST.

<sup>2</sup> Abulwalid (in Kimchi) understands the red gall, i.e. the gall-bladder, מִרְרָה, after the Arabic *marāre*. If this is pierced, its contents are emptied into the lower part of the body, and the man dies.

a line of the verse. If, however, יהלך עליו אמים is now taken together, it is a matter for inquiry whether it is to be explained: he passes away, since terrors come upon him (Schult., Rosenm., Hirz., Von Gerl., Carey), or: terrors come upon him (LXX., Targ., Syr., Jer., Ramban). We consider the latter as the only correct interpretation; for if יהלך ought to be understood after ch. xiv. 20, xvi. 22, the poet would have expressed himself ambiguously, since it is at least as natural to consider אמים as the subject of יהלך, as to take אמים עליו as an adverbial clause. The former, however, is both natural according to the syntax (*vid.* Ges. § 147, a) and suitable in matter: terrors (*i.e.* of certain death to him in a short time) draw on upon him, and accordingly we decide in its favour.

- 26 *All darkness is reserved for his treasured things,  
A fire that is not blown upon devoureth him;  
It feedeth upon what is left in his tent.*
- 27 *The heavens reveal his iniquity,  
And the earth riseth up against him.*
- 28 *The produce of his house must vanish,  
Flowing away in the day of God's wrath.*
- . . . . .
- 29 *This is the lot of the wicked man from Elohim,  
And the heritage decreed for him from God.*

As in Ps. xvii. 14 God's store of earthly goods for the children of men is called צפון (צפון), so here the stores laid up by man himself are called צפוני. Total darkness, which will finally destroy them, is decreed by God against these stores of the godless, which are brought together not as coming from the hand of God, but covetously, and regardless of Him. Instead of צפון it might also have been צפון (ch. xv. 20, xxi. 19, xxiv. 1), and instead of לְצפוני also לְצפוני (Deut. xxxiii. 19); but צפון is, as ch. xl. 13 shows, better suited

to darkness (on account of the כ, this dull-toned *muta*, with which the word begins). כְּלֹחֶשֶׁת signifies sheer darkness, as in Ps. xxxix. 6, בְּלֹהֶבֶל, sheer nothingness; Ps. xlv. 14, בְּלִכְבוֹדָהּ, sheer splendour; and perhaps Isa. iv. 5, בְּלִכְבוֹד, sheer glory. And the thought, expressed with somewhat of a play upon words, is, that to the *θησαυρίζειν* of the godless corresponds a *θησαυρίζειν* of God, the Judge (Rom. ii. 5; James v. 3): the one gathers up treasures, and the other nothing but darkness, to which at an appointed season they shall be surrendered. The תִּאֲכֹלֶהוּ which follows is regarded by Ges. as *Piel* instead of תִּאֲכָלֶהוּ, but such a resolving of the characteristic sharpened syllable of *Piel* is unsupportable; by Hirz., Olsh. § 250, *b*, as *Pual* instead of תִּאֲכֹלֶהוּ, but אָכַל signifies to be eaten, not (so that it might be connected with an accusative of the obj.) to get to eat; by Ew., Hupf., as *Kal* for תִּאֲכֹלֶהוּ, which is possible both from the letters and the matter (*vid.* on Ps. xciv. 20); but more correctly it is regarded as *Poel*, for such *Poel* forms from strong roots do occur, as שָׂפַח (*vid.* on ch. ix. 15), and that the *Cholem* of these forms can be shortened into *Kametz-chatuph* is seen from וְרָשָׁע, Ps. cix. 10 (*vid. Psalter in loc.*)<sup>1</sup> The *Poel* is in the passage before us the intensive of *Kal*: a fire which is not blown upon shall eat him up. By this translation נֹפֵחַ is equivalent to נִפְחָה, since attention is given to the gender of אִישׁ in the verb immediately connected with it, but it is left out of consideration in the verbs נִפַח and יִרַע which stand further from it, which Olshausen thinks doubtful; there are,

<sup>1</sup> Such a contraction is also presented in the readings תִּרְצֶהוּ, Ps. lxii. 4; כִּלְשֵׁנִי, Ps. ci. 5; and יִחַלְקֶם, 1 Chron. xxiii. 6, xxiv. 3. All these forms are not resolved forms of *Piel* (Ges., Berth., Olsh. § 248, *a*), but contracted forms of *Poel* with *Kametz-chatuph* instead of *Cholem*. תִּרְתֹּלֶהוּ, ch. xiii. 9, is not a resolved form of *Piel*, but a non-synocopated *rtiphil*. [It should be observed that the *Chateph-Kametz* in "*uedorschu*" above and at p. 153 is used as an unmistakeable sign of the *ö*.—Tr.]

however, not a few examples which may be adduced in favour of it, as 1 Kings xix. 11, Isa. xxxiii. 9; comp. Ges. § 147, rem. 1. Certainly the relative clause **לֹא נִפְחָה** may also be explained by supplying **בָּהּ**: into which one has not blown, or that one has not blown on (Symm., Theod., *ἀνευ φυσήματος*): both renderings are possible, according to Ezek. xxii. 20, 22; but since the masc. **יָרֵעַ** follows, having undoubtedly **שֶׁ** as its subject, we can unhesitatingly take the *Synallage gen.* as beginning even with **נִפְחָה**. A fire which needs no human help for its kindling and its maintenance is intended (compare on **לֹא בִיָּד**, ch. xxxiv. 20); therefore "fire of God," ch. i. 16. This fire feasts upon what has escaped (**שֶׁרִיד**, as ver. 21, ch. xviii. 19), i.e. whatever has escaped other fates, in his tent. **יָרֵעַ** (*Milel*) is *fut. apoc. Kal*; the form of writing **יָרֵעַ** (*fut. apoc. Niph.*) proposed by Olsh. on account of the change of gender, i.e. it is devoured, is to be rejected for the reason assigned in connection with **נִפְחָה**. The correct interpretation has been brought forward by Schultens.

It is not without reference to ch. xvi. 18, 19, where Job has called upon earth and heaven as witnesses, that in ver. 27 Zophar continues: "the heavens reveal his guilt, and the earth rises against him;" heaven and earth bear witness to his being an abhorrence, not worthy of being borne by the earth and shone upon by the light of heaven; they testify this, since their powers from below and above vie with one another to get rid of him. **מִתְקִימָהּ** is connected closely with **לֵל** (which has *Lamed raphatum*) by means of *Mercha-Zinnorith*, and is the pausal form of the *fem. part.* **מִתְקִימָהּ**; comp. on this influence of the pause on the *penultima*, Deut. xxxii. 37.<sup>1</sup> In ver. 28, Ges., Olsh., and others translate: the produce of his

<sup>1</sup> This mode of accentuation, which is found in Codd. and is attested by grammarians (*vid. Norzi*), is grammatically more intelligible than that of our editions, which have the *Mercha* with the final syllable For



house, that which is swept together, must vanish away in the day of His wrath ; נִירוֹת *corrasæ* (*opes*), *Niph.* from נִיר. But first, the suff. is wanting to נִירוֹת ; and secondly, נִירוֹת אֵפוֹ has no natural connection in what precedes. The *Niph.* נִירוֹת in the signification *diffluentia*, derived from נָגַר, to flow away (comp. جرى, to flow), is incomparably better suited to the passage (comp. 2 Sam. xiv. 14, where Luther transl. : as water which glides away into the earth). The close of the description is similar to Isa. xvii. 11 : "In the day that thou plantedst, thou causedst it to increase, and with the morning thy seed was in flower—a harvest-heap in the day of deep wounding and deadly sorrow." So here everything that the evil-doer hoards up is spoken of as "vanishing in the day of God's wrath."

The speech now closes by summing up like Bildad's, ch. xviii. 21 : "This is the portion or inheritance of, *i.e.* the lot that is assigned or falls to, the wicked man (אָדָם רָשָׁע, a rare application of אָדָם, comp. Prov. vi. 12, instead of which אִישׁ is more usual) from Elohim, and this the heritage of his (*i.e.* concerning him) decree from God." (אָמַר אֵמַר) with an objective suff., which also occurs elsewhere of the almighty word or command of God (*vid.* on Hab. iii. 9), signifies here God's judicial arrangement or order, in this sense just as Arabic as Hebraic, for also in Arab. *amr* (plur. *awâmir*) signifies command and order.

The speech of Zophar, ch. xx., is his ultimatum, for in the third course of the controversy he takes no part. We have already seen from his first speech, ch. xi., that he is the most impassioned of the friends. His vehemence is now the less excusable, since Job in his previous speech has used the truly

while מְחַקֵּמָה, as *Milel*, is the pausal-form of the *fem. part.* *Hithpalal* for מְחַקֵּמָה (מְחַקֵּמָה) with pausal *â* instead of *ê*, it ought to be as *Milra*, a passive form ; but the *Hithpalal* has no meaning here, and is in general not firmly supported within the range of biblical Hebrew.

spiritual language of importunate entreaty and earnest warning in reply to the friends. The friends would now have done well if they had been silent, and still better if they had recognised in the sufferer the tried and buffeted servant of God, and had withdrawn their charges, which his innermost nature repudiates. But Zophar is not disposed to allow the reproach of the correction which they received to rest upon him; in him we have an illustration of the fact that a man is never more eloquent than when he has to defend his injured honour, but that he is also never more in danger of regarding the extravagant images of natural excitement as a higher inspiration, or, however, as striking justifications coming from the fulness of a superior perception. It has been rightly remarked, that in Zophar the poet describes to us one of those hot-heads who pretend to fight for religion that is imperilled, while they are zealous for their own wounded vanity. Instead of being warned by Job's threat of judgment, he seeks to thrust back his attempt at producing dismay by a similar attempt. He has nothing new to bring forward in reply to Job; the poet has skilfully understood how to turn the heart of his readers step by step from the friends, and in the same degree to gain its sympathy for Job. For they are completely spent in their one dogma; and while in Job an endless multitude of thoughts and feelings surge up one after another, their heart is as hermetically closed against every new perception and emotion. All that is new in the speech of Zophar, and in those of the friends generally, in this second course of the controversy, is, that they no longer try to lure Job on to penitence by promises, but endeavour to bring him to a right state of mind, or rather to weaken his supposedly-mad assault upon themselves, by presenting to him only the most terrible images. It is not possible to illustrate the principle that the covetous, uncompassionate rich man is torn away from his prosperity by the punishment God decrees for him, more

fearfully and more graphically than Zophar does it; and this terrible description is not overdrawn, but true and appropriate,—but in opposition to Job it is the extreme of uncharitableness which outdoes itself: applied to him, the fearful truth becomes a fearful lie. For in Zophar's mind Job is the godless man, whose rejoicing does not last long, who indeed raises himself towards heaven, but as his own dung must he perish, and to whom the sin of his unjust gain is become as the poison of the viper in his belly. The arrow of God's wrath sticks fast in him; and though he draw it out, it has already inflicted on him a deservedly mortal wound! The fire of God which has already begun to consume his possessions, does not rest until even the last remnant in his tent is consumed. The heavens, where in his self-delusion he seeks the defender of his innocence, reveal his guilt, and the earth, which he hopes to have as a witness in his favour, rises up as his accuser. Thus mercilessly does Zophar seek to stifle the new trust which Job conceives towards God, and to extinguish the faith which bursts upwards from beneath the ashes of the conflict. Zophar's method of treatment is soul-destroying; he seeks to slay that life which germinates from the feeling of death, instead of strengthening it. He does not, however, succeed; for so long as Job does not become doubtful of his innocence, the uncharitableness of the friends must be to him the thread by which he finds his way through the labyrinth of his sufferings to the God who loves him, although He seems to be angry with him.

*Job's Third Answer.*—Chap. xxi.

*Schema:* 10. 10. 10. 11. 10. 10. 5. 2.

[Then began Job, and said:]

2 *Hear, oh hear, my speech,*

*And let this be instead of your consolations.*

- 3 *Suffer me, and I will speak,  
And after I have spoken thou mayest mock.*
- 4 *As for me, then, doth my complaint concern man,  
Or wherefore should I not become impatient?*
- 5 *Turn ye to me and be astonished,  
And lay your hand upon your mouth.*
- 6 *Even if I think of it I am bewildered,  
And my flesh taketh hold on horror—:*

The friends, far from being able to solve the enigma of Job's affliction, do not once recognise the mystery as such. They cut the knot by wounding Job most deeply by ever more and more frivolous accusations. Therefore he entreats them to be at least willing to listen (שָׁמַעַי with the gerund) to his utterance (מִלָּה) respecting the unsolved enigma; then (*Waw apodosis imper.*) shall this attention supply the place of their consolations, *i.e.* be comforting to him, which their previous supposed consolations could not be. They are to bear with him, *i.e.* without interruption allow him to answer for himself (שָׁמַעַי with *Kametz* before the tone, as Jonah i. 12, comp. קָהָרִי, 1 Kings xx. 33, not as Hirz. thinks under the influence of the distinctive accent, but according to the established rule, Ges. § 60, rem. 1); then he will speak (אָמַר contrast to the "ye" in שָׁמַעַי without further force), and after he has expressed himself they may mock. It is, however, not תִּלְעִי (as Olshausen corrects), but תִּלְעִי (in a voluntative signific. = תִּלְעִי), since Job here addresses himself specially to Zophar, the whole of whose last speech must have left the impression on him of a bitter sarcasm (σαρκασμός from σαρκάζειν in the sense of ch. xix. 22b), and has dealt him the freshest deep blow. In ver. 4 שָׁמַעַי is not to be understood otherwise than as in ch. vii. 13, ix. 27, x. 1, xxiii. 2, and is to be translated "my complaint." Then the prominently placed אָנֹכִי is to be taken, after Ezek. xxxiii. 17, Ges. § 121, 3, as an emphatic

strengthening of the "my": he places his complaint in contrast with another. This emphasizing is not easily understood, if one, with Hupf., explains: *nonne hominis est querela mea*, so that ך is equivalent to ךל (which here in the double question is doubly doubtful), and ך is the sign of the cause. Schultens and Berg, who translate לך אדם *more humano*, explain similarly, by again bringing their suspicious ך *comparativum*<sup>1</sup> here to bear upon it. The ך by שׂי (if it may not also be compared with ch. xii. 8) may certainly be expected to denote those to whom the complaint is addressed. We translate: As for me, then, does my complaint concern men? The אנכי which is placed at the beginning of the sentence comes no less under the rule, Ges. § 145, 2, than § 121, 3. In general, sufferers seek to obtain alleviation of their sufferings by imploring by words and groans the pity of sympathizing men; the complaint, however, which the three hear from him is of a different kind, for he has long since given up the hope of human sympathy,—his complaint concerns not men, but God (comp. ch. xvi. 20).<sup>2</sup> He reminds them of this by asking further: or (אם), as ch. viii. 3, xxxiv. 17, xl. 9, not: and if it were so, as it is explained by Nolde contrary to the usage of the language) why (interrogative upon interrogative: *an quare*, as Ps. xciv. 9, אם הלא, *an nonne*) should not my spirit (disposition of mind, *θυμός*) be short, i.e. why should I not be short-tempered (comp. Judg. x. 16, Zech. xi. 8, with Prov. xiv. 29) = impatient? Dürr, in his *commentatio super voce* ך, 1776, 4, explains the expression *habito simul*

<sup>1</sup> In the passage from Ibn-Kissai quoted above, p. 325, Schultens, as Fleischer assures me, has erroneously read لمخالب instead of كمخالب, having been misled by the frequent failing of the upper stroke of the ك, and in general ك is never = ل, and also ل never = ك, as has been imagined since Schultens.

<sup>2</sup> An Arabian proverb says: "The perfect patience is that which allows no complaint to be uttered *ila el-chalq* against creatures (men)."

*halitus, qui iratis brevis esse solet, respectu*, but the signification breath is far from the nature of the language here; רח signifies emotional excitement (comp. ch. xv. 13), either long restrained (with ארך), or not allowing itself to be restrained and breaking out after a short time (קצר). That which causes his vexation to burst forth is such that the three also, if they would attentively turn to him who thus openly expresses it, will be astonished at it and lay their hand on their mouth (comp. ch. xxix. 9, xl. 4), *i.e.* they must become dumb in recognition of the puzzle,—a puzzle insoluble to them, but which is nevertheless not to be denied. השמו is found in Codd. and among grammarians both as *Hiph.* הִשְׁמוּ *hashammu* (Kimchi) and as *Hoph.* הִשְׁמוּ, or what is the same, הִשְׁמוּ *hōsh-shammu* (Abulwalid) with the sharpening of the first radical, which also occurs elsewhere in the *Hoph.* of this verb (Lev. xxvi. 34 sq.) and of others (Olsh. § 259, b, 260). The pointing as *Hiph.* (הִשְׁמוּ for הִשְׁמוּ) in the signification *obstupescite* is the better attested. Job himself has only to think of this mystery, and he is perplexed, and his flesh lays hold on terror. The expression is like ch. xviii. 20. The emotion is conceived of as a want arising from the subject of it, which that which produces it must as of necessity satisfy.

In the following strophe the representation of that which thus excites terror begins. The divine government does not harmonize with, but contradicts, the law maintained by the friends.

- 7 *Wherefore do the wicked live,  
Become old, yea, become mighty in power?*
- 8 *Their posterity is established before them about them,  
And their offspring before their eyes.*
- 9 *Their houses have peace without fear,  
And the rod of Eloah cometh not upon them.*
- 10 *His (the evil-doer's) bull gendereth and faileth not;*

*His cow calveth easily, and casteth not her calf.*

- 11 *They let their little ones run about as a flock,  
And their children jump about.*

The question in ver. 7 is the same as that which Jeremiah also puts forth, ch. xii. 1–3. It is the antithesis of Zophar's thesis, ch. xx. 5, and seeks the reason of the fact established by experience which had also well-nigh proved the ruin of an Asaph (Ps. lxxiii. comp. Mal. iii. 13–15), viz. that the ungodly, far from being overtaken by the punishment of their godlessness, continue in the enjoyment of life, that they attain to old age, and also a proportionately increasing power and wealth. The verb פָּחַץ, which in ch. xiv. 18, xviii. 4 (comp. the *Hiph.* ch. ix. 5, xxxii. 15), we read in the signification *promoveri*, has here, like the Arabic *'ataqa*, *'atuqa*, the signification to become old, *etate provehi*; and נָבַר חֵיל, to become strong in property, is a synonym of הִשְׁמִינָה חֵיל, to acquire constantly increasing possessions, used in a similar connection in Ps. lxxiii. 12. The first feature in the picture of the prosperity of the wicked, which the pang of being bereft of his own children brings home to Job, is that they are spared the same kind of loss: their posterity is established (נָכַן, *constitutus*, elsewhere standing in readiness, ch. xii. 5, xv. 23, xviii. 12, here standing firm, as *e.g.* Ps. xciii. 2) in their sight about them (so that they have to mourn neither their loss by death nor by separation from their home), and their offspring (צִמְצִימָם, a word common only to the undisputed as well as to the disputed prophecies of Isaiah and the book of Job) before their eyes; נָכַן must be carried over to ver. 8b as predicate: they are, without any loss, before their eyes. The description passes over from the children, the corner-stones of the house (*vid.* Ges. *Thes.*, s.v. בְּנֵה), to the houses themselves. It is just as questionable here as in ch. v. 24, Isa. xli. 3, and elsewhere, whether שְׁלוֹם is a subst. (= בְּשָׁלוֹם) or an adj.; the substantival

rendering is at least equally admissible in such an elevated poetic speech, and the plur. subject בְּתִיחֶם, which, if the predicate were intended to be taken as an adj., leads one to expect שְׁלוֹמִים, decides in its favour. On כִּפְחֵר, without (far from) terrifying misfortune, as Isa. xxii. 3, מִקֶּשֶׁת, without a bow, *vid.* on ch. xix. 26. That which is expressed in ver. 9a, according to external appearance, is in ver. 9b referred to the final cause; Eloah's שֶׁבֶט, rod, with which He smites in punishment (ch. ix. 34, xxxvii. 13, comp. Isa. x. 24-26, where שֹׁט, scourge, interchanges with it), is not over them, *i.e.* threatens and smites them not.

Ver. 10 comes specially to the state of the cattle, after the state of the household in general has been treated of. Since שׂוֹר and פָּרָה are interchangeable, and are construed according to their genus, the former undoubtedly is intended of the male, not also ἐγκόλως of the female (LXX. ἡ βοῦς, Jerome, Saadia), as Rosenm., after Bochart, believes it must be taken, because עֶבֶר is never said *de mare feminam ineunte*, but always *de femina quæ concipit*. In reality, however, it is with עֶבֶר otherwise than with עֵרָה, whose *Pael* and *Aphel* certainly signify *concupere* (prop. *transmittere sc. semen* in a passive sense). On the other hand, עֶבֶר, even in *Kal*, signifies to be impregnated (whence עוֹבֵר, the embryo, and the biblical עֲבוֹר, like the extra-biblical עֲבוֹר, the produce of the land), the *Pael* consequently to impregnate, whence מְעַבֵּרָה (from the *part. pass.* מְעַבֵּר) impregnated (pregnant), the *Ilthpa.* to be impregnated, as Rabb. *Pual* מְעַבֵּרָה impregnated (by which עֲבֵרָה also signifies pregnant, which would be hardly possible if עֶבֶר in this sexual sense were not radically distinct from עֶבֶר, περ-âv). Accordingly the Targ. translates עֲבֵר by מבטן (*imprægnans*), and Gecatilia translates שׂוֹר by فحلهم (*admissarius eorum*), after which nearly all Jewish expositors explain. This explanation also suits יָעַל, which LXX. translates οὐκ ὠμωτόκησε (Jer. *non abortivit*), Symm. in a like



sense οὐκ ἐξέτρωσε, Aq. οὐκ ἐξέβαλε, Saad. *la julziq*. The reference of שורו to the female animal everywhere assumed is incorrect; on the contrary, the bullock kept for breeding is the subject; but proceeding from this, that which is affirmed is certainly referred to the female animal. For נָעַל signifies to cast out, cast away; the *Hiph.* therefore: to cause to cast out; Rabb. in the specified signification: so to heat what has sucked in that which is unclean, that it gives it back or lets it go (למלוט הבלות). Accordingly Raschi explains: "he injects not useless seed into her, which might come back and be again separated (נפלט) from her inward part, without impregnation taking place." What therefore עֵבֶר says positively, ולא ינעיל says negatively: *neque efficit ut ejiciat*.<sup>1</sup> It is then further, in ver. 9b, said of the female animal which has been impregnated that she does not allow it to glide away, i.e. the fruit, therefore that she brings forth (פֶּלֶט as מַלֵּט, הַמַּלֵּט), and that she does not cause or suffer any untimely birth.

At the end of the strophe, ver. 11, the poet with delicate tact makes the sufferer, who is become childless, return to the joy of the wicked in the abundance of children. שִׁמְחָה signifies here, as Isa. xxxii. 20, to allow freedom for motion and exercise. On עֵיִל, *vid.* on ch. xvi. 11, xix. 18. It has a similar root (عَالَ, *alere*) to the Arab. 'ajjil (collect. 'ijāl), servants, but not a similar meaning. The subj. to ver. 12 are not the children, but the "wicked" themselves, the happy fathers of the flocks of children that are let loose.

12 *They raise their voice with the playing of timbrel and harp,  
And rejoice at the sound of the pipe.*

<sup>1</sup> The Aruch under נָעַל quotes a passage of the Tosefta: נִתְּוִי בִּצִּים מוֹתְרִים בְּאֹכִילָה מִחוּרֹת נֶפֶשׁ הַיָּפָה תֹּאכֻלָּם (i.e. such as have fallen away from the hen from a stroke on the tail or some other cause, and which are not completely formed) are allowed as food; he may eat them who does not loathe them.

- 13 *They enjoy their days in prosperity,  
And in a moment they go down to Sheól.*
- 14 *And yet they said to God: "Depart from us!  
We desire not the knowledge of Thy ways.*
- 15 *What is the Almighty, that we should serve Him?  
And what doth it profit us that we should importune  
Him?"—*
- 16 *Lo! they have not their prosperity by their own hand,  
The thought of the wicked be far from me!*

קִלֵּם is to be supplied to יִשְׂאֵר, as in Isa. xlii. 11; and instead of בְּתֶהָף with ק of the musical accompaniment (as Ps. iv. 1, xlix. 5), it is to be read בְּתֶהָף after the Masora with Kimchi, Ramban, Ralbag, and Farisol,<sup>1</sup> but not with Rosenm. to be explained: *personant velut tympano et cythera*, but: they raise their voice as the timbrel and harp sound forth simultaneously; ק as Isa. xviii. 4 (which is to be transl.: during the clear warmth of the sunshine, during the dew-clouds in the heat of harvest). תֶּהָף (Arabic *duff*, Spanish *adufe*) is τύμπανον (τύπανον), כְּנֹזֶר (Arab. *canáre*) κυνύρα or κιθάρα (Dan. iii. 5),

עֵנֶב or עֵנֶב, ch. xxx. 31 (from עָנַב, *flare*; *vid.* on Gen. iv. 21), the Pan-pipe (Targ. from a similar root אֶבְיָבָא, whence the name of the *ambubajæ*). In ver. 13a the *Keri* gives the more usual יִכְלוּ (ch. xxxvi. 11) in place of the *Chethib* יִכְלוּ, though יִכְלוּ occurs in Isa. lxxv. 22 without this *Keri*; יִכְלוּ signifies *consumment*, and יִכְלוּ *usu deterrent*: they use up their life, enjoy it to the last drop. In connection with this one thinks of a coat

<sup>1</sup> The Masora observes לִית כּוֹחִיהָ (not occurring thus elsewhere), and accordingly this כּוֹחֵהָ is distinguished in the Masoretic נִסְכֵּן חֵד חֵד מִן חֵד חֵד (alphabetic list of words which take at one time the prefix כּ and at another the prefix בּ), from כּוֹחֵהָ, which occurs elsewhere. The Targ. has read כּוֹחֵהָ; the reading of Raschi and Aben-Ezra is questionable.

which is not laid aside until it is entirely worn out. It is therefore not, as the friends say, that the ungodly is swept away before his time (ch. xv. 32), also a lingering sickness does not hand him over to death (xviii. 13 sq.), but בָּרַנֵּעַ, in a moment (comp. ch. xxxiv. 20, not : in rest, *i.e.* freedom from pain, which בָּרַנֵּעַ never signifies), they sink down to Hades (*acc. loci*). The matter does not admit of one's deriving the *fut.* יִחַת here, as ch. xxxix. 22, xxxi. 34, from the *Niph.* of the verb חָתַח, *terrore percelli*; it is to be referred to חָתַח or נָחַח (Aram. for נָחַח), which is the only certain example of a Hebrew verb *Pe Nun* ending with ח, whose *fut.* is יִחַח, Ps. xxxviii. 3, also יָחַח (Prov. xvii. 10; Jer. xxi. 13), instead of יָחַח, and in the inflexion its ח (after the analogy of יָחַח, Isa. xxxiii. 12) is doubled; as an exception (*vid. Psalter*, ii. 468), the lengthening of the short vowel (יָחַח, Olsh. § 83, *b*) by *Silluk* does not take place, as *e.g.* by *Athnach*, ch. xxxiv. 5.

The *fut. consec.* יִחַח, in which ver. 14 is continued, does not here denote temporally that which follows upon and from something else, but generally that which is inwardly connected with something else, and even with that which is contradictory, and still occurring at the same time, exactly as Gen. xix. 9, 2 Sam. iii. 8, comp. Ew. § 231, *b*: they sink down after a life that is completely consumed away, without a death-struggle, into Hades, and yet they denied God, would not concern themselves about His ways (comp. the similar passage, Isa. lviii. 2), and accounted the worship of God and prayer (פָּנֵעַ, *precibus adire*) as useless. The words of the ungodly extend to ver. 15*b*; according to Hirz., Hlgt., Welte, and Hahn, ver. 16*a* resumes the description: behold, is not their prosperity in their hand? *i.e.* is it not at their free disposal? or: do they not everywhere carry it away with them? But ver. 16*b* is not favourable to this doubtful interrogative rendering of לֹא (= הִלֵּא). Schlottm. explains more correctly: behold, their prosperity is not in their power; but

by taking not only ver. 16a (like Schnurrer), but the whole of ver. 16, as an utterance of an opponent, which is indeed impossible, because the declining of all fellowship with the godless would be entirely without aim in the mouth of the opponent. For it is not the friends who draw the picture of the lot of the punishment of the godless with the most terrible lines possible, who suggest the appearance of looking wishfully towards the godless, but Job, who paints the prosperity of the godless in such brilliant colours. On the other hand, both sides are agreed in referring prosperity and misfortune to God as final cause. And for this very reason Job thinks that בָּרַךְ אֶת-הָאֱלֹהִים, which he makes the godless, in vers. 14, 15, express in their own words, so horrible.

Ver. 16a is therefore to be taken as Job's judgment, and 16b as the moral effect which it produces upon him. הוֹנֵה introduces the true relation of things; הוֹנֵה signifies, as ch. xx. 21, their prosperity; and לֹא בְיָדָם (the emphatic position of בְּיָדָם is to be observed) that this is not in *their* hand, *i.e.* arbitrary power, or perhaps better: that it is not by their own hand, *i.e.* that it is not their own work, but a gift from above, the gift even of the God whom they so shamelessly deny. That God grants them such great and lasting prosperity, is just the mystery which Job cannot help putting in its true light, but without his abhorrence of this denying of God being in the slightest degree lessened thereby. Not by their own hand, says he, do they possess such prosperity—the counsel (עֲצָתָהּ, similar to ch. v. 13, x. 3, xviii. 7: design, principle, and in general, disposition, or way of thinking) of the wicked be far from me; *i.e.* be it far from me that so I should speak according to their way of thinking, with which, on the contrary, I disavow all fellowship. The relation of the clauses is exactly like ch. xxii. 18, where this formula of detestation is repeated. הֲיִתְּנוּ is, according to the meaning, optative or precative (Ew. § 223, b, and Ges. § 126, 4\*),

which Hahn and Schlottm. think impossible, without assigning any reason. It is the *perf.* of certainty, which expresses that which is wished as a fact, but with an emotional exclamative accent. In ancient Arabic it is a rule to use the *perf.* as optative; and also still in modern Arabic (which often makes use of the *fut.* instead of the *perf.*), they say *e.g.* *la cân*, *i.e.* he must never have been! The more detestable the conduct of the prosperous towards Him to whom they owe their prosperity is, the sooner, one would think, the justice of God would be called forth to recompense them according to their deeds; but—

- 17 *How rarely is the light of the wicked put out,  
And their calamity breaketh in upon them,  
That He distributeth snares in his wrath,*
- 18 *That they become as straw before the wind,  
And as chaff which the storm sweepeth away! ?*
- 19 *“Eloah layeth up his iniquity for his children!”  
May He recompense it to him that he may feel it.*
- 20 *May his own eyes see his ruin,  
And let him drink of the glowing wrath of the Almighty.*
- 21 *For what careth he for his house after him,  
When the number of his months is cut off?*

The interrogative *כַּמֶּה* has here the same signification as in Ps. lxxviii. 40: how often (comp. ch. vii. 19, how long? xiii. 23, how many?), but in the sense of “how seldom?!” How seldom does what the friends preach to him come to pass, that the lamp of the wicked is put out (thus Bildad, ch. xviii. 5 sq.), and their misfortune breaks in upon them (*בָּא*, *ingruit*; thus Bildad, ch. xviii. 12: misfortune, *אֵי*, prop. pressure of suffering, stands ready for his fall), that He distributes (comp. Zophar’s “this is the portion of the wicked man,” *i.e.* what is allotted to him, ch. xx. 29) snares in His wrath. Hirz., Ew., Schlottm., and others, translate *חֲבִלִים*

after the precedent of the Targ. (עֲרֵבִי, *sortes*), "lots," since they understand it, after Ps. xvi. 6, of visitations of punishment allotted, and as it were measured out with a measuring-line; but that passage is to be translated, "the measuring-lines have fallen to me in pleasant places," and indeed חֶבֶל can signify the land that is allotted to one (Josh. xvii. 14, comp. 5); but the plural does not occur in that tropical sense, and if it were so intended here, חֶבְלֵיהֶם or חֶבְלִים לָהֶם might at least be expected. Rosenm., Ges., Vaih., and Carey transl. with LXX. and Jer. (ὠδίνες, *dolores*) "pains," but חֶבְלִים is the peculiar word for the writhings of those in travail (ch. xxxix. 3), which is not suited here. Schnurr. and Umbr. are nearer to the correct interpretation when they understand חֶבְלִים like פְּחִים, Ps. xi. 6, of lightning, as it were fiery strings cast down from above. If we call to mind in how many ways Bildad, ch. xviii. 8-10, has represented the end of the godless as a divinely decreed seizure, it is certainly the most natural, with Stick. and Hahn, to translate (as if it were Arabic حَبَالًا) "snares," to be understood after the idea, however, not of lightning, but generally of ensnaring destinies (*e.g.* חֶבְלֵי עֲנִי, ch. xxxvi. 8).

Both ver. 17 with its three members and ver. 18 with two, are under the control of כִּמָּה. The figure of straw, or rather chopped straw (Arab. *ṭibn*, *tabn*), occurs only here. The figure of chaff is more frequent, *e.g.* Ps. i. 4. Job here doubts the fact that is distinctly affirmed in Ps. i., being urged on by Zophar's false application and superficial comprehension of the truth expressed in the opening of the Psalter. What next follows in ver. 19a is an objection of the friends in vindication of their thesis, which he anticipates and answers; perhaps the clause is to be spoken with an interrogative accent: Eloah will—so ye object—reserve his evil for his children? אֵינִי, not from אָן, strength, wealth, as ch. xviii.

7, 12, xx. 10, xl. 16, but from רָעָה, wickedness (ch. xi. 11) and evil (ch. xv. 35), here (without making it clear which) of wickedness punishing itself by calamity, or of calamity which must come forth from the wickedness as a moral necessity [comp. on. ch. xv. 31]. That this is really the opinion of the friends: God punishes the guilt of the godless, if not in himself, at least in his children, is seen from ch. xx. 10, v. 4. Job as little as Ezekiel, ch. xviii., disputes the doctrine of retribution in itself, but that imperfect apprehension, which, in order that the necessary satisfaction may be rendered to divine justice, maintains a transfer of the punishment which is opposed to the very nature of personality and freedom: may He recompense him himself, יָרֵעַ, that he may feel it, i.e. repent (which would be in Arab. in a similar sense, *fa-ja'lamu*; יָרַע as Isa. ix. 8, Hos. ix. 7, Ezek. xxv. 14).

Ver. 20 continues in the same jussive forms; the *ἀπ. γερρ.* בִּידֹר signifies destruction (prop. a thrust, blow), in which sense the Arab. *caid* (commonly: cunning) is also sometimes used. The primary signification of the root כָּד, כָּד, is to strike, push;

from this, in the stems כָּד, *med. Wau* and *med. Je*, כָּד, כָּד, the most diversified turns and applications are developed; from it the signif. of בִּידֹר, ch. xli. 11, בִּידֹן, xxxix. 23, and according to Fleischer (*vid. supra*, pp. 263 sq.) also of בִּידֹר, are explained. Ver. 20b, as Ps. lx. 5, Obad. 16, refers to the figure of the cup of the wrath of God which is worked out by Asaph, Ps. lxxv. 9, and then by the prophets, and by the apocalyptic seer in the New Testament. The emphasis lies on the signs of the person in עֵינָיו (עֵינָיו) and יָשָׁתָהּ. The rather may his own eyes see his ruin, may he himself have to drink of the divine wrath; for what is his interest (what interest has he) in his house after him? מָה puts a question with a negative meaning (hence לֹא is directly used as *non*); תַּפְסִין, prop. inclination, corresponds exactly to the word "interest"

(*quid ejus interest*), as ch. xxii. 3, comp. Isa. lviii. 3, 13 (following his own interest), without being weakened to the signification, affair, *πρᾶγμα*, a meaning which does not occur in our poet or in Isaiah. Ver. 21*b* is added as a circumstantial clause to the question in 21*a*: while the number of his own months . . ., and the predicate, as in ch. xv. 20 (which see), is in the plur. *per attractionem*. Schnurr., Hirz., Umbr., and others explain: if the number of his months is drawn by lot, *i.e.* is run out; but *לָצֶוּ* as *v. denom.* from *לָצַו*, in the signification to shake up arrows as sticks for drawing lots (Arab. *سهم*, an arrow and a lot, just so Persic *tīr*) in the helmet or elsewhere (comp. Ezek. xxi. 26), is foreign to the usage of the Hebrew language (for *מַחֲצִיץ*, Judg. v. 11, signifies not those drawing lots, but the archers); besides, *לָצַו* (*pass. לָצַו*) would signify "to draw lots," not "to dispose of by lot," and "disposed of by lot" is an awkward metaphor for "run out." Cocceius also gives the choice of returning to *לָצַו*, *ψῆφος*, in connection with this derivation: *calculati sive ad calculum, i.e. pleno numero egressi*, which has still less ground. Better Ges., Ew., and others: if the number of his months is distributed, *i.e.* to him, so that he (this is the meaning according to Ew.) can at least enjoy his prosperity undisturbed within the limit of life appointed to him. By this interpretation one misses the *לֵב* which is wanting, and an interpretation which does not require it to be supplied is therefore to be preferred. All the divers significations of the verbs *לָצַו* (to divide, whence Prov. xxx. 27, *לָצַו*, forming divisions, *i.e.* in rank and file, *denom.* to shoot with the arrow, Talm. to distribute, to halve, to form a partition), *לָצַו* (to divide, ch. xl. 30; to divide in two equal parts), *חָצַו* (to divide, whence *حصه*, *portio*), and *חָצַו* (to separate, particularize)—to which, however, *חָצַו* (to draw, write), which Ew. compares here, does



not belong—are referable to the primary signification *scindere*, to cut through, split (whence יָרָן, an arrow, LXX. 1 Sam. xx. 20, σχιζα); accordingly the present passage is to be explained: when the number of his months is cut off (Hlgt., Hahn), or cut through, *i.e.* when a bound is set to the course of his life at which it ends (comp. יָרָן, of the cutting off of the thread of life, ch. vi. 9, xxvii. 8, Arab. مَرَم). Ch. xiv. 21 sq., Eccles. iii. 22, are parallels to ver. 21. Death is the end of all clear thought and perception. If therefore the godless receives the reward of his deeds, he should receive it not in his children, but in his own body during life. But this is the very thing that is too frequently found to be wanting.

- 22 *Shall one teach God knowledge,  
Who judgeth those who are in heaven?*  
23 *One dieth in his full strength,  
Being still cheerful and free from care.*  
24 *His troughs are full of milk,  
And the marrow of his bones is well watered.*  
25 *And another dieth with a sorrowing spirit,  
And hath not enjoyed wealth.*  
26 *They lie beside one another in the dust,  
And worms cover them both.*

The question, ver. 22, concerns the friends. Since they maintain that necessarily and constantly virtue is rewarded by prosperity, and sin by misfortune, but without this law of the divine order of the world which is maintained by them being supported by experience: if they set themselves up as teachers of God, they will teach Him the right understanding of the conduct which is to be followed by Him as a ruler and judge of men, while nevertheless He is the Absolute One, beneath whose judicial rule not merely man, but also the heavenly spirits, are placed, and to which they must conform and bow. The verb לָמַד, instead of being construed with two acc., as

in the dependent passage Isa. xl. 14, is here construed with the *dat.* of the person (which is not to be judged according to ch. v. 2, xix. 3, but according to διδάσκειν τινί τι, to teach one anything, beside the other prevailing construction). With **וְהוּא** a circumstantial clause begins regularly : while He, however, etc. Arnh. and Löwenth. translate : while, however, He exaltedly judges, *i.e.* according to a law that infinitely transcends man ; but that must have been **מְרִים** (and even thus it would still be liable to be misunderstood). Hahn (whom Olsh. is inclined to support) : but He will judge the proud, to which first the circumstantial clause, and secondly the parallels, ch. xxv. 2, xv. 15, iv. 18 (comp. Isa. xxiv. 21), from which it is evident that **רָמִים** signifies the heavenly beings (as Ps. lxxviii. 69, the heights of heaven), are opposed : it is a fundamental thought of this book, which abounds in allusions to the angels, that the angels, although exalted above men, are nevertheless in contrast with God imperfect, and therefore are removed neither from the possibility of sin nor the necessity of a government which holds them together in unity, and exercises a judicial authority over them. The rule of the all-exalted Judge is different from that which the three presumptuously prescribe to Him.

The one (*viz.* the evil-doer) dies **וּבְעֵצָהּ חַיָּו**, *in ipsa sua integritate*, like **וּבְעֵצָהּ הַיּוֹם**, *ipso illo die* ; the Arabic would be **فِي عَيْنٍ**, since there the eye, here the bone (comp. Uhlemann, *Syr. Gramm.* § 58), denote corporeality, duration, existence, and therefore identity. **חַיָּו** is intended of perfect external health, as elsewhere **חַיָּו** ; comp. **וְחַיָּוִים**, Prov. i. 12. In ver. 23b the pointing **שְׁלֵאֵן** (*adj.*) and **שְׁלֵאֵן** (3 *præt.*) are interchanged in the Codd. ; the following verbal adjective favours the form of writing with *Kametz*. As to the form, however (which Röd. and Olsh. consider to be an error in writing), it is either a mixed form from **שֵׁאֵן** and **שָׁלַו** with the blended meaning of both (Ew. § 106, c), to which the comparison with

שָׁלִי (= שָׁלִי) is not altogether suitable, or it is formed from שָׁאָן by means of an epenthesis (as זָעָה from זָעָה, *æstuaræ*, and בָּלָם, *βέλσαμον*, from בָּשָׁם), and of similar but intensified signification; we prefer the latter, without however denying the real existence of such mixed forms (*vid.* on ch. xxvi. 9, xxxiii. 25). This fulness of health and prosperity is depicted in ver. 24. The ancient translators think, because the bones are mentioned in the parallel line, עֲטִינִי must also be understood of a part of the body: LXX. ἔγκαρα, *Jer. viscera*; Targ. בָּרָחִי, his breasts, *βυζία*<sup>1</sup> (for Hebr. שָׁדַי, שָׁד); Syr. version *gabauh* (= *ganbauh*), his sides in regard to עֲטִינִי, Syr. 'attmo = אֲטִמִּי, side, hip; Saad. *audāguhu*, his jugular veins, in connection with which (not, however, by this last rendering) חֲלֵב is read instead of חֲלָב: his bowels, etc., are full of fat.<sup>2</sup> But the assumption that עֲטִינִי must be a part of the body is without satisfactory ground (comp. against it *e.g.*, ch. xx. 17, and for it xx. 11); and Schlottm. very correctly observes, that in the contrast in connection with the representation of the well-watered marrow one expects a reference to a rich nutritious drink. To this expectation corresponds

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. Handschriftliche Funde*, 2. S. V.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius in his *Thes.* corrects the אֲדָמָה which was found in Saadia's manuscript translation to אֲדָמָה, אֲדָמָה, which is intended to mean *repositoria ejus*, but is really not Arabic; whereas אֲדָמָה is the correct plur. of دَجَج: his jugular veins, which occurs not merely of horses, but also of animals and men. Saadia, with reference to the following חֲלָב, has thought of the metaphorical phrase حَلَبُ أَدَاجِه: "he has milked his jugular vein," i.e. he has, as it were, drawn the blood from his jugular veins = *eum jugulavit*, *vid. Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, p. 573: "and with the freshly milked juice of the jugular veins, viz. of the enemy (ومن حلب الأوداج), our infant ready to be weaned is nourished in the midst of the tumult of battle, as soon as he is weaned." The meaning of Saadia's translation is then: his jugular veins are filled with fresh blood, swollen with fulness of blood.—FL.

the translation: "his resting-places (*i.e.* of his flocks) are full of milk," after the Arab. <sup>عُطْن</sup> or <sup>مُعْطَن</sup>, which was not first compared by Schultens and Reiske (*epaulia*), but even by Abulwalid, Aben-Ezra, and others. But since the reference of what was intended to be said of the cattle at the watering-places to the places where the water is, possesses no poetic beauty, and the Hebrew language furnished the poet with an abundance of other words for pastures and meadows, it is from the first more probable that <sup>עֲטִינִי</sup> are large troughs,—like Talm. <sup>טַעֲטֵן</sup>, a trough, in which the unripe olives were laid in order that they might become tender and give forth oil, that they may then be ready for the oil-press (<sup>בַּר</sup>), and <sup>עָטַן</sup> denotes this laying in itself,—and indeed either milk-tubs or milk-pails (<sup>שְׁחולֵבִין לְתוֹכָן</sup>), or with Kimchi (who rightly characterizes this as more in accordance with the prosperous condition which is intended to be described), the troughs for the store of milk, which also accords better with the meaning of the verb <sup>עָטַן</sup>, to lay in, *confire*.<sup>1</sup> From the abundance of nutriment in ver. 24a, the description passes over in 24b to the well-nourished condition of the rich man himself in consequence

<sup>1</sup> The verb <sup>عُطْن</sup>, compared by the Orientals themselves with <sup>وُطْن</sup>, cognate in sound and meaning, has the primary signification to lie secure and to lay secure, as <sup>عُطْن</sup>, a resting-place of camels, sheep, and goats about the watering-places, is only specifically distinct from <sup>وُطْن</sup>, a cow-yard, cow-stall. The common generic notion is always a resting-place, wherefore the Kamus interprets '*attan*' by *wattan wa-mebrek*, viz. round about the drinking-places. <sup>مُعْطَن</sup> as *n. loci*, written *m'atén* by Barth in his *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres*, Bd. i. (*vid. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Zeitschrift*, iv. S. 275) S. 500, 517, is similar in meaning. The verb <sup>عُطْن</sup> *impf.* *j' attunu*, also *j' attina*, *n. act.* '*uttân*, a *v. intrans.*, signifies, viz. of camels, etc., to lay themselves down around the

of this abundance. כֹּחַ (Arab. مَخ, or even نَخ, as כֹּחַ = נָח, *naurag* = מֹרֶג) is the marrow in the bones, *e.g.* the spinal marrow, but also the brain as the marrow of the head (*Psychol.* p. 275). The bones (Prov. iii. 8), or as it is here more exactly expressed, their marrow, is watered, when the body is inwardly filled with vigour, strength, and health; Isaiah, ch. lviii. 11, fills up the picture more (as a well-watered garden), and carries it still further in ch. lxvi. 14 (thy bones shall blossom like a tender herb). The counterpart now follows with יָהָה (and the other, like ch. i. 16). The other (*viz.* the righteous) dies with a sorrowful soul (*comp.* Job's lament, ch. vii. 11, x. i.), *i.e.* one which is called to experience the bitterness of a suffering life; he dies and has not enjoyed בְּטוֹכָהּ, any of the wealth (with partitive *Beth*, as Ps. cxli. 4, *comp. supra*, ch. vii. 13), has had no portion in the enjoyment of it (*comp.* Job's lament, ch. ix. 25). In death they are then both, unrighteous and righteous, alike, as the Preacher saith: מָקָרָה אֶחָד comes upon the wise as upon the fool, Eccles. ii. 15, *comp.* ix. 2 sq. They lie together in the dust, *i.e.* the dust of the grave (*vid.* on ch. xix. 25), and worms cover them. What then is become of the law of retribution in the present world,

drinking-troughs, after or even before drinking from them. On the other

hand, عَطَنَ *impf. j' attinu*, also *j' attunu*, *n. act. 'attn*, a *v. trans.* used by the dresser of skins: to lay the skins in the tan or ooze (French, *confire*; low Latin, *tanare*, *tannare*, whence French, *tanner*, to tan, *tan*, the bark) until they are ready for dressing, and the hairs will easily scrape off. Hence عَطَنَ

*impf. j' attanu*, *n. act. 'attan*, a *v. intrans.* used of skins: to become tender by lying in the ooze, and to smell musty, to stink, which is then transferred to men and animals: to stink like a skin in the ooze, *comp. situs*, mould, mildew, rust.—FL. Starting from the latter signification, *macerare pellem*, Lee explains: his bottles (*viz.* made of leather); and Carey: his half-dressed skins (because the store of milk is so great that he cannot wait for the preparation of the leather for the bottles); but the former is impossible, the latter out of taste, and both are far-fetched.

which the friends maintained with such rigid pertinacity, and so regardless of the deep wound they were inflicting on Job ?

27 *Behold I know your thoughts*

*And the stratagems, with which ye overpower me !*

28 *When ye say : Where is the house of the tyrant,*

*And where the pavilions of the wicked—:*

29 *Have ye not asked those who travel,*

*Their memorable things ye could surely not disown :*

30 *That the wicked was spared in the day of calamity,*

*In the day of the outburst of wrath they were led away.*

31 *Who liketh to declare to him his way to his face ?*

*And hath he done aught, who will recompense it to him ?*

Their thoughts which he sees through, are their secret thoughts that he is such an evil-doer reaping the reward of his deeds. מְזִמָּה (which occurs both of right measures, good wise designs, Prov. v. 2, viii. 12, and of artful devices, malicious intrigues, Prov. xii. 2, xiv. 17, comp. the definition of בְּעַל מְזִמָּה, Prov. xxiv. 8) is the name he gives to the delicately developed reasoning with which they attack him ; תְּחַסֵּם

(comp. Arab. تَحَسَّس, to act harshly, violently, and over-

bearingly) is construed with עָל in the sense of forcing, with the design of overcoming. In ver. 28, which is the antecedent to ver. 29, beginning with כִּי תֹאמְרוּ (as ch. xix. 28), he refers to words of the friends like ch. viii. 22, xv. 34, xviii. 15, 21. נָדִיב is prop. the noble man, whose heart impels (נָדַב, נָדָב) him to what is good, or who is ready and willing,

and does spontaneously that which is good (נָדַב), *vid.*

*Psychol.* p. 195 ; then, however, since the notion takes the reverse way of *generosus*, the noble man (princely) by birth and station, with which the secondary notion of pride and

abuse of power, therefore of a despot or tyrant, is easily as here (parall. רָשָׁעִים, comp. עָשִׂיר, Isa. liii. 9, with the same word in the parallel) combined (just so in Isa. xiii. 2, and similarly at least above, ch. xii. 21,—an anomaly of name and conduct, which will be in the future put aside, according to Isa. xxxii. 5). It is not admissible to understand the double question as antithetical, with Wolfson, after Prov. xiv. 11; for the interrogative אֵיךְ is not appropriate to the house of the גִּבּוֹר, in the proper sense of the word. Ver. 28b, מִשְׁכְּנֹת is not an externally but internally multiplying plur.; perhaps the poet by בֵּית intends a palace in the city, and by מִשְׁכְּנֹת a tent among the wandering tribes, rendered prominent by its spaciousness and the splendour of the establishment.<sup>1</sup> Job thinks the friends reason *a priori* since they inquire thus; the permanent fact of experience is quite different, as they can learn from עֲבָרֵי דֶרֶךְ, travellers, i.e. here: people who have travelled much, and therefore are well acquainted with the stories of human destinies. The *Piel* נִבֵּר, proceeding from the radical meaning to gaze fixedly, is an *ἐναντιόσημον*, since it signifies both to have regard to, ch. xxxiv. 19, and to disown, Deut. xxxii. 27; here it is to be translated: their אֱלֹהִים ye cannot nevertheless deny, ignore (as Arab. نَكُرُ and أَنْكُرُ). אֱלֹהִים are tokens, here: remarkable things, and indeed the remarkable histories related by them; آيَاتٌ (collective plur. آيَاتٍ), signs, is also similarly used in the signification of عِبَرَةٌ, example, historical teaching.

<sup>1</sup> Although the tents regularly consist of two divisions, one for the men and another for the women, the translation "magnificent pavilion" (*Prachtzelt*), disputed by Hirz., is perfectly correct; for even in the present day a Beduin, as he approaches an encampment, knows the tent of the sheikh immediately: it is denoted by its size, often also by the lances planted at the door, and also, as is easily imagined, by the rich arrangement of cushions and carpets. *Vid.* Layard's *New Discoveries*, pp. 261 and 171.

That the וְ, ver. 30, as in ver. 28, introduces the view of the friends, and is the antecedent clause to ver. 31: *quod (si) vos dicitis, in tempora cladis per iram divinam immissæ servari et nescium futuri velut pecudem eo deduci improbum* (Böttcher, *de inf.* § 76), has in the double לְ an apparent support, which is not to be denied, especially in regard to ch. xxxviii. 23; it is, however, on account of the omission of the indispensable וְאִמָּר in this instance, an explanation which does violence to the words. The וְ, on the contrary, introduces that which the accounts of the travellers affirm. Further, the לְ in לְיוֹם indicates here not the *terminus ad quem*, but as in לְעֶרֶב, in the evening, the *terminus quo*. And the verb וְשָׁמַר, *cohibere*, signifies here to hold back from danger, as ch. xxxiii. 18, therefore to preserve uninjured. Ew. translates ver. 30b erroneously: "in the day when the floods of wrath come on." How tame would this הִנֵּבֶל, "to be led near," be! This *Hoph.* signifies elsewhere to be brought and conducted, and occurs in ver. 32, as in Isa. lv. 12 and elsewhere, of an honourable escort; here, in accordance with the connection: to be led away out of the danger (somewhat as Lot and his family by the escort of angels). At the time, when streams of wrath (עֲבִירוֹת, the overflowing of vexation = outburst of wrath, like the Arab. عُبْرَة, the overflowing of the eye = tears) go forth, they remain untouched: they escape them, as being under a special, higher protection.<sup>1</sup> Ver. 31 is commonly taken as a

<sup>1</sup> This interpretation, however, is unsatisfactory, because it does not do justice to the twofold לְ, which seems, according to ch. xxxviii. 23, to be intended to indicate the *terminus ad quem*; perhaps vers. 29 and 30 are to be transposed. If ver. 30 followed ver. 28, it would retain its natural sense as belonging to the view of the friends: "For the wicked is reserved for the day of calamity, and to a day of wrath they are led" (יִבְלֶה as Isa. liii. 7, Jer. xi. 19). Then הוּא לְקִבְרוֹת יִבְלֶה also adds a suitable echo of the contradiction in Job's mouth. Böttch. rightly calls attention to the consonance of יִבְלֶה with יִבְלֶה, and of עֲבִירוֹת with קִבְרוֹת.



reflection on the exemption of the evil-doer : God's mode of action is exalted above all human scrutiny, although it is not reconcilable with the idea of justice, ch. ix. 12, xxiii. 13. But the *יִשְׁלַם לוֹ כִּי*, who will recompense it to him, which, used of man in relation to God, has no suitable meaning, and must therefore mean : who, after God has left the evil-doer unpunished—for which, however, *הוּא עָשָׂה* would be an unsuitable expression—shall recompense him, the evil-doer? is opposed to it. Therefore, against Ew., Hirz., and Hlgt., it must with most expositors be supposed that ver. 31 is a reflection referable not to God, but to the evil-doer : so powerful is the wicked generally, that no one can oppose his pernicious doings and call him to account for them, much less that any one would venture to repay him according to his desert when he has brought anything to a completion (*הוּא עָשָׂה*, intentionally thus seriously expressed, as elsewhere of God, e.g. Isa. xxxviii. 15). In the next strophe, that which is gathered from the accounts of travellers is continued, and is then followed by a declamatory summing up.

32 *And he is brought to the grave,  
And over the tomb he still keepeth watch.*

33 *The clods of the valley are sweet to him,  
And all men follow after him,  
As they preceded him without number.*

34 *And how will ye comfort me so vainly!  
Your replies are and remain perfidy.*

During life removed at the time of dire calamity, this unapproachable evil-doer is after his death carried to the grave with all honour (*יִקָּבֵל*, comp. x. 19), and indeed to a splendid tomb; for, like *מִשְׁכְּנֹת* above, *קְבֻרוֹת* is also an amplificative plural. It is certainly the most natural to refer *יִשְׁקָר*, like *יִקָּבֵל*, to the deceased. The explanation : and over the tomb

one keeps watch (Böttch., Hahn, Röd., Olsh.), is indeed in itself admissible, since that which serves as the efficient subject is often left unexpressed (Gen. xlviii. 2; 2 Kings ix. 21; Isa. liii. 9; comp. *supra*, on ch. xviii. 18); but that, according to the prevalent usage of the language,  $\text{שָׂמַר}$  would denote only a guard of honour at night, not also in the day, and that for clearness it would have required  $\text{לַלַּיְלָה}$  instead of  $\text{לַלַּיְלָה}$ , are considerations which do not favour this explanation, for  $\text{שָׂמַר}$  signifies to watch, to be active, instead of sleeping or resting; and moreover, the placing of guards of honour by graves is an assumed, but not proved, custom of antiquity. Nevertheless,  $\text{שָׂמַר}$  might also in general denote the watchful, careful tending of the grave, and the *maqâm* (the tomb) of one who is highly honoured has, according to Moslem custom, servants (*châdimîn*) who are appointed for this duty. But though the translation "one watches" should not be objected to on this ground, the preference is to be given to a commendable rendering which makes the deceased the subject of  $\text{שָׂמַר}$ . Raschi's explanation does not, however, commend itself: "buried in his own land, he also in death still keeps watch over the heaps of sheaves." The LXX. translates similarly,  $\epsilon\pi\lambda\ \sigma\omega\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , which Jerome improperly, but according to a right sentiment, translates, *in congerie mortuorum*. For after the preceding mention of the pomp of burial,  $\text{שָׂמַר}$ , which certainly signifies a heap of sheaves in ch. v. 26, is favoured by the assumption of its signifying a sepulchral heap, with reference to which also in that passage (where interment is likewise the subject of discourse) the expression is chosen. Haji

Gaon observes that the dome ( $\text{קֶבֶר}$ ,  $\text{قَبَّة}$ , the dome and the sepulchral monument vaulted over by it)<sup>1</sup> erected over graves according to Arab custom is intended; and Aben-Ezra says,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (translated by Zenker).

that not exactly this, but in general the grave-mound formed of earth, etc., is to be understood. In reality, גִּרְשׁ (from the verb גִּרַשׁ, *cumulare*, commonly used in the Talmud and Aramaic) signifies *cumulus*, in the most diversified connections, which in Arabic are distributed among the verbs جَدَس, كَدَس, and جَدَث, especially *tumulus*, Arab. جَدَث (broader pronunciation جَذَف). If by grave-mound an actual mound with the grave upon it can be understood, a beautiful explanation is presented which accords with the preference of the Beduin for being buried on an eminence, in order that even in death he may be surrounded by his relations, and as it were be able still to overlook their encampment: the one who should have had a better lot is buried in the best place of the plain, in an insignificant grave; the rich man, however, is brought up to an eminence and keeps watch on his elevated tomb, since from this eminence as from a watch-tower he even in death, as it were, enjoys the wide prospect which delighted him so while living.<sup>1</sup> But the signification *collis* cannot be supported; גִּרְשׁ signifies the hill which is formed by the grave itself, and ver. 33 indeed directs us to the wady as the place of burial, not to the hill. But if גִּרְשׁ is the grave-mound, it is also not possible with Schlottm. to think of the pictures on the wall and images of the deceased, as they are found in the Egyptian vaults (although in ch. iii. 14 we recognised an allusion to the pyramids), for it cannot then be a גִּרְשׁ in the strict sense that is spoken of; the word ought, like the Arabic حَدَث (which the Arab. translation of the New Testament in the London Polyglott uses of the *μνημεῖον* of Jesus), with an

<sup>1</sup> "Take my bones," says an Arabian poem, "and carry them with you, wherever you go; and if ye bury them, bury them opposite your encampment! And bury me not under a vine, which would shade me, but upon a hill, so that my eye can see you!" *Vid. Ausland*, 1863, Nr. 15 (*Ein Ritt nach Transjordanien*).

obliteration of its original signification, to have been used in the general signification *sepulcrum*. This would be possible, but it need not be supposed. Job's words are the pictorial antithesis to Bildad's assertion, ch. xviii. 17, that the godless man dies away without trace or memorial; it is not so, but as may be heard from the mouth of people who have experience in the world: he keeps watch over his tomb, he continues to watch although asleep, since he is continually brought to remembrance by the monument built over his tomb. A keeping watch that no one approaches the tomb disrespectfully (Ew.), is not to be thought of.  $\text{קָרַב}$  is a relative negation of the sleep of death: he is dead, but in a certain manner he continues to live, viz. in the monument planting forward his memory, which it remains for the imagination to conceive of as a mausoleum, or weapons, or other votive offerings hung upon the walls, etc. In connection with such honour, which follows him even to and beyond death, the clods of the valley (*est ei terra levis*) are sweet ( $\text{מֶרְחָב}$  is accentuated with *Mercha*, and  $\text{לֵב}$  without *Makkeph* with little-*Rebia*) to him; and if death in itself ought to be accounted an evil, he has shared the common fate which all men after him will meet, and which all before him have met; it is the common end of all made sweet to him by the pageantry of his burial and his after-fame. Most modern expositors (Ew., Hirz., Umbr., Hlgst., Welte) understand the  $\text{יִשְׁלֹךְ}$ , which is used, certainly, not in the transitive signification: to draw after one's self, but in the intransitive: to draw towards (LXX. *ἀπελεύσεται*), as Judg. iv. 6 (*vid. Ges. Thes.*), of an imitative treading of the same way; but  $\text{קָלֹא אֶרֶץ}$  would then be an untrue hyperbole, by which Job would expose himself to the attack of his adversaries.

In ver. 34 Job concludes his speech; the *Waw* of  $\text{וְיָאֵי}$ , according to the idea (as *e.g.* the *Waw* in  $\text{וְיָאֵי}$ , Isa. xliii. 12), is an inferential *ergo*. Their consolation, which is only avail-

able on condition of penitence, is useless ; and their replies, which are intended to make him an evil-doer against the testimony of his conscience, remain <sup>לעל</sup>. It is not necessary to construe : and as to your answers, only <sup>לעל</sup> remains. The predicate stands *per attractionem* in the sing. : their answers, reduced to their true value, leave nothing behind but <sup>לעל</sup>, end in <sup>לעל</sup>, viz. באלהים, Josh. xxii. 22, perfidious sinning against God, i.e. on account of the sanctimonious injustice and uncharitableness with which they look suspiciously on him.

Job has hitherto answered the accusations of the friends, which they express in ever-increasingly terrible representations of the end of the godless, presenting only the terrible side of their dogma of the justice of God, with a steadfast attestation of his innocence, and with the ever-increasing hope of divine vindication against human accusation. In him was manifest that faith which, being thrust back by men, clings to God, and, thrust back by God Himself, soars aloft from the present wrath of God to His faithfulness and mercy. The friends, however, instead of learning in Job's spiritual condition to distinguish between the appearance and the reality in this confidence, which comes back to itself, see in it only a constant wilful hardening of himself against their exhortations to penitence. It does not confound them, that he over whom, according to their firm opinion, the sword of God's vengeance hangs, warns them of that same sword, but only confirms them still more in their conviction, that they have to do with one who is grievously self-deluded.

Zophar has painted anew the end of the evil-doer in the most hideous colours, in order that Job might behold himself in this mirror, and be astonished at himself. We see also, from the answer of Job to Zophar's speech, that the passionate excitement which Job displayed at first in opposition to the friends has given place to a calmer tone ; he has already got over the first impression of disappointed expectation, and

the more confidently certain of the infallibility of divine vindication he becomes, the more does he feel raised above his accusers. He now expects no further comfort ; careful attention to what he has to say shall henceforth be his consolation. He will also complain against and of men no more, for he has long since ceased to hope for anything for himself from men ; his vexation concerns the objective indefensibility of that which his opponents maintain as a primeval law of the divine government in the world. The maxim that godlessness always works its own punishment by a calamitous issue, is by no means supported by experience. One sees godless persons who are determined to know nothing of God, and are at the same time prosperous. It is not to be said that God treasures up the punishment they have deserved for their children. The godless ought rather to bear the punishment themselves, since the destiny of their children no longer concerns them after they have enjoyed their fill of life. That law is therefore a precept which human shortsightedness has laid down for God, but one by which, however, He is not guided. The godless who have lived prosperously all their days, and the righteous who have experienced only sorrow, share the common lot of death. One has only to ask persons who have had experience of the world : they can relate instances of notorious sinners who maintained their high position until death, and who, without being overtaken by divine judgments, and without human opposition and contradiction, were carried in honour to the grave, and their memory is immortalized by the monuments erected over their tomb. From this Job infers that the connection into which the friends bring his suffering with supposed guilt, is a false one, and that all their answers are, after all, reducible to an unjust and uncharitable judgment, by which they attack (לַיְי) God.

Job has more than once given expression to the thought,

that a just distribution of prosperity and misfortune is not to be found in the world, ch. ix. 22-24, xii. 6. But now for the first time he designedly brings it forward in reply to the friends, after he has found every form of assertion of his innocence unavailing, and their behaviour towards him with their dogma is become still more and more inconsiderate and rash. Job sins in this speech; but in order to form a correct judgment of this sinning, two things must be attended to. Job does not revel in the contradiction in which this lasting fact of experience stands to the justice of divine retribution, he had rather be ignorant of it; for he has no need of it in order, in spite of his affliction, to be able to hold fast the consciousness of his innocence. No indeed! if he thinks of this mystery he is perplexed, and shuddering comes over him, ch. xxi. 6. And when he depicts the prosperity of sinners, he expresses his horror of the sins of such prosperous men in the words: The counsel of the ungodly be far from me! (ch. xxi. 16), in order that it may not be erroneously imagined that he lusts after such prosperity.

If we compare Zophar's and Job's speeches one with another, we are obliged to say, that relatively the greater right is on the side of Job. True, the Scriptures confirm what Zophar says of the destruction of the evil-doer in innumerable passages; and this calamitous end of one who has long been prosperous and defiant, is the solution by which the Old Testament Scriptures (Ps. xxxvii. lxxiii.; Jer. xii. 1-3; Hab. i. 13-ii.) remove the stumbling-block of the mysterious phenomenon of the prosperity of the evil-doer. But if we bear in mind that this solution is insufficient, so long as that calamitous end is regarded only outwardly, and with reference to the present world,—that the solution only becomes satisfactory when, as in the book of Ecclesiastes, in reply to a similar doubt to that which Job expresses (Eccles. vii. 15, viii. 14), the end is regarded as the end of all, and as the

decision of a final judgment which sets all contradictions right,—that, however, neither Zophar nor Job know anything of a decision beyond death, but regard death itself as the end whither human destiny and divine retribution tend, without being capable of any further distinction: we cannot deny that Job is most in the right in placing the prosperous life and death of the godless as based upon the incontrovertible facts of experience, in opposition to Zophar's primeval exceptionless law of the terrible end of the godless. The speeches of Zophar and of Job are both true and false,—both one-sided, and therefore mutually supplementary. The real final end of the evil-doer is indeed none other than Zophar describes; and the temporal prosperity of the evil-doer, lasting often until death, is really a frequent phenomenon. If, however, we consider further, that Job is not able to deny the occurrence of such examples of punishment, such revelations of the retributive justice of God, as those which Zophar represents as occurring regularly and without exception; that, however, on the other hand, exceptional instances undeniably do exist, and the friends *are obliged* to be blind to them, because otherwise the whole structure of their opposition would fall in,—it is manifest that Job is nearer to the truth than Zophar. For it is truer that the retributive justice of God is often, but by far not always, revealed in the present world and outwardly, than that it always becomes manifest.

Wherein, then, does Job's sin in this speech consist? Herein, that he altogether ignores the palpably just distribution of human destinies, which does occur frequently enough. In this he becomes unjust towards his opponent, and incapable of convincing him. From it, it appears as though in the divine government there is not merely a preponderance of what is mysterious, of what is irreconcilable with divine justice, but as though justice were altogether contradicted.



The reproach with which he reproaches his opponents : Shall one teach God understanding ? is one which also applies to himself ; for when he says that God, if He punishes, must visit punishment upon the evil-doer himself, and not on his children, it is an unbecoming dictation with regard to God's doings. We should be mistaken in supposing that the poet, in ch. xxi. 19-21, brings forward a concealed contradiction to the Mosaic doctrine of retribution ; nowhere in the Old Testament, not even in the Mosaic law, is it taught, that God visits the sins of the fathers on the children, while He allows them themselves to go free, Ex. xx. 5, comp. Deut. xxiv. 16, Ezek. xviii., Jer. xxxi. 29 sq. What Job asserts, that the sinner himself must endure the punishment of his sins, not his children instead of him, is true ; but the thought lying in the background, that God does not punish where He ought to punish, is sinful. Thus here Job again falls into the error, which he must by and by penitently acknowledge and confess, of speaking unbecomingly of God : the God of the future is again vanished from him behind the clouds of temptation, and he is unable to understand and love the God of the present ; He is a mystery to him, the incomprehensibility of which causes him pain. "The joyous thought of the future, which a little before struggled forth, again vanishes, because the present, into the abyss of which he is again drawn down, has remained perfectly dark the whole time, and as yet no bridge has been revealed crossing from this side to that."

## THE THIRD COURSE OF THE CONTROVERSY.—

## CHAP. XXII.—XXVI.

*Eliphaz' Third Speech.*—Chap. xxii.*Schema*: 8. 8. 4. 6. 8. 4. 10. 10.

[Then began Eliphaz the Temanite, and said :]

2 *Is a man profitable unto God?**No, indeed! the intelligent man is profitable to himself.*3 *Hath the Almighty any profit if thou art righteous,**Or gain if thou strivest to walk uprightly?*4 *Will He reprove thee for thy fear of God,**Will He go with thee into judgment?*5 *Is not thy wickedness great,**Thine iniquities infinite?*

The verb רָבַח, in the signification to be profitable, is peculiar to the book of Job (although also רָבַח and רָבַחְתָּ elsewhere, according to its primary signification, does not differ from רָבַחְתָּ, רָבַחְתָּ, by which it is explained by Kimchi); the correct development of the notion of this verb is to be perceived from the *Hiph.*, which occurs in ver. 21 in this speech of Eliphaz (*vid. Ges. Thes.*): it signifies originally, like שָׁכַן, سَكَنَ, to rest, dwell, especially to dwell beside one another, then to become accustomed to one another (comp. שָׁכֵן, a neighbour, and سَكَنٌ, a friend, confidant), and to assist one another, to be serviceable, to be profitable; we can say both רָבַחְתִּי, I have profit, ch. xxxiv. 9, and רָבַח, it is profitable, ch. xv. 3, xxxv. 3, here twice with a personal subj., and first followed by לִי, then with the עַל, usual also elsewhere in later prose (*e.g.* טוֹב עַל, 1 Chron. xiii. 2, comp. *supra*, ch. x. 3, to be pleasant) and poetry, which gladly adopts Aramaisms (as here and Ps. xvi. 6, שָׁפַר עַל, well-

pleased), instead of ל, whence here עָלִימוֹ, as ch. xx. 23, pathetic for עָלִי. The question, which is intended as a negative, is followed by the negative answer (which establishes its negative meaning) with בִּי; מִשְׁפִּיל is, like Ps. xiv. 2, the intelligent, who wills and does what is good, with an insight into the nature of the extremes in morality, as in Prov. i. 3 independent morality which rests not merely on blind custom is called מוֹסֵר הַשֶּׁכֶל לְ. הִיָּה חֶמֶץ לְ, it is to the interest of any one (different from 1 Sam. xv. 22, *vid.* on ch. xxi. 21), and הִיָּה בָצֵעַ לְ, it is to the gain of any one (prop. the act of cutting, cutting off, *i.e.* what one pulls towards one), follow as synonyms of סָכַן. On the Aramaizing doubling of the first radical in the *Hiph.* חָתַם (instead of חָתַם), *vid.* Ges. § 67, rem. 8, comp. 3. It is translated *an lucrum (ei) si integras facias vias tuas*. The meaning of the whole strophe is mainly determined according to the rendering of הַמִּרְאָתָךְ (like הַמַּבְיִיטָךְ, ch. xxxix. 26, with *Metheg* retained, and with *Munach* by the tone-syllable of the *Dechi*; *vid.* *Psalter*, ii. 491, Anm. 1). If the suff. is taken objectively (from fear of thee), *e.g.* Hirz., we have the following line of thought: God is neither benefited by human virtue nor injured by human sin, so that when He corrects the sinner He is turning danger from himself; He neither rewards the godly because He is benefited by his piety, nor punishes the sinner because by his sinning he threatens Him with injury. Since, therefore, if God chastises a man, the reason of it is not to be found in any selfish purpose of God, it must be in the sin of the man, which is on its own account worthy of punishment. But the logical relation in which ver. 5 stands to ver. 4 does suit this: perhaps from fear of thee . . . ? no, rather because of thy many and great sins! Hahn is more just to this relation when he explains: "God has no personal harm to expect from man, so that, somewhat from fear, to prevent him from being injurious, He should have

any occasion to torment him with sufferings unjustly." But if the personal profit, which is denied, is one that grows out of the piety of the man, the personal harm, which is denied as one which God by punishment will keep far from Himself, is to be thought of as growing out of the sin of the man; and the logical relation of ver. 5 to 4 is not suited to this, for ver. 5 assigns the reason of the chastisement to the sin, and denies, as it runs, not merely any motive whatever in connection with the sin, but that the reason can lie in the opposite of sin, as it appears according to Job's assertion that, although guiltless, he is still suffering from the wrath of God.

Thus, then, the suff. of *המיראתך* is to be taken subjectively: on account of thy fear of God, as Eliphaz has used *יראתך* twice already, ch. iv. 6, xv. 4. By this subjective rendering vers. 4 and 5 form a true antithesis: Does God perhaps punish thee on account of thy fear of God? Does He go (on that account) with thee into judgment? No (it would be absurd to suppose that); therefore thy wickedness must be great (in proportion to the greatness of thy suffering), and thy misdeeds infinitely many. If we now look at what precedes, we shall have to put aside the thought drawn into vers. 2 and 3 by Ewald (and also by Hahn): whether God, perhaps with the purpose of gaining greater advantage from piety, seeks to raise it by unjustly decreed sufferings; for this thought has nothing to indicate it, and is indeed certainly false, but on account of the force of truth which lies in it (there is a decreeing of suffering for the godly to raise their piety) is only perplexing.

First of all, we must inquire how it is that Eliphaz begins his speech thus. All the exhortations to penitence in which the three exhaust themselves, rebound from Job without affecting him. Even Eliphaz, the oldest among them, full of a lofty, almost prophetic consciousness, has with the utmost solicitude allured and terrified him, but in vain. And it is the cause of God which he brings against him, or rather his

own well-being that he seeks, without making an impression upon him. Then he reminds him that God is in Himself the all-sufficient One; that no advantage accrues to Him from human uprightness, since His nature, existing before and transcending all created things, can suffer neither diminution nor increase from the creature; that Job therefore, since he remains inaccessible to that well-meant call to penitent humiliation, has refused not to benefit Him, but himself; or, what is the reverse side of this thought (which is not, however, expressed), that he does no injury to Him, only to himself. And yet in what except in Job's sin should this decree of suffering have its ground? If it is a self-contradiction that God should chastise a man because he fears Him, there must be sin on the side of Job; and indeed, since the nature of the sin is to be measured according to the nature of the suffering, great and measureless sin. This logical necessity Eliphaz now regards as real, without further investigation, by opening out this bundle of sins in the next strophe, and reproaching Job directly with that which Zophar, ch. xx. 19-21, aiming at Job, has said of the *רשע*. In the next strophe he continues, with *ב* *explic.*:

- 6 *For thou distrainedst thy brother without cause,  
And the clothes of the naked thou strippedst off.*
- 7 *Thou gavest no water to the languishing,  
And thou refusedst bread to the hungry.*
- 8 *And the man of the arm—the land was his,  
And the honourable man dwelt therein.*
- 9 *Thou sentest widows away empty,  
And the arms of the orphan are broken.*

The reason of exceeding great suffering must be exceeding great sins. Job must have committed such sins as are here cited; therefore Eliphaz directly attributes guilt to him, since he thinks thus to tear down the disguise of the hypo-

crite. The strophe contains no reference to the Mosaic law: the compassionate Mosaic laws respecting duties towards widows and orphans, and the poor who pledge their few and indispensable goods, may have passed before the poet's mind; but it is not safe to infer it from the expression. As specific Mohammedan commandments among the wandering tribes even in the present day have no sound, so the poet dare not assume, in connection with the characters of his drama, any knowledge, of the Sinaitic law; and of this he remains conscious throughout: their standpoint is and remains that of the Abrahamic faith, the primary commands (later called the ten commands of piety, *el-feláhh*) of which were amply sufficient for stigmatizing that to which this strophe gives prominence as sin. It is only the force of the connection of the matter here which gives the *futt.* which follow כִּי a retrospective meaning. הַכֵּל is connected either with the accusative of the thing which is taken as a pledge, as in the law, which meets a response in the heart, Ex. xxii. 25 sq.; or with the accus. of the person who is distrained, as here אֲחִיךָ; or, if this is really (as Bär asserts) a mistake that has gained a footing, which has Codd. and old printed editions against it, rather אֲחִיךָ. LXX., Targ., Syr., and Jer. read the word as plural. עֲרֹמִים (from עָרֹם), like *εἰς γυμνόν*, James ii. 15, *nudi* (comp. Seneca, *de beneficiis*, v. 13: *si quis male vestitum et pannosum videt, nudum se vidisse dicit*), are, according to our mode of expression, the half-naked, only scantily (*vid.* Isa. xx. 2) clothed.

Ver. 8. The man of the arm, זֶרֶעַ, is in Eliphaz' mind Job himself. He has by degrees acquired the territory far and wide for himself, by having brought down the rightful possessors by open violence (ch. xx. 19), or even by cunning and unfeeling practices, and is not deterred by any threat of a curse (ch. xv. 28): לִי הָאָרֶץ, he looked upon it as his, and his it must become; and since with his possessions his authority

increased, he planted himself firmly in it, filled it out alone, like a stout fellow who takes the room of all others away. Umbr., Hahn, and others think Job's partiality for power and rank is described in ver. 8; but both assertions read straightforward, without any intimation of co-operation. The address is here only suspended, in order to describe the man as he was and is. The all-absorbing love of self regulated his dealings. In possession of the highest power and highest rank, he was not easy of access. Widows and orphans, that they might not perish, were obliged to turn suppliantly to him. But the widows he chased away with empty hands, and the arms of the orphans were crushed. From the address a turn is also here taken to an objective utterance turned from the person addressed, intended however for him; the construction is like *מִצּוֹת יֵאָכְל*, unleavened bread is eaten, Ex. xiii. 7, according to Ew. § 295, *b*. The arms are not conceived of as stretched out for help (which would rather be *יָרָוּ*), nor as demanding back their perverted right, but the crushing of the arms, as Ps. xxxvii. 17, Ezek. xxx. 22, and frequently implies a total destruction of every power, support, and help, after the analogy of the Arabic phrase compared by Ges. in his *Thes.* pp. 268*b*, 433*b*. The arm, *זְרָעַ* (often *عَضْد* or *سَاعِد*), signifies power, ch. xl. 9, Ps. lxxvii. 16; force and violence, ver. 8, ch. xxxv. 9; self-help, and help from without, Ps. lxxxiii. 9 (comp. Ps. xlv. 4). Whatever the orphans possessed of goods, honour, and help still available, is not merely broken, it is beaten into fragments.

10 *Therefore snares are round about thee,  
And fear terrifieth thee suddenly;*

11. *Or perceivest thou not the darkness,  
And the overflow of waters, which covereth thee?*

On account of this inhuman mode of action by which he

has challenged the punishment of justice, snares are round about him (comp. Bildad's picture of this fate of the evil-doer, ch. xviii. 8-10), destruction encompasses him on every side, so that he sees no way out, and must without any escape succumb to it. And the approaching ruin makes itself known to him time after time by terrors which come suddenly upon him and disconcert him; so that his outward circumstances being deranged and his mind discomposed, he has already in anticipation to taste that which is before him. In ver. 11, **לֹא תִרְאֶה** is by no means to be taken as an eventual circumstantial clause, whether it is translated affirmatively: or darkness (covers thee), that thou canst not see; or interrogatively: or does darkness (surround thee), that thou seest not? In both cases the verb in the principal clause is wanting; apart from the new turn, which **אִי** introduces, being none, it would then have to be explained with Löwenthal: or has the habit of sinning already so dulled thy feeling and darkened thine eye, that thou canst not perceive the enormity of thy transgression? But this is a meaning forced from the words which they are not capable of; it must have been at least **אִי חֲשֵׁךְ בְּעֵינַי**, or something similar. Since **אִי חֲשֵׁךְ** (to be accented without *Makkeph* with *Mûnach*, *Dechî*) cannot form a principal clause of itself, **תִּרְאֶה** is without doubt the verb belonging to it: or (**אִי** as ch. xvi. 3) seest thou not darkness? Because, according to his preceding speeches, Job does not question the magnitude of his sufferings, but acknowledges them in all their fearfulness; therefore Hahn believes it must be explained: or shouldst thou really not be willing to see thy sins, which encompass thee as thick dark clouds, which cover thee as floods of water? The two figures, however, can only be understood of the destruction which entirely shrouds Job in darkness, and threatens to drown him. But destruction, in the sense in which Eliphaz asks if Job does not see it, is certainly



intended differently to what it was in Job's complaints. Job complains of it as being unmerited, and therefore mysterious; Eliphaz, on the other hand, is desirous that he should open his eyes that he may perceive in this darkness of sorrow, this flood of suffering, the well-deserved punishment of his heinous sins, and anticipate the worst by penitence. *לֹא חִפְּזָךְ* is a relative clause, and belongs logically also to *חִשָּׁךְ*, comp. Isa. lx. 2, where *שֶׁפַע* is also found in ver. 6 (from *שָׂפַע*, *abundare*; comp. *שָׁפַע*, ch. xx. 22). Eliphaz now insinuates that Job denies the special providence of God, because he doubts the exceptionless, just government of God. In the second strophe he has explained his affliction as the result of his uncharitableness; now he explains it as the result of his unbelief, which is now become manifest.

12 *Is not Eloah high as the heavens?*

*See but the head of the stars, how exalted!*

13 *So then thou thinkest: "What doth God know?"*

*Can He judge through the thick cloud?*

14 *Clouds veil Him that He seeth not,*

*And in the vault of heaven He walketh at His pleasure."*

Because Job has denied the distribution of worldly fortune, of outward prosperity and adversity, according to the law of the justice that recompenses like for like, Eliphaz charges him with that unbelief often mentioned in the Psalms (lxxiii. 11, xciv. 7; comp. Isa. xxix. 15, Ezek. viii. 12), which denies to the God in heaven, as Epicurus did to the gods who lead a blessed life in the spaces between the worlds, a knowledge of earthly things, and therefore the preliminary condition for a right comprehension of them. The mode of expression here is altogether peculiar. *וְנִבְּהָ שָׁמַיִם* is not *acc. loci*, as the like accusatives in combination with the verb *שָׁכַן*, Isa. lvii. 15, may be taken: the substantival clause would lead one to expect *בְּנִבְּהָ*, or better *בְּנִבְּהֵי* (ch. xi. 8); it is

rather (similar to ch. xi. 8) *nomin. prædicati*: Eloah is the height of the heavens = heaven-high, as high as the heavens, therefore certainly highly, and indeed very highly, exalted above this earth. In this sense it is continued with *Waw explic.*: and behold (= behold then) the head of the stars, that, or how (וְ as in Gen. xlix. 15, 1 Sam. xiv. 29, *quod* = *quam*) exalted they are. וְרֵאשִׁית has *Asla* (*Kadma*) in correct texts, and רָמוּ is written רָמִי (rámmu) with a so-called *Dag. affectuosum* (Olsh. § 83, b). It may be received as certain that רָשִׁית, the head (*vertex*), beside רֵאשִׁית (not קֶמֶר), does not signify the sum (Aben-Ezra). But it is questionable whether the genitive that follows רָשִׁית is *gen. partitivus*: the highest among the stars (Ew., Hirz., Schlottm.), or *gen. epezegeticus*: the head, i.e. (in relation to the rest of the universe) the height, which is formed by the stars, or even which they occupy (Ges. *cælum stellatum*); the partitive rendering is to be preferred, for the Semitic perception recognises, as the plural שָׁמַיִם implies, nearer and more distant celestial spheres. The expression "head of the stars" is therefore somewhat like *fastigium cæli* (the extreme height, i.e. the middle of the vault of heaven), or *culmen aereum* (of the æther separating the strata of air above); the summit of the stars rising up into the extremest spheres is intended (we should say: the fixed stars, or to use a still more modern expression, the milky way), as also the רָמוּ favours our taking רָשִׁית כּוֹכָבִים as one notion (*summitas astrorum* = *summa astra*).

The connection of what follows with *Waw* is not adversative (Hirz., Ew., and others: and yet thou speakest), it is rather consecutive (Hahn: and since thou speakest; better: and in consequence of this thou speakest; or: thus speakest thou, thinkest thou then). The undeniable truth that God is exalted, and indeed absolute in His exaltation, is misapplied by Job to the false conclusion: what does God know, or (since the *perf.* in interrogative sentences frequently corre-

sponds to the Latin conjunctive, *vid.* on Ps. xi. 3) how should God know, or take knowledge, *i.e.* of anything that happens on earth? In ver. 13*b* the potential takes the place of this modal perfect: can He rule judicially behind the dark clouds, *i.e.* over the world below from which He is shut out? בְּעָרָא (of like verbal origin with the Arab. بَعَدَ, *post*, prop. distance, separation, succession, but of wider use) signifies here, as in ch. i. 10, ix. 7, behind, *pone*, with the secondary notion of being encompassed or covered by that which shuts off. Far from having an unlimited view of everything earthly from His absolute height, it is veiled from Him by the clouds, so that He sees not what occurs here below, and unconcerned about it He walks the circle of the heavens (that which vaults the earth, the inhabitants of which seem to Him, according to Isa. xl. 22, as grasshoppers); הִתְהַלֵּךְ is here, after the analogy of *Kal*, joined with the accus. of the way over which He walks at His pleasure: *orbem cælum obambulat*. By such unworthy views of the Deity, Job puts himself on a par with the godless race that was swept away by the flood in ancient days, without allowing himself to be warned by this example of punishment.

- 15 *Wilt thou observe the way of the ancient world,  
Which evil men have trodden,*
- 16 *Who were withered up before their time,  
Their foundation was poured out as a stream,*
- 17 *Who said unto God: Depart from us!  
And what can the Almighty do to them?*
- 18 *And notwithstanding He had filled their houses with good—  
The counsel of the wicked be far from me!*

While in Ps. cxxxix. 24 דרך עולם prospectively signifies a way of eternal duration (comp. Ezek. xxvi. 20, עם עולם, of the people who sleep the interminably long sleep of the grave),

עֲלֵם אָרָם signifies here retrospectively the way of the ancient world, but not, as in Jer. vi. 16, xviii. 15, the way of thinking and acting of the pious forefathers which put their posterity to shame, but of a godless race of the ancient world which stands out as a terrible example to posterity. Eliphaz asks if Job will observe, *i.e.* keep (שָׁמַר as in Ps. xviii. 22), this way trodden by people (הִלְכָּה, comp. אִשְׁלָה, ch. xxxiv. 36) of wickedness. Those worthless ones were withered up, *i.e.* forcibly seized and crushed, הִשְׁחָה, when it was not yet time (אֲלֵא after the manner of a circumstantial clause: *quum nondum*, as Ps. cxxxix. 16), *i.e.* when according to God's creative order their time was not yet come. On שָׁמַר,<sup>1</sup> *vid.* on ch. xvi. 8; LXX. correctly, *συνελήφθησαν ἄνθρωποι*, nevertheless *συλλαμβάνειν* is too feeble as a translation of שָׁמַר; for as תִּבֵּשׁ signifies to take with the tip of the finger, whereas תִּבֵּשׂ signifies to take with the whole bent hand, so שָׁמַר, in conformity to the dull, emphatic final consonant, signifies "to bind firmly together." In ver. 16b שָׁמַר is not *perf.* *Pual* for שָׁמַר (Ew. § 83, b), for this exchange, contrary to the character of the form, of the sharp form with the lengthened form is without example; it must at least have been written שָׁמַר (comp. Judg. xviii. 29). It is *fut. Hoph.*, which, according to ch. xi. 15, might be שָׁמַר; here, however, it is with a resolving, not assimilation, of the *Jod*, as in Lev. xxi. 10. The *fut.* has the signification of the imperfect which it acquires in an historic connection. It is not to be translated: their place became a stream which has flowed away (Hirz.), for the הָיָה which would be required by such an interpretation could not be omitted; also not: *flumen effusum est in fundamentum eorum* (Rosenm., Hahn, and others), which would be לִיסְדָם, and would still be very liable to be misunderstood; also not: whose foundation was a poured-out stream (Umbr., Olsh.), for then

<sup>1</sup> This שָׁמַר, according to the Masora, is the middle word of the book of Job (חֲצִי הַסֵּפֶר).

there would be one attributive clause inserted in the other; but: their solid ground became fluid like a stream (Ew., Hlgst., Schlottm.), so that נָהָר, after the analogy of the verbs with two accusatives, Ges. § 139, 2, is a so-called second acc. of the obj. which by the passive becomes a nominative (comp. ch. xxviii. 2), although it might also be an apposition of the following subj. placed first: a stream (as such, like such a one) their solid ground was brought into a river; the ground on which they and their habitations stood was placed under water and floated away: without doubt the flood is intended; reference to this perfectly accords with the patriarchal pre- and extra-Israelitish standpoint of the book of Job; and the generation of the time of the flood (דור המבול) is accounted in the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament as a paragon of godlessness, the cotemporaries of Noah are the ἀπειθεύοντες, סוררים, κατ' ἐξοχήν (comp. 1 Pet. iii. 20 with Ps. lxxviii. 19).

Accordingly they are now here also further described (ver. 17) as those who said to God, "Depart from us," and what could the Almighty do to them (לָמוֹ instead of לָנוּ, which was to be expected, since, as in ch. xix. 28, there is a change from the *oratio directa* to *obliqua*)! Olshausen explains with Hahn: "with respect to whom thou sayest: and what then does the Almighty do to them (for it)? He fills their houses with prosperity, while the counsel of the wicked is far from me (notwithstanding I am unfortunate)." But this explanation is as forced (since ומה without אמרת or תאמר standing with it is taken as the word of Job) as it is contrary to the syntax (since the circumstantial clause with מהו is not recognised, and on the other hand תַּעֲזֹב וְנָ, instead of which it ought at least to have been וְנָמְנִי וְנָ, is regarded as such an one). No indeed, just this is an exceedingly powerful effect, that Eliphaz describes those godless ones who dismiss God with סור סמנ, to whom, according to Job's assertion, ch. xxi. 13

sq., undimmed prosperity is portioned out, by referring to a memorable fact as that which has fallen under the strict judgment of God; and that with the very same words with which Job, ch. xxi. 16, declines communion with such prosperous evil-doers: "the counsel of the wicked be far from me," he will have nothing more to do, not with the wicked alone, but, with a side glance at Job, even with those who place themselves on a level with them by a denial of the just government of God in the world. לֹא יִשְׁלַח, as the following circumstantial clause shows, is intended like Ps. lxviii. 29, comp. xxxi. 20, Isa. xxvi. 12: how can the Almighty then help or profit them? Thus they asked, while He had filled their houses with wealth—Eliphaz will have nothing to do with this contemptible misconstruction of the God who proves himself so kind to those who dwell below on the earth, but who, though He is rewarded with ingratitude, is so just. The truly godly are not terrified like Job, ch. xvii. 8, that retributive justice is not to be found in God's government of the world; on the contrary, they rejoice over its actual manifestation in their own case, which makes them free, and therefore so joyous.

- 19 *The righteous see it and rejoice,  
And the innocent mock at them:*  
20 " *Verily our opponent is destroyed,  
And the fire hath devoured their abundance.*"

This thought corresponds to that expressed as a wish, hope, or anticipation at the close of many of the Psalms, that the retributive justice of God, though we may have to wait a long time for it, becomes at length the more gloriously manifest to the joy of those hitherto innocently persecuted, Ps. lviii. 11 sq. The obj. of לְעוֹלָם, as in Ps. cvii. 42, is this its manifestation. לְעוֹלָם is not an ethical dative, as in Ps. lxxx. 7, but as in Ps. ii. 4 refers to the ungodly whose mocking pride

comes to such an ignominious end. What follow in ver. 20 are the words of the godly; the introductory *לֹא־אֵל* is wanting, as *e.g.* Ps. ii. 3. *לֹא־אֵל* can signify neither *si non*, as ch. ix. 24, xxiv. 25, xxxi. 31, nor *annon*, as in a disjunctive question, ch. xvii. 2, xxx. 25; it is affirmative, as ch. i. 11, ii. 5, xxxi. 36—an Amen to God's peremptory judgment. On *נִכְחַר* (he is drawn away, put aside, become annulled), *vid. supra*, p. 282. *קִטְט* (for which *Aben-Ezra* is also acquainted with the reading *קִטְט* with *קטן*, *i.e.* *צירי*) has a pausal *á* springing from *é*, as ch. xx. 27, *מִתְקַדֵּם* for *מִתְקַדֵּם*; Ruth iii. 2, *מִדְעָתָי*; Isa. xlvii. 10, *רָאִי* (together with the reading *רָאִי*, comp. 1 Chron. xii. 17, *לִרְמֹתַי*). The correction *קִטְט* is unnecessary: the form *קִים* is softened from *קִים*, as *עִיר* (city) from *עִיר*, etc. (compare note on ch. xxiv. 12). *יְהִרָם* is no more to be translated their remnant (*Hirz.*) here than in Ps. xvii. 14, at least not in the sense of Ex. xxiii. 11; that which exceeds the necessity is intended, their surplus, their riches. It is said of Job in *b. Megilla*, 28a: *אִיבֵי וְהָרָן בְּמִטְוִיָּה הָיָה*, he was extravagant (*prodigus*) with his property. The fire devouring the wealth of the godless is an allusion to the misfortune which has befallen him.

After this terrible picture, Eliphaz turns to the exhortation of him who may be now perhaps become ripe for repentance.

- 21 *Make friends now with Him, so hast thou peace ;  
Thereby good will come unto thee.*
- 22 *Receive now teaching from His mouth,  
And place His utterances in thy heart.*
- 23 *If thou returnest to the Almighty, thou shalt be built up  
again ;  
If thou puttest away iniquity far from thy tents.*
- 24 *And lay by in the dust the gold ore,  
And under the pebbles of the brooks the gold of Ophir.*

25 *So shall the Almighty be to thee gold ore in abundance,  
And silver to thee of the brightest lustre.*

The relationship of the verbs *שָׁכַן*, *שָׁבַח*, and *שָׁכַן* has been already discussed on ver. 2: the *Hiph.* signifies to be on friendly terms with any one; to enter into, or to stand in, an intimate relationship to any one (Ps. cxxxix. 3); then also (as the Greek *φιλῆν*) to get accustomed to, to be used to (Num. xxii. 30). The second *imper.* is consecutive, as e.g. Prov. iii. 4: and have as the result of it peace (Arab. *فاسلم*) = so shalt thou have peace, Ges. § 130, 2. In ver. 21 the first thing to be done is to clear up the form *תְּבוֹאֲתֶךָ* or (according to another reading which is likewise well attested) *תְּבוֹאֲתֶךָ*. Olshausen (in Hirz. and in his *Gramm.*) and Rödiger (in *Thes.* p. 11, *suppl.*) explain this form the same as the other forms which come under consideration in connection with it, viz. *תְּבוֹאֲתָהּ* (*veniat*), Deut. xxxiii. 16, and *תְּבוֹאֲתִי*, *Keri* *et venisses*, addressed to Abigail, 1 Sam. xxv. 34, as errors in writing; whereas Ew., § 191, c, sees in *תְּבוֹאֲתֶךָ* the form *תְּבוֹאֲתָהּ* = *תְּבוֹאֲתָהּ* furnished with a superfluous feminine termination, in *תְּבוֹאֲתָהּ* an extension of the double feminine by the unaccented *ah* of intention, and in *תְּבוֹאֲתִי* a transfer of the inflexion of the perf. to the fut. Confining ourselves to the form which occurs here, we refer to what was said above, p. 187, note 2: *תְּבוֹאֲתָהּ* is not a *forma mixta* from *תְּבוֹאֲתָהּ* and *תְּבוֹאֲתֶךָ*, but the double feminine *תְּבוֹאֲתָהּ* furnished with suff., the *ah* of which, although the tone is on the *penult.*, is not *He voluntativum*, as Isa. v. 19, but *He femin.* The exception of such double feminines is made as certain in Hebrew by the regular form *תְּבוֹלֶתָהּ* (= *תְּבוֹלֶתָהּ* with a second feminine termination), and by examples like Prov. i. 20, Ezek. xxiii. 20, and also Josh. vi. 17, 2 Sam. i. 26, Amos iv. 3 (comp. even



Olsh. in his *Gramm.* S. 449), as the double plural and its further formation by a feminine termination in Arabic. It is therefore unnecessary, with Olsh. and Röd., after the precedent of the ancient versions, to read תְּבִיאָתְךָ (which is found in 19 Codd. in de Rossi): *proventus tuus bonus erit*. The suff. in תְּבִיאָתְךָ, as Isa. lxiv. 4, Ezek. xxxiii. 18, comp. תְּבִיאָתְךָ, Isa. xxxviii. 16, is intended as neuter, as the fem. is used elsewhere (e.g. Isa. xxxviii. 16, תְּבִיאָתְךָ): by it, i.e. by such conduct, good (prosperity) shall come to thee, and indeed, as the וְהָיָה construed with the acc. implies, in a sudden change of thy previous lot, coming about without any further effort on thy part. In the certainty that it is God's word which he presents to his friend (the very certainty which Eliphaz also expresses elsewhere, e.g. ch. xv. 11), he further admonishes him (ver. 22) to receive instruction from God's mouth (מִפִּי as Prov. ii. 6), and to allow His (God's) utterances a place in his heart, not to let them die away without effect, but to imprint them deeply on his mind.

Ver. 23. If he return to the Almighty (עַל־יְהוָה as freq., e.g. Isa. xix. 22, comp. xlv. 24, instead of the otherwise usual לַיהוָה, of thorough and complete conversion), he will be built up again, by his former prosperity being again raised from its ruins. בְּנֶה, to build, always according to the connection, has at one time the idea of building round about, continuing to build, or finishing building (*vid.* on ch. xx. 19); at another of building up again (ch. xii. 14; Isa. lviii. 12), referred to persons, the idea of increasing prosperity (Mal. iii. 15), or of the restoration of ruined prosperity (Jer. xxiv. 6, xxxiii. 7), here in the latter sense. The promissory בְּנֶה is surrounded by conditional clauses, for ver. 23b (comp. ch. xi. 14) is a second conditional clause still under the government of אִם, which is added for embellishment; it opens the statement of that in which penitence must be manifested, if it is to be thorough. The LXX. translates *ἐὰν δὲ ἐπι-*

στραφῆς καὶ ταπεινώσης, i.e. תַּעֲנֶה, which Ewald considers as the original; the omission of the מֵ (which the poet otherwise in such connections has formerly heaped up, e.g. ch. viii. 5 sq., xi. 13 sq.) is certainly inconvenient. And yet we should not on that account like to give up the figure indicated in תַּבְנֶה, which is so beautiful and so suited to our poet. The statement advanced in the latter conditional clause is then continued in ver. 24 in an independent imperative clause, which the old versions regard as a promise instead of exhortation, and therefore grossly misinterpret. The Targ. translates: and place on the dust a strong city (i.e. thou shalt then, where there is now nothing but dust, raise up such), as if בָּצֵר could be equivalent to בְּצִירָתוֹ or מִבְּצֵר, — a rendering to which Saadia at least gives a turn which accords with the connection: “regard the stronghold (الْحَصْن) as dust, and account as the stones of the valleys the gold of Ophir;” better than Eichhorn: “pull down thy stronghold of violence, and demolish (הַסִּיר) the castles of thy valleys.” On the other hand, Gecatilia, who understands בָּצֵר proportionately more correctly of treasures, translates it as a promise: so shalt thou inherit treasures (دَخَائِر) more numerous than dust, and gold ore (تَبْرَا) (more than) the stones of the valleys; and again also Rosenm. (*repones præ pulvere argentum*) and Welte interpret ver. 24 as a promise; whereas other expositors, who are true to the imperative שִׁית, explain שִׁית *æstimare*, and על־עפר *pulveris instar* (Grot., Cocc., Schult., Dathe, Umbr.), by falsely assigning to על here, as to ל elsewhere, a meaning which it never has anywhere; how blind, on the other hand, since the words in their first meaning, *pone super pulverem*, furnish an excellent thought which is closely connected with the admonition to rid one’s self of unjust possessions. בָּצֵר, like תֵּבֶר (by which Abulwalid explains it), is gold and silver ore, i.e. gold and silver as they are broken out of the mine, there

fore (since silver is partially pure, gold almost pure, and always containing more or less silver) the most precious metal in its pure natural state before being worked, and consequently also unalloyed (comp. *نَصِير* and *نَصَار*, which likewise signifies *aurum argentumve nativum*, but not *ab excidendo*, but *a nitore*); and "to lay in the dust" is equivalent to, to part with a thing as entirely worthless and devoid of attraction. The meaning is therefore: put away from thee the idol of precious metal with contempt (comp. Isa. ii. 20), which is only somewhat differently expressed in the parallel: lay the Ophir under the quartz (*בָּצֹר* agreeing with *בָּצֹר*) of the brooks (such as is found in the beds of empty wādys), i.e. place it under the rubble, after it has lost for thee its previous bewitching spell. As cloth woven from the filaments of the nettle is called muslin, from Mossul, and cloth with figures on it "damask, *דָּמֶשֶׁק*" (Amos iii. 12), from Damascus,<sup>1</sup> and aloes-wood *מִנְדֹל*, from Coromandel; so the gold from Ophir, i.e. from the coast of the *Abhira*, on the north coast of the Runn (Old Indian *Irina*, i.e. Salt Sea), east of the mouth of the Indus,<sup>2</sup> is directly called *אֹפִיר*. When Job thus casts from him temporal things, by the excessive cherishing of which he has hitherto sinned, then God himself will be his imperishable treasure, his everlasting higher delight. He frees himself from temporal *בָּצֹר*; and the Almighty, therefore the absolute personality of God himself, will be to him instead of it *בָּצֹרִים*, gold as from the mine, in

<sup>1</sup> We leave it undecided whether in a similar manner silk has its name *μίτρα* (*μάρτα*), Armenian *metaks*, Aramaic *מִטְכַּס*, *מִטְכֶּסֶן*, from Damascus (Ewald and Friedr. Müller).

<sup>2</sup> Thus *אֹפִיר* has been explained by Lassen in his pamphlet *de Penapotamia*, and his *Indische Alterthumskunde* (i. 539). The LXX. (*Cod. Vat.*) and Theodot. have *Σωφίρ*, whence Ges. connects Ophir with Arrian's *Οὔπταρα* and Edrisi's *Sufāra* in Guzerat, especially since *Sofr* is attested as the Coptic name for India. The matter is still not settled.

rich abundance. This is what the contrast of the *plur.* (בְּצֶדֶק without *Jod plur.* is a false reading) with the *sing.* implies; the LXX., Syriac version, Jerome, and Arabic version err here, since they take the בִּי of בְּצֶדֶק as a preposition.

The ancient versions and lexicographers furnish no explanation of חֲתָמָה. The Targ. translates it חֲקִיף רִכָּה, and accordingly it is explained by both חֶסֶן (strength) and נְבָה (height), without any reason being assigned for these significations. In the passage before us the LXX. transl. ἀργύριον πεπυρωμένον from עָר, in the Targum signification to blow, forge; the Syriac version, *argentum computationum* (חֲשֹׁבֵנִי), from עָר in the Targum-Talmudic signification to double (= Hebr. כָּפַל). According to the usage of the language as we know it, עָר, from the *Hiph.* of which חֲתָמָה is formed, signifies to become feeble, to be wearied; but even if, starting from the primary notion, an available signification is attained for the passage before us (fatigues = toilsome excitement, synon. עָרָה) and Ps. xciv. 4 (climbings = heights), the use of the word in the most ancient passages citable, Num. xxiii. 22, xxiv. 8, לֹא בְּתִיגָהּ רִאִים לוֹ, still remains unexplained; for here the notion of being incapable of fatigue, invincibility, or another of the like kind, is required, without any means at hand for rightly deriving it from עָר, to become feeble, especially as the radical signification *anhelare* supposed by Gesenius (comp. מָאָה from the root מָאָה) is unattested. Accordingly, we must go back to the root עָר, עָר, discussed on Ps. xciv. 4, which signifies to rise aloft, to be high, and from which עָרָה, or with a transposition of the consonants עָרָה (comp. עָרָה and עָרָה), acquires the signification of standing out, rising radiantly, shining afar off, since עָרָה, to become weary, is allied to the Arab. عَف, *fut. i*; this עָרָה (עָרָה), on the other hand, to عَف, *ascendere, adolescere, elatum, adultum esse*, and عَف, *eminere*, and tropically *completum, perfectum esse*. Thus we obtain the signification *eminentie* for חֲתָמָה. In Ps. xciv. 4, as a

numerical plur., it signifies the towerings (tops) of the mountains, and here, as in the passages cited from Numbers, either prominent, eminent attributes, or as an intensive plur. excellence; whence, agreeing with Ewald, we have translated "silver of the brightest lustre" (comp. *פָּעֶה*, *eminentia*, *splendor*, Ezek. xxviii. 7).

- 26 *For then thou shalt delight thyself in the Almighty,  
And lift up thy countenance to Eloah;*  
27 *If thou prayest to Him, He will hear thee,  
And thou shalt pay thy vows.*  
28 *And thou devisest a plan, and it shall be established to thee,  
And light shineth upon thy ways.*  
29 *If they are cast down, thou sayest, "Arise!"  
And him that hath low eyes He saveth.*  
30 *He shall rescue him who is not guiltless,  
And he is rescued by the purity of thy hands.*

*וְכֵן* might also be translated "then indeed" (*vid.* on ch. xi. 15), as an emphatic resumption of the promissory *וְהָיָה* (*tum erit*), ver. 25; but what follows is really the confirmation of the promise that God will be to him a rich recompense for the earthly treasures that he resigns; therefore: for then thou shalt delight thyself in the Almighty (*vid.* the primary passage, Ps. xxxvii. 4, and the dependent one, Isa. lviii. 14; comp. *infra*, ch. xxvii. 10), *i.e.* He will become a source of highest, heartfelt joy to thee (*עַל* just as interchanging with *בְּ* by *שָׂמַח*). Then shall he be able to raise his countenance, which was previously depressed (*נִפְּלִי*, Gen. iv. 6 sq.), in the consciousness of his estrangement from God by dearly cherished sin and unexpiated guilt, free and open, confident and joyous, to God. If he prays to Him (*וְהָיָה* may be thus regarded as the antecedent of a conditional clause, like *וְיָבִיחַ*, ch. xx. 24), He will hear him; and what he has vowed in prayer he will now, after that which he sup-

plicated is granted, thankfully perform; the *Hiph.* הִעֲתִיר (according to its etymon: to offer the incense of prayer) occurs only in Ex. viii.-x. beside this passage, whereas נָתַר (to cut in pieces, cut off) occurs here for the first time in the signification, to decide, resolve, which is the usual meaning of the word in the later period of the language. On וְהִנֵּי (with *Pathach*, according to another reading with *Kametz-chatuph*), *vid.* Ges. § 47, rem. 2. Moreover, the paratactic clauses of ver. 28 are to be arranged as we have translated them; קָם signifies to come to pass, as freq. (*e.g.* Isa. vii. 7, in connection with הָיָה, to come into being). That which he designs (אֲמָר) is successful, and is realized, and light shines upon his ways, so that he cannot stumble and does not miss his aim,—light like moonlight or morning light; for, as the author of the introductory Proverbs, to which we have already so often referred as being borrowed from the book of Job (comp. ch. xxi. 24 with Prov. iii. 8), ingeniously says, ch. iv. 18: “The path of the righteous is as the morning light (בָּאוֹר נֹרָה, comp. Dan. vi. 20), which shineth brighter and brighter unto the height of day (*i.e.* noonday brightness).”

Ver. 29. הִשְׁפִּילוּ refers to דָּרְכָיו; for if it is translated: in case they lower (Schlottm., Renan, and others), the suff. is wanting, and the thought is halting. As הִשְׁפִּיל signifies to make low, it can also signify to go down (Jer. xiii. 18), and said of ways, “to lead downwards” (Rosenm., Ew., Hahn). The old expositors go altogether astray in ver. 29a, because they did not discern the exclamative idea of וַיֵּן. The noun וַיֵּן—which is formed from the verb וָנָה = נָאָה, as נָאָה, arrogance, Prov. viii. 13; נָהָה, healing, Prov. xvii. 22; נָהָה, mitigation, Nah. iii. 19 (distinct from נָהָה, the body, the fem. of נָהָה), without the necessity of regarding it as syncopated from נָאָה (Olsh. § 154, b), as נָשָׂא, 1 Sam. i. 17, from נָשָׂא—does not here signify pride or haughtiness, as in ch. xxxiii. 17, Jer. xiii. 17, but signifies adverbially *sursum* (therefore synon. of

סָלָה, which, being formed from סָל, *elevatio*, with *He* of direction and *Dag. forte implic.*, as הָרָה, הָרָה = *paddannah, harrah*,—perhaps, however, it is to be read directly סָלָה, with *He fem.*,—is likewise a substantive made directly into an adverb, like הָרָה: suppose that (יָ = *éan*, as אָ = *ei*) thy ways lead downwards, thou sayest: on high! *i.e.* thy will being mighty in God, thy confidence derived from the Almighty, will all at once give them another and more favourable direction: God will again place in a condition of prosperity and happiness,—which יִשָּׁלֶה (defectively written; LXX.: *σώσει*; Jer. and Syr., however, reading יִשָּׁלֶה: *salvabitur*), according to its etymon, Arab. سَجَّ, signifies,—him who has downcast eyes (LXX. *κύφοντα ὀφθαλμοίς*).

Ver. 30. It may seem at first sight, that by יָצִיק, the not-guiltless (יָצִיק = יָצִיק = יָצִיק, *e.g.* Isa. xl. 29, 2 Chron. xiv. 10, Ges. § 152, 1), Eliphaz means Job himself in his present condition; it would then be a mild periphrastic expression for “the guilty, who has merited his suffering.” If thou returnest in this manner to God, He will—this would be the idea of ver. 30a—free thee, although thy suffering is not undeserved. Instead now of proceeding: and thou shalt be rescued on account of the purity of thy hands, *i.e.* because thou hast cleansed them from wrong, Eliphaz would say: and this not-guiltless one will be rescued, *i.e.* thou, the not-guiltless, wilt be rescued, by the purity of thy hands. But one feels at once how harsh this synallage would be. Even Hirzel, who refers ver. 30a to Job, refers 30b to some one else. In reality, however, another is intended in both cases (Ew., Schlottm., Hahn, Olsh.); and ver. 30a is just so arranged as to be supplemented by בָּבִיר בָּבִיר, ver. 30b. Even

<sup>1</sup> In Rabbinic also this abbreviated negative is not יָ (as Dukes and Geiger point it), but according to the traditional pronunciation, אֵי, *e.g.* יָאֵי (impossible).

old expositors, as Seb. Schmid and J. H. Michaelis, have correctly perceived the relation: *liberabit Deus et propter puritatem manuum tuarum alios, quos propria innocentia ipsos deficiens non esset liberatura*. The purity of the hands (Ps. xviii. 21) is that which Job will have attained when he has put from him that which defiles him (comp. ch. ix. 30 with xvii. 9). Hirzel has referred to Matt. vi. 33 in connection with vers. 24 sq.; one is here reminded of the words of our Lord to Peter, Luke xxii. 32: *σύ ποτὲ ἐπιστρέψας στήριξον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου*. Eliphaz, although unconsciously, in these last words expresses prophetically what will be fulfilled in the issue of the history in Job himself.

The speech of Eliphaz opens the third course of the controversy. In the first course of the controversy the speeches of the friends, though bearing upon the question of punishment, were embellished with alluring promises; but these promises were incapable of comforting Job, because they proceeded upon the assumption that he is suffering as a sinner deserving of punishment, and can only become free from his punishment by turning to God. In the second course of the controversy, since Job gave no heed to their exhortations to penitence, the friends drew back their promises, and began the more unreservedly to punish and to threaten, by presenting to Job, in the most terrifying pictures of the ruin of the evil-doer, his own threatening destruction. The misconstruction which Job experiences from the friends has the salutary effect on him of rooting him still more deeply in the hope that God will not let him die without having borne witness to his innocence. But the mystery of the present is nevertheless not cleared up for Job by this glimpse of faith into the future. On the contrary, the second course of the controversy ends so, that to the friends who unjustly and uncharitably deny instead of solving the mystery of his individual lot, Job now presents that which



is mysterious in the divine distribution of human fortune in general, the total irreconcilableness of experience with the idea of the just divine retribution maintained by them. In that speech of his, ch. xxi., which forms the transition to the third course of the controversy, Job uses the language of the doubter not without sinning against God. But since it is true that the outward lot of man by no means always corresponds to his true moral condition, and never warrants an infallible conclusion respecting it, he certainly in that speech gives the death-blow to the dogma of the friends. The poet cannot possibly allow them to be silent over it. Eliphaz, the most discreet and intelligent, speaks. His speech, considered in itself, is the purest truth, uttered in the most appropriate and beautiful form. But as an answer to the speech of Job the dogma of the friends itself is destroyed in it, by the false conclusion by which it is obliged to justify itself to itself. The greatness of the poet is manifest from this, that he makes the speeches of the friends, considered in themselves, and apart from the connection of the drama, express the most glorious truths, while they are proved to be inadequate, indeed perverted and false, in so far as they are designed to solve the existing mystery. According to their general substance, these speeches are genuine diamonds; according to their special application, they are false ones.

How true is what Eliphaz says, that God neither blesses the pious because he is profitable to Him, nor punishes the wicked because he is hurtful to Him; that the pious is profitable not to God, but to himself; the wicked is hurtful not to God, but himself; that therefore the conduct of God towards both is neither arbitrary nor selfish! But if we consider the conclusion to which, in these thoughts, Eliphaz only takes a spring, they prove themselves to be only the premises of a false conclusion. For Eliphaz infers from them that God rewards virtue as such, and punishes vice as

such; that therefore where a man suffers, the reason of it is not to be sought in any secondary purpose on the part of God, but solely and absolutely in the purpose of God to punish the sins of the man. The fallacy of the conclusion is this, that the possibility of any other purpose, which is just as far removed from self-interest, in connection with God's purpose of punishing the sins of the man, is excluded. It is now manifest how near theoretical error and practical falsehood border on one another, so that dogmatical error is really in the rule at the same time *ἀδικία*. For after Eliphaz, in order to defend the justice of divine retribution against Job, has again indissolubly connected suffering and the punishment of sin, without acknowledging any other form of divine rule but His justice, any other purpose in decreeing suffering than the infliction of punishment (from the recognition of which the right and true comfort for Job would have sprung up), he is obliged in the present instance, against his better knowledge and conscience, to distort an established fact, to play the hypocrite to himself, and persuade himself of the existence of sins in Job, of which the confirmation fails him, and to become false and unjust towards Job even in favour of the false-dogma. For the dogma demands wickedness in an equal degree to correspond to a great evil, unlimited sins to unlimited sufferings. Therefore the former wealth of Job must furnish him with the ground of heavy accusations, which he now expresses directly and unconditionally to Job. He whose conscience, however, does not accuse him of mammon-worship, ch. xxxi. 24 sq., is suffering the punishment of a covetous and compassionless rich man. Thus is the dogma of the justice of God rescued by the unjust abandonment of Job.

Further, how true is Eliphaz' condemnatory judgment against the free-thinking, which, if it does not deny the existence of God, still regards God as shut up in the heavens

without concerning himself about anything that takes place on earth! The divine judgment of total destruction came upon a former generation that had thought thus insolently of God, and to the joy of the righteous the same judgment is still executed upon evil-doers of the same mind. This is true, but it does not apply to Job, for whom it is intended. Job has denied the universality of a just divine retribution, but not the special providence of God. Eliphaz sets retributive justice and special providence again here in a false correlation. He thinks that, so far as a man fails to perceive the one, he must at once doubt the other,—another instance of the absurd reasoning of their dogmatic one-sidedness. Such is Job's relation to God, that even if he failed to discover a single trace of retributive justice anywhere, he would not deny His rule in nature and among men. For his God is not a mere notion, but a person to whom he stands in a living relation. A notion falls to pieces as soon as it is found to be self-contradictory; but God remains what He is, however much the phenomenon of His rule contradicts the nature of His person. The rule of God on earth Job firmly holds, although in manifold instances he can only explain it by God's absolute and arbitrary power. Thus he really knows no higher motive in God to which to refer his affliction; but nevertheless he knows that God interests himself about him, and that He who is even now his Witness in heaven will soon arise on the dust of the grave in his behalf. For such utterances of Job's faith Eliphaz has no ear. He knows no faith beyond the circle of his dogma.

The exhortations and promises by which Eliphaz then (ch. xxii. 21-30) seeks to lead Job back to God are in and of themselves true and most glorious. There is also somewhat in them which reflects shame on Job; they direct him to that inward peace, to that joy in God, which he had entirely lost sight of when he spoke of the misfortune of the righteous in

contrast with the prosperity of the wicked.<sup>1</sup> But even these beautiful words of promise are blemished by the false assumption from which they proceed. The promise, the Almighty shall become Job's precious ore, rests on the assumption that Job is now suffering the punishment of his avarice, and has as its antecedent: "Lay thine ore in the dust, and thine Ophir beneath the pebbles of the brook." Thus do even the holiest and truest words lose their value when they are not uttered at the right time, and the most brilliant sermon that exhorts to penitence remains without effect when it is prompted by pharisaic uncharitableness. The poet, who in general has regarded the character of Eliphaz as similar to that of a prophet (*vid.* ch. iv. 12 sqq.), makes him here at the close of his speech against his will prophesy the issue of this controversy. He who now, considering himself as נָקִי, preaches penitence to Job, shall at last stand forth as נָקִי נָקִי, and will be one of the first who need Job's intercession as the servant of God, and whom he is able mediatorially to rescue by the purity of his hands.

<sup>1</sup> Brentius: *Prudentia carnis existimat benedictionem extrinsecus in hoc seculo piis contingere, impiis vero maledictionem, sed veritas docet, benedictionem piis in hoc seculo sub maledictione, vitam sub morte, salutem sub damnatione, e contra impiis sub benedictione maledictionem, sub vita mortem, sub salute damnationem contingere.*

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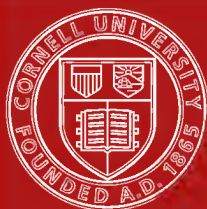


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F. DELITZSCH, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY.

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BY THE

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# THE BOOK OF JOB.



## SECOND PART.—THE ENTANGLEMENT.

### CHAP. IV.—XXVI.

#### THE THIRD COURSE OF THE CONTROVERSY.—

#### CHAP. XXII.—XXVI.

(CONTINUED.)

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*Job's First Answer.*—Chaps. xxiii. xxiv.

*Schema:* 8. 8. 8. 8. | 8. 9. 9. 9. 5. 10. 9.

[Then began Job, and said :]

- 2 *Even to-day my complaint still biddeth defiance,  
My hand lieth heavy upon my groaning.*
- 3 *Oh that I knew where I might find Him,  
That I might come even to His dwelling-place !*
- 4 *I would lay the cause before Him,  
And fill my mouth with arguments :*
- 5 *I should like to know the words He would answer me,  
And attend to what He would say to me.*

SINCE מִי (for which the LXX. reads ἐκ τοῦ χειρός μου, מִיָּד; Ew. מִיָּדוֹ, from his hand) usually elsewhere signifies obstinacy, it appears that ver. 2a ought to be explained: My complaint is always accounted as rebellion (against God); but by this rendering ver. 2b requires some sort of expletive,



in order to furnish a connecting thought: *although* the hand which is upon me stifles my groaning (Hirz.); or, according to another rendering of the על: *et pourtant mes gémissements n'égalent pas mes souffrances* (Renan, Schlottm.). These interpretations are objectionable on account of the artificial restoration of the connection between the two members of the verse, which they require; they lead one to expect וְיִי (as a circumstantial clause; LXX., *Cod. Vat. καὶ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ*). As the words stand, it is to be supposed that the definition of time, גַּמְחִיּוֹם (even to-day still, as Zech. ix. 12), belongs to both divisions of the verse. How, then, is מַרִּי to be understood? If we compare ch. vii. 11, x. 1, where מַר, which is combined with שִׁיחַ, signifies *amarum* = *amaritudo*, it is natural to take מַרִּי also in the signification *amaritudo*, *acerbitas* (Targ., Syr., Jer.); and this is also possible, since, as is evident from Ex. xxiii. 21, comp. Zech. xii. 10, the verbal forms מַרַּר and מַרָּה run into one another, as they are really cognates.<sup>1</sup> But it is more satisfactory, and more in accordance with the relation of the two divisions of the verse, if we keep to the usual signification of מַרִּי; not, however, understanding it of ob-

<sup>1</sup> מַרַּר and מַרָּה both spring from the root מַר [vid. on ch. vi. 25, xvi. 3], with the primary signification *stringere*, to beat, rub, draw tight. Hence

מַר, to touch lightly, smear upon (to go by, over, or through, to move by, etc.), but also *stringere palatum*, of an astringent taste, strong in taste,

to be bitter, opp. חָלָא, soft and mild in taste, to be sweet, as in another

direction חָלָה, to be loose, weak, sick, both from the root חָל in חָלַל, *solvit, laxavit*. From the signification to be tight come *amarra*, to stretch tight, *istamarra*, to stretch one's self tight, to draw one's self out in this state of tension—of things in time, to continue unbroken; *mirreh*, string, cord; מַרָּה, to make and hold one's self tight against any one,

i.e. to be obstinate: originally of the body, as תָּמַר, תָּמַרָּה, to strengthen themselves in the contest against one another; then of the mind, as

תָּמַרָּה, תָּמַרָּה, to struggle against anything, both outwardly by contradiction and disputing, and inwardly by doubt and unbelief.—FL.

stinacy, revolt, rebellion (viz. in the sense of the friends), בַּיִת, like כָּרָה, 2 Kings xiv. 26 (which describes the affliction as stiff-necked, obstinate), of stubbornness, defiance, continuance in opposition, and explain with Raschi: My complaint is still always defiance, *i.e.* still maintains itself in opposition, viz. against God, without yielding (Hahn, Olsh.: unsubmitting); or rather: against such exhortations to penitence as those which Eliphaz has just addressed to him. In reply to these, Job considers his complaint to be well justified even to-day, *i.e.* even now (for it is not, with Ewald, to be imagined that, in the mind of the poet, the controversy extends over several days,—an idea which would only be indicated by this one word).

In ver. 2*b* he continues the same thought under a different form of expression. My hand lies heavy on my groaning, *i.e.* I hold it immoveably fast (as Fleischer proposes to take the words); or better: I am driven to a continued utterance of it.<sup>1</sup> By this interpretation יִי retains its most natural meaning, *manus mea*, and the connection of the two members of the verse without any particle is best explained. On the other hand, all modern expositors, who do not, as Olsh., at once correct יִי into יָי, explain the suffix as objective: the hand, *i.e.* the destiny, to which I have to submit, weighs upon my sighing, irresistibly forcing it out from me. Then ver. 2*b* is related to ver. 2*a* as a confirmation; and if, therefore, a particle is to be supplied, it is כִּי (Olsh.) and no other. Thus, even the Targ. renders it כִּי־יָי, *plaga mea*. Job's affliction is frequently traced back to the hand of God, ch. xix. 21, comp. i. 11, ii. 5, xiii. 21; and on the suffix used objectively (pass.) we may compare ver. 14, חָקִי; ch. xx. 29, אֲמָרוֹ; and

<sup>1</sup> The idea might also be: My hand presses my groaning back (because it would be of no use to me); but ver. 2*a* is against this, and the Arab. *kamada*, to restrain inward pain, anger, etc. by force (*e.g.* *mât kemed*, he died from suppressed rage or anxiety), has scarcely any etymological connection with כָּבַד.

especially xxxiv. 6, יָדִי. The interpretation: the hand upon me is heavy above my sighing, *i.e.* heavier than it (Ramban, Rosenm., Ges., Schlottm., Renan), also accords with the connection. יָל can indeed be used in this comparative meaning, Ex. xvi. 5, Eccl. i. 16; but כְּבִדָּה יָד עַל is an established phrase, and commonly used of the burden of the hand upon any one, Ps. xxxii. 4 (comp. ch. xxxiii. 7, in the division in which Elihu is introduced; and the connection with אָל, 1 Sam. v. 6, and שָׁם, 1 Sam. v. 11); and this usage of the language renders the comparative rendering very improbable. But it is also improbable that "my hand" is = the hand [that is] upon me, since it cannot be shown that יָד was directly used in the sense of *plaga*; even the Arabic, among the many turns of meaning which it gives to يَد, does not support this, and least of all would an Arab conceive of يَدِي passively, *plaga quam patior*. Explain, therefore: his complaint now, as before, offers resistance to the exhortation of the friends, which is not able to lessen it, his (Job's) hand presses upon his lamentation so that it is forced to break forth, but — without its justification being recognised by men. This thought urges him on to the wish that he might be able to pour forth his complaint directly before God. מִי־יָמִין is at one time followed by an accusative (ch. xiv. 4, xxix. 2, xxxi. 31, 35, to which belongs also the construction with the inf., ch. xi. 5), at another by the *fut.*, with or without *Waw* (as here, ver. 3b, ch. vi. 8, xiii. 5, xiv. 13, xix. 23), and at another by the *perf.*, with or without *Waw* (as here, ver. 3a: *utinam noverim*, and Deut. v. 26). And יִדְעָמִי is, as in ch. xxxii. 22, joined with the *fut.*: *scirem (noverim) et invenirem* instead of *possim invenire eum* (לְמַצְאוֹ), Ges. § 142, 3, c. If he but knew [how] to reach Him (God), could attain to His throne; הִכִּינָה (everywhere from כִּן, not from תִּן) signifies the setting up, *i.e.* arrangement (Ezek. xliii. 11) or establishment (Nah. ii. 10) of a dwelling, and the thing itself which is

set out and established, here of the place where God's throne is established. Having attained to this, he would lay his cause (*instruere causam*, as ch. xiii. 18, comp. xxxiii. 5) before Him, and fill his mouth with arguments to prove that he has right on his side (תוֹכַחֲוֹת, as Ps. xxxviii. 15, of the grounds of defence, or proof that he is in the right and his opponent in the wrong). In ver. 5 we may translate: I would, or: I should like (to learn); in the Hebrew, as in *cognoscerem*, both are expressed; the substance of ver. 5a makes the optative rendering more natural. He would like to know the words with which He would meet him,<sup>1</sup> and would give heed to what He would say to him. But will He condescend? will He have anything to do with the matter?—

6 *Will He contend with me with great power?*

*No, indeed; He will only regard me!*

7 *Then the upright would be disputing with Him,*  
*And I should for ever escape my judge.*

8 *Yet I go eastward, He is not there,*  
*And westward, but I perceive Him not;*

9 *Northwards where He worketh, but I behold Him*  
*not;*

*He turneth aside southwards, and I see Him not.*

The question which Job, in ver. 6a, puts forth: will He contend with me in the greatness or fulness of His strength, *i.e.* (as ch. xxx. 18) with a calling forth of all His strength? he himself answers in ver. 6b, hoping that the contrary may be the case: no, indeed, He will not do that.<sup>2</sup> לֹא is here

<sup>1</sup> אֲרַעָה is generally accented with *Dechî*, מוֹלִים with *Munach*, according to which Dachselt interprets: *scirem, quæ eloquia responderet mihi Deus*, but this is incorrect. The old editions have correctly אֲרַעָה *Munach*, מוֹלִים *Munach* (taking the place of *Dechî*, because the *Athnach*-word which follows has not two syllables before the tone-syllable; *vid. Psalter*, ii. 104, § 4).

<sup>2</sup> With this interpretation, לֹא should certainly have *Rebia mugrasch*;

followed not by the ׀, which is otherwise customary after a negation in the signification *imo*, but by the restrictive exceptive ׀, which never signifies *sed*, sometimes *verum tamen* (Ps. xlix. 16; comp. *supra*, ch. xiii. 15, vol. i. p. 215), but here, as frequently, *tantummodo*, and, according to the hyperbaton which has been mentioned so often (vol. i. pp. 72, 238, and also 215), is placed at the beginning of the sentence, and belongs not to the member of the sentence immediately following it, but to the whole sentence (as in Arabic also

the restrictive force of the <sup>و</sup>انما never falls upon what immediately follows it): He will do nothing but regard me (רָאָה, *scil.* רָאָה, elsewhere with עַל of the object of regard or reflection, ch. xxxiv. 23, xxxvii. 15, Judg. xix. 30, and without an ellipsis, ch. i. 8; also with לָ, ch. ii. 3, or לְ, 1 Sam. ix. 20; here designedly with ׀, which unites in itself the significations of the Arab. ب and فِ, of seizing, and of plunging into anything). Many expositors (Hirz., Ew., and others) understand ver. 6b as expressing a wish: "Shall He contend with me with overwhelming power? No, I do not desire that; only that He may be a judge attentive to the cause, not a ruler manifesting His almighty power." But ver. 6a, taken thus, would be purely rhetorical, since this question (shall He, etc.) certainly cannot be seriously propounded by Job; accordingly, ver. 6b is not intended as expressing a wish, but a hope. Job certainly wishes the same thing in ch. ix. 34, xiii. 21; but in the course of the discussion he has gradually acquired new confidence in God, which here once more breaks through. He knows that God, if He could but be found, would also condescend to hear his defence of himself,

its accentuation with *Mercha* proceeds from another interpretation, probably *non utique ponet in me (manum suam)*, according to which the Targ. translates. Others, following this accentuation, take מֵלֵךְ in the sense of מֵלֵךְ (vid. in Dachselt), or are at pains to obtain some other meaning from it.

that He would allow him to speak, and not overwhelm him with His majesty.

Ver. 7. The question arises here, whether the  $\text{שׁ}$  which follows is to be understood locally ( $\text{שׁ}$ ) or temporally ( $\text{שׁ}$ ); it is evident from ch. xxxv. 12, Ps. xiv. 5, lxvi. 6, Hos. ii. 17, Zeph. i. 14, that it may be used temporally; in many passages, *e.g.* Ps. xxxvi. 13, the two significations run into one another, so that they cannot be distinguished. We here decide in favour of the temporal signification, against Rosenm., Schlottm., and Hahn; for if  $\text{שׁ}$  be understood locally, a "then" must be supplied, and it may therefore be concluded that this  $\text{שׁ}$  is the expression for it. We assume at the same time that  $\text{נֹכַח}$  is correctly pointed as *part.* with *Kametz*; accordingly it is to be explained: then, if He would thus pay attention to me, an upright man would be contending with Him, *i.e.* then it would be satisfactorily proved that an upright man may contend with Him. In ver. 7b,  $\text{בְּלִיט}$ , like  $\text{בְּלִיט}$ , ch. xx. 20 (comp.  $\text{פָּתַח}$ , to have open, to stand open), is intensive of *Kal*: I should for ever escape my judge, *i.e.* come off most completely free from unmerited punishment. Thus it ought to be if God could be found, but He cannot be found. The  $\text{יָן}$ , which according to the sense may be translated by "yet" (comp. ch. xxi. 16), introduces this antithetical relation: Yet I go towards the east ( $\text{יָן}$  with *Mahpach*,  $\text{קֶדֶם}$  with *Munach*), and He is not there; and towards the west ( $\text{אַחֲרָי}$ , comp.  $\text{אַחֲרָיִם}$ , *occidentales*, ch. xviii. 20), and perceive Him not (expressed as in ch. ix. 11;  $\text{בִּין}$  elsewhere: to attend to anything, ch. xiv. 21, Deut. xxxii. 29, Ps. lxxiii. 17; here, as there, to perceive anything, so that  $\text{לֹא}$  is equivalent to  $\text{אֵינוֹ}$ ). In ver. 9 the left ( $\text{שְׂמָאל}$ , Arab. *shimāl*, or even without the substantival termination, on which comp. *Jesurun*, pp. 222-227, *sham*, *shām*) is undoubtedly an appellation of the north, and the right ( $\text{יְמִין}$ , Arab. *jemîn*) an appellation of the

south; both words are locatives which outwardly are undefined. And if the usual significations of עֵשָׂה and עֵטָה are retained, it is to be explained thus: northwards or in the north, if He should be active—I behold not; if He veil himself southwards or in the south—I see not. This explanation is also satisfactory so far as ver. 9a is concerned, so that it is unnecessary to understand בַּעֲשָׂתוֹ other than in ch. xxviii. 26, and with Blumenfeld to translate according to the phrase עֵשָׂה יָרְכּוּ, Judg. xvii. 8: if He makes His way northwards; or even with Umbr. to call in the assistance of the Arab. غشى (to cover), which neither here nor ch. ix. 9, xv. 27, is admissible, since even then בַּעֲשָׂתוֹ שִׁמְאוֹל cannot signify: if He hath concealed himself on the left hand (in the north). Ewald's combination of עֵשָׂה with עֵטָה, in the assumed signification "to incline to" of the latter, is to be passed over as useless. On the other hand, much can be said in favour of Ewald's translation of ver. 9b: "if He turn to the right hand—I see Him not;" for (1) the Arab. عطف, by virtue of the radical notion,<sup>1</sup> which is also traceable in the Heb. עֵטָה, signifies both trans. and intrans. to turn up, bend aside; (2) Saadia translates: "and if He turns southwards ('atafa 'gunûban);" (3) Schultens correctly observes: עֵטָה *significatione operiendi commodum non efficit sensum, nam quid mirum si quem occultantem se non conspiciamus*. We therefore give the preference to this Arabic rendering of עֵטָה. If יַעֲטָה, in the sense of *obvelat se*, does not call to mind the חֲרִירִי הַמֶּן, *penetralia austri*, ch. ix. 9 (comp. خدر, *velamen, adytum*), neither will בַּעֲשָׂתוֹ

<sup>1</sup> The verb عطف signifies trans. to turn, or lay, anything round, so that it is laid or drawn over something else and covers it; hence عَظَاف, a garment that is cast round one, تَعَطَّفَ with ب of a garment: to cast it or wrap it about one. Intrans. to turn aside, depart from, of deviating from a given direction, *deflectere, declinare*; also, to turn in a totally opposite direction, to turn one's self round and to go back.—FL.

point to the north as the seat of the divine dominion. Such conceptions of the extreme north and south are nowhere found among the Arabs as among the Aryan races (*vid.* Isa. xiv. 13);<sup>1</sup> and, moreover, the conception of the north as the abode of God cannot be shown to be biblical, either from ch. xxxvii. 22, Ezek. i. 4, or still less from Ps. xlvi. 3. With regard to the syntax, *הענין* is a hypothetical *fut.*, as ch. xx. 24, xxii. 27 sq. The use of the *fut. apoc.* *היה*, like *היה*, ver. 11, without a voluntative or aoristic signification, is poetic. Towards all quarters of the heavens he turns, *i.e.* with his eyes and the longing of his whole nature, if he may by any means find God. But He evades him, does not reveal Himself in any place whatever.

The *וְ* which now follows does not give the reason of Job's earnest search after God, but the reason of His not being found by him. He does not allow Himself to be seen anywhere; He conceals Himself from him, lest He should be compelled to acknowledge the right of the sufferer, and to withdraw His chastening hand from him.

10 *For He knoweth the way that is with me :*

*If He should prove me, I should come forth as gold.*

11 *My foot held firm to His steps ;*

*His way I kept, and turned not aside.*

12 *The command of His lips—I departed not from it ;*

*More than my own determination I kept the words of His mouth.*

13 *Yet He remaineth by one thing, and who can turn Him ?*

*And He accomplisheth what His soul desireth.*

That which is not merely outwardly, but inwardly with

<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the extreme north, the abode of the gods, the habitation of life, the extreme south is among the Aryans the abode of the prince of death and of demons, *Jama* (*vid.* vol. i. p. 325) with his attendants, and therefore the habitation of death.



(ע) any one, is that which he thinks and knows (his consciousness), ch. ix. 35, xv. 9, or his willing and acting, ch. x. 13, xxvii. 11: he is conscious of it, he intends to do it; here, ver. 10, ע is intended in the former sense, in ver. 14 in the latter. The "way with me" is that which his conscience (*συνείδησις*) approves (*συμμαρτυρεῖ*); comp. *Psychol.* p. 161. This is known to God, so that he who is now set down as a criminal would come forth as tried gold, in the event of God allowing him to appear before Him, and subjecting him to judicial trial. עֲתָנִי is the *præt. hypotheticum* so often mentioned, which is based upon the paratactic character of the Hebrew style, as Gen. xliv. 22, Ruth ii. 9, Zech. xiii. 6; Ges. § 155, 4, a. His foot has held firmly<sup>1</sup> to the steps of God (אָשַׁר, together with אָשַׁר, ch. xxxi. 7, from אָשַׁר *Piel*, to go on), so that he was always close behind Him as his predecessor (אָחִי synon. אָחִי, Ps. xvii. 5, Prov. v. 5). He guarded, i.e. observed His way, and turned not aside (אָפַּח *fut. apoc. Hiph.* in the intransitive sense of *deflectere*, as e.g. Ps. cxxv. 5).

In ver. 12a, שִׁפְתָּי מְצִוֶּה precedes as *cas. absolutus* (as respects the command of His lips); and what is said in this respect follows with *Waw apod.* (= Arab. *ف*) without the retrospective pronoun מִמֶּנִּי (which is omitted for poetic brevity). On this prominence of a separate notion after the manner of an antecedent, comp. vol. i. p. 91, note 1. The *Hiph.* הִטִּישׁ, like הִטָּה, ver. 11, and הִלִּיץ, Prov. iv. 21, is not causative, but simply active in signification. In ver. 12b the question arises, whether מִן אֶחָד is one expression, as in ch. xvii. 4, in the sense of "hiding from another," or whether מִן is comparative. In the former sense Hirz. explains: I removed the divine will from the possible ascendancy of my own.

<sup>1</sup> On אָשַׁר, Carey correctly observes, and it explains the form of the expression: The oriental foot has a power of grasp and tenacity, because not shackled with shoes from early childhood, of which we can form but little idea.

But since  $\text{פִּשְׁרִי}$  is familiar to the poet in the sense of preserving and laying by ( $\text{סִימָנִים}$ , treasures, ch. xx. 26), it is more natural to explain, according to Ps. cxix. 11: I kept the words (commands) of Thy mouth, *i.e.* esteemed them high and precious, more than *my* statute, *i.e.* more than what my own will prescribed for me.<sup>1</sup> The meaning is substantially the same; the LXX., which translates ἐν δὲ κόλπῳ μου ( $\text{בְּחֶמְלִי}$ ), which Olsh. considers to be "perhaps correct," destroys the significance of the confession. Hirz. rightly refers to the "law in the members," Rom. vii. 23:  $\text{בְּחֶמְלִי}$  is the expression Job uses for the law of the sinful nature which strives against the law of God, the wilful impulse of selfishness and evil passion, the law which the apostle describes as ἑτέρος νόμος, in distinction from the νόμος τοῦ Θεοῦ (*Psychol.* p. 445). Job's conscience can give him this testimony, but He, the God who so studiously avoids him, remains in one mind, viz. to treat him as a criminal; and who can turn Him from His purpose? (the same question as ch. ix. 12, xi. 10); His soul wills it (*stat pro ratione voluntas*), and He accomplishes it. Most expositors explain *permanet in uno* in this sense; the *Beth* is the usual  $\text{בֵּת}$  with verbs of entering upon and persisting in anything. Others, however, take the  $\text{בֵּת}$  as *Beth essentialis*: He remains one and the same, viz. in His conduct towards me (Umbr., Vaih.), or: He is one, is alone, viz. in absolute majesty (Targ. Jer.; Schult., Ew., Hlgt., Schlottm.), which is admissible, since this *Beth* occurs not only in the comple-

<sup>1</sup> Wetzstein arranges the significations of  $\text{פִּשְׁרִי}$  as follows:—1. (Beduin) *intr. fut. i.* to contain one's self, to keep still (hence in Hebr. to lie in wait), to be rapt in thought; conjug. II. *c. acc. pers.* to make any one thoughtful, irresolute. 2. (Hebr.) *trans. fut. o.* to keep anything to one's self, to hold back, to keep to one's self; *Niph.* to be held back, *i.e.* either concealed or reserved for future use. Thus we see how, on the one hand,  $\text{פִּשְׁרִי}$  is related to  $\text{מָנַח}$ , *e.g.* ch. xx. 26 (Arab. *itmaanna*, to be still); and, on the other, can interchange with  $\text{פָּחַד}$  in the signification *designare* (comp. ch. xv. 22 with xv. 20, xxi. 19), and to spy, lie in wait (comp. Ps. z. 8, lvi. 7, Prov. i. 11, 18, with Ps. xxxvii. 32).

ments of a sentence (Ps. xxxix. 7, like a shadow ; Isa. xlviii. 10, after the manner of silver ; Ps. lv. 19, in great number ; Ps. xxxv. 2, as my help), but also with the predicate of a simple sentence, be it verbal (ch. xxiv. 13 ; Prov. iii. 26) or substantival (Ex. xviii. 4 ; Ps. cxviii. 7). The same construction is found also in Arabic, where, however, it is more frequent in simple negative clauses than in affirmative (*vid. Psalter*, i. 272). The assertion : He is one (as in the primary monotheistic confession, Deut. vi. 4), is, however, an expression for the absoluteness of God, which is not suited to this connection ; and if *הוּא בָּאֶחָד* is intended to be understood of the unchangeable uniformity of His purpose concerning Job, the explanation : *versatur (perstat) in uno*, Arab. *hwa fi wāhidin*, is not only equally, but more natural, and we therefore prefer it.

Here again God appears to Job to be his enemy. His confidence towards God is again overrun by all kinds of evil, suspicious thoughts. He seems to him to be a God of absolute caprice, who punishes where there is no ground for punishment. There is indeed a phase of the real fact which he considers superior to God and himself, both being conceived of as contending parties ; and this phase God avoids, He will not hear it. Into this vortex of thoughts, as terrible as they are puerile, Job is hurried forward by the persuasion that his affliction is a decree of divine justice. The friends have greatly confirmed him in this persuasion ; so that his consciousness of innocence, and the idea of God as inflicting punishment, are become widely opposite extremes, between which his faith is hardly able to maintain itself. It is not his affliction in itself, but this persuasion, which precipitates him into such a depth of conflict, as the following strophe shows.

14 *For He accomplisheth that which is appointed for me,  
And much of a like kind is with Him.*

- 15 *Therefore I am troubled at His presence ;  
If I consider it, I am afraid of Him.*
- 16 *And God hath caused my heart to be dejected,  
And the Almighty hath put me to confusion ;*
- 17 *For I have not been destroyed before darkness,  
And before my countenance, which thick darkness covereth.*

Now it is the will of God, the absolute, which has all at once turned against him, the innocent (ver. 13) ; for what He has decreed against him (חָקָה) He also brings to a complete fulfilment (הִשְׁלִים, as e.g. Isa. xlv. 26) ; and the same troubles as those which he already suffers, God has still more abundantly decreed for him, in order to torture him gradually, but surely, to death. Job intends ver. 14*b* in reference to himself, not as a general assertion: it is, in general, God's way of acting. Haln's objection to the other explanation, that Job's affliction, according to his own previous assertions, has already attained its highest degree, does not refute it ; for Job certainly has a term of life still before him, though it be but short, in which the wondrously inventive (ch. x. 16) hostility of God can heap up ever new troubles for him. On the other hand, the interpretation of the expression in a general sense is opposed by the form of the expression itself, which is not that God delights to do this, but that He purposes (עָצַב) to do it. It is a conclusion from the present concerning the future, such as Job is able to make with reference to himself ; while he, moreover, abides by the reality in respect to the mysterious distribution of the fortunes of men. Therefore, because he is a mark for the enmity of God, without having merited it, he is confounded before His countenance, which is so angrily turned upon him (comp. פָּנִים, Ps. xxi. 10, Lam. iv. 16) ; if he considers it (according to the sense *fut. hypothet.*, as ver. 9*b*), he trembles before Him, who recompenses faithful attachment by such

torturing pain. The following connection with י and the mention of God twice at the beginning of the affirmations, is intended to mean: (I tremble before Him), and He it is who has made me faint-hearted (יָדָהּ *Hiph.* from the *Kal*, Deut. xx. 3, and freq., to be tender, soft, disconcerted), and has troubled me; which is then supported in ver. 17.

His suffering which draws him on to ruin he perceives, but it is not the proper ground of his inward destruction; it is not the encircling darkness of affliction, not the mysterious form of his suffering which disconcerts him, but God's hostile conduct towards him, His angry countenance as he seems to see it, and which he is nevertheless unable to explain. Thus also Ew., Hirz., Vaih., Hlgst., and Schlottm. explain the passage. The only other explanation worthy of mention is that which finds in ver. 17 the thought already expressed in ch. iii. 10: For I was not then destroyed, in order that I might experience such mysterious suffering; an interpretation with which most of the old expositors were satisfied, and which has been revived by Rosenm., Stick., and Hahn. We translate: for I have not been destroyed before darkness (in order to be taken away from it before it came upon me), and He has not hidden darkness before my face; or as an exclamation: that I have not been destroyed! which is to be equivalent to: Had I but been . . . ! Apart from this rendering of the *quod non = utinam*, which cannot be supported, (1) It is doubly hazardous thus to carry the *ס* forward to the second line in connection with verbs of different persons. (2) The darkness in ver. 17b appears (at least according to the usual interpret. *caliginem*) as that which is being covered, whereas it is naturally that which covers something else; wherefore Blumenfeld explains: and darkness has not hidden, viz. such pain as I must now endure, from my face. (3) The whole thought which is thus gained is without point, and meaningless, in this connection. On the other hand, the antithesis

between מִפְּנֵי and מִפְּנֵי, מִפְּנֵי and מִפְּנֵי, is at once obvious; and this antithesis, which forces itself upon the attention, also furnishes the thought which might be expected from the context. It is unnecessary to take נִצְמַת in a different signification from ch. vi. 17; in Arabic صت signifies *conticescere*; the idea of the root, however, is in general a constraining depriving of free movement. חֲשֵׁךְ is intended as in the question of Eliphaz, ch. xxii. 11: "Or seest thou not the darkness?" to which it perhaps refers. It is impossible, with Schlottm., to translate ver. 17b: and before that darkness covers my face; כִּן is never other than a *præp.*, not a conjunction with power over a whole clause. It must be translated: *et a facie mea quam obtegit caligo*. As the absolute פָּנִים, ch. ix. 27, signifies the appearance of the countenance under pain, so here by it Job means his countenance distorted by pain, his deformed appearance, which, as the attributive clause affirms, is thoroughly darkened by suffering (comp. ch. xxx. 30). But it is not this darkness which stares him in the face, and threatens to swallow him up (comp. מִפְּנֵי-חֵד, ch. xvii. 12); not this his miserable form, which the extremest darkness covers (on אֶפֶל, *vid.* ch. x. 22), that destroys his inmost nature; but the thought that God stands forth in hostility against him, which makes his affliction so terrific, and doubly so in connection with the inalienable consciousness of his innocence. From the incomprehensible punishment which, without reason, is passing over him, he now again comes to speak of the incomprehensible connivance of God, which permits the godlessness of the world to go on unpunished.

Ch. xxiv. 1 *Wherefore are not bounds reserved by the Almighty,  
And they who honour Him see not His days?*

2 *They remove the landmarks,  
They steal flocks and shepherd them.*

- 3 *They carry away the ass of the orphan,  
And distraint the ox of the widow.*  
4 *They thrust the needy out of the way,  
The poor of the land are obliged to slink away together.*

The supposition that the text originally stood מִדּוֹעַ לְרָשָׁעִים is natural; but it is at once destroyed by the fact that ver. 1a becomes thereby disproportionately long, and yet cannot be divided into two lines of relatively independent contents. In fact, לְרָשָׁעִים is by no means absolutely necessary. The usage of the language assumes it, according to which עַתָּה followed by the genitive signifies the point of time at which any one's fate is decided, Isa. xiii. 22, Jer. xxvii. 7, Ezek. xxii. 3, xxx. 3; the period when reckoning is made, or even the *terminus ad quem*, Eccl. ix. 12; and יוֹם followed by the gen. of a man, the day of his end, ch. xv. 32, xviii. 20, Ezek. xxi. 30, and freq.; or with יְהוָה, the day when God's judgment is revealed, Joel i. 15, and freq. The boldness of poetic language goes beyond this usage, by using עֲתִידִים directly of the period of punishment, as is almost universally acknowledged since Schultens' day, and יְמֵי of God's days of judgment or of vengeance;<sup>1</sup> and it is the less ambiguous, since צֶפֶן, in the sense of the divine predetermination of what is future, ch. xv. 20, especially of God's storing up merited

<sup>1</sup> On עֲתִידִים, in the sense of times of retribution, Wetzstein compares the Arab. عِدَاتٌ, which signifies predetermined reward or punishment; moreover, עַתָּה is derived from עָרַת (from עָרַד), and עֲתִידִים is equivalent to עָרִידִים, according to the same law of assimilation, by which now-a-days they say לָתִי instead of לְרִתִּי (one who is born on the same day with me, from لَدَا, *lida*), and רִתִּי instead of רָדִיתִי (my drinking-time), since the assimilation of the ד takes place everywhere where ת is pronounced. The ת of the feminine termination in עֲתִידִים, as in נִשְׁתַּחֲוִית and the like, perhaps also in בָּתִּים (*bâtîm*), is amalgamated with the root.

punishment, ch. xxi. 19, is an acknowledged word of our poet. On מן with the passive, *vid.* Ew. § 295, c (where, however, ch. xxviii. 4 is erroneously cited in its favour); it is never more than equivalent to ἀπό, for to use מן directly as ὑπό with the passive is admissible neither in Hebrew nor in Arabic. ידעו (*Keri* ידעו, for which the Targ. unsuitably reads ידעי) are, as in Ps. xxxvi. 11, lxxxvii. 4, comp. *supra*, ch. xviii. 21, those who know God, not merely superficially, but from experience of His ways, consequently those who are in fellowship with Him. לא הוּו is to be written with *Zinnorith* over the לא, and *Mercha* by the first syllable of הוּו. The *Zinnorith* necessitates the retreat of the tone of הוּו to its first syllable, as in בִּיחֶרֶה, Ps. xviii. 8 (*Bär's Psalterium*, p. xiii.); for if הוּו remained *Milra*, לא ought to be connected with it by *Makkeph*, and consequently remain toneless (*Psalter*, ii. 507).

Next follows the description of the moral abhorrence which, while the friends (ch. xxii. 19) maintain a divine retribution everywhere manifest, is painfully conscious of the absence of any determination of the periods and days of judicial punishment. Fearlessly and unpunished, the oppression of the helpless and defenceless, though deserving of a curse, rages in every form. They remove the landmarks; comp. Deut. xxvii. 17, "Cursed is he who removeth his neighbour's landmark" (כַּמְסִיג, here once written with ש, while otherwise הַסִּיג from גָּשִׁיג signifies *assequi*, on the other hand הַסִּיג from סָג signifies *dimovere*). They steal flocks, וַיִּרְעוּ, *i.e.* they are so barefaced, that after they have stolen them they pasture them openly. The ass of the orphans, the one that is their whole possession, and their only beast for labour, they carry away as prey (קָהָג, as *e.g.* Isa. xx. 4); they distrain, *i.e.* take away with them as a pledge (on הִבֵּל, to bind by a pledge, *obstringere*, and also to take as a pledge, *vid.* on ch. xxii. 6, and Köhler on Zech. xi. 7), the yoke-ox of the widow (this is the exact meaning of



שׁוּר, as of the Arab. *thór*). They turn the needy aside from the way which they are going, so that they are obliged to wander hither and thither without home or right: the poor of the land are obliged to hide themselves altogether. The *Hiph.* הִפָּסָה, with אֲבִיּוֹנִים as its obj., is used as in Amos v. 12; there it is used of turning away from a right that belongs to them, here of turning out of the way into trackless regions. אֲבִיּוֹן (*vid.* on ch. xxix. 16) here, as frequently, is the parallel word with עָנִי, the humble one, the patient sufferer; instead of which the *Keri* is עָנִי, the humbled, bowed down with suffering (*vid.* on Ps. ix. 13). עָנִי-אֶרֶץ occurs without any *Keri* in Ps. lxxvi. 10, Zeph. ii. 3, and might less suitably appear here, where it is not so much the moral attribute as the outward condition that is intended to be described. The *Pual* חִבְּאוּ describes that which they are forced to do.

The description of these unfortunate ones is now continued; and by a comparison with ch. xxx. 1–8, it is probable that aborigines who are turned out of their original possessions and dwellings are intended (comp. ch. xv. 19, according to which the poet takes his stand in an age in which the original relations of the races had been already disturbed by the calamities of war and the incursions of aliens). If the central point of the narrative lies in Haurân, or, more exactly, in the Nukra, it is natural, with Wetzstein, to think of the *أهل الكهف* or *عرب الحجر*, i.e. the (perhaps Ituræan) “races of the caves” in Trachonitis.

5 Behold, as wild asses in the desert,

They go forth in their work seeking for prey,

The steppe is food to them for the children.

6 In the field they reap the fodder for his cattle,

And they glean the vineyard of the evil-doer.

7 They pass the night in nakedness without a garment,

*And have no covering in the cold.*

8 *They are wet with the torrents of rain upon the mountains,  
And they hug the rocks for want of shelter.*

The poet could only draw such a picture as this, after having himself seen the home of his hero, and the calamitous fate of such as were driven forth from their original abodes to live a vagrant, poverty-stricken gipsy life. By ver. 5, one is reminded of Ps. civ. 21-23, especially since in ver. 11 of this Psalm the פָּרָאִים, *onagri* (Kulans), are mentioned,—those beautiful animals<sup>1</sup> which, while young, are difficult to be broken in, and when grown up are difficult to be caught; which in their love of freedom are an image of the Beduin, Gen. xvi. 12; in their untractableness an image of that which cannot be bound, ch. xi. 12; and from their roaming about in herds in waste regions, are here an image of a gregarious, vagrant, and freebooter kind of life. The old expositors, as also Rosenm., Umbr., Arnh., and Vaih., are mistaken in thinking that *aliud hominum sceleratorum genus* is described in vers. 5 sqq. Ewald and Hirz. were the first to perceive that vers. 5-8 is the further development of ver. 4*b*, and that here, as in ch. xxx. 1 sqq., those who are driven back into the wastes and caves, and a remnant of the ejected and oppressed aborigines who drag out a miserable existence, are described.

The accentuation rightly connects פָּרָאִים במִרְבֵּר; by the omission of the *Caph similit.*, as *e.g.* Isa. li. 12, the comparison (like a wild ass) becomes an equalization (as a wild ass). The *perf.* יֵצְאוּ is a general uncoloured expression of that which is usual: they go forth בִּפְעֻלָּם, in their work (not: to

<sup>1</sup> Layard, *New Discoveries*, p. 270, describes these wild asses' colts. The Arabic name is like the Hebrew, *el-ferâ*, or also *himâr el-wahsh*, *i.e.* wild ass, as we have translated, whose home is on the steppe. For fuller particulars, *vid.* Wetzstein's note on ch. xxxix. 5 sqq.

their work, as the Psalmist, in Ps. civ. 23, expresses himself, exchanging לָלֶכֶת for לָטָר. מְשַׁחֲרֵי לָטָר, searching after prey, *i.e.* to satisfy their hunger (Ps. civ. 21), from טָרַף, in the primary signification *decerpere* (*vid.* Hupfeld on Ps. vii. 3), describes that which in general forms their daily occupation as they roam about; the *constructivus* is used here, without any proper genitive relation, as a form of connection, according to Ges. § 116, 1. The idea of waylaying is not to be connected with the expression. Job describes those who are perishing in want and misery, not so much as those who themselves are guilty of evil practices, as those who have been brought down to poverty by the wrongdoing of others. As is implied in מְשַׁחֲרֵי (comp. the morning Psalm, lxiii. 2, Isa. xxvi. 9), Job describes their going forth in the early morning; the children (נְעָרִים, as ch. i. 19, xxix. 5) are those who first feel the pangs of hunger. לוֹ refers individually to the father in the company: the steppe (with its scant supply of roots and herbs) is to him food for the children; he snatches it from it, it must furnish it to him. The idea is not: for himself and his family (Hirz., Hahn, and others); for ver. 6, which has been much misunderstood, describes how they, particularly the adults, obtain their necessary subsistence. There is no MS. authority for reading בְּלִי־לוֹ instead of בְּלִי־לוֹ; the translation "what is not to him" (LXX., Targ., and partially also the Syriac version) is therefore to be rejected. Raschi correctly interprets יבולוֹ as a general explanation, and Ralbag תבואתו: it is, as in ch. vi. 5, mixed fodder for cattle, *farrago*, consisting of oats or barley sown among vetches and beans, that is intended. The meaning is not, however, as most expositors explain it, that they seek to satisfy their hunger with the food for cattle grown in the fields of the rich evil-doer; for קָצַר does not signify to sweep together, but to reap in an orderly manner; and if they meant to steal, why did they not seize the better portion of

the produce? It is correct to take the suff. as referring to the רָשַׁע which is mentioned in the next clause, but it is not to be understood that they plunder his fields *per nefas*; on the contrary, that he hires them to cut the fodder for his cattle, but does not like to entrust the reaping of the better kinds of corn to them. It is impracticable to press the *Hiph.* יִקְצִירוּ of the *Chethib* to favour this rendering; on the contrary, יִקְצִיר stands to קָצַר in like (not causative) signification as הִנְחָה to נָחָה (*vid.* on ch. xxxi. 18). In like manner, ver. 6b is to be understood of hired labour. The rich man prudently hesitates to employ these poor people as vintagers; but he makes use of their labour (whilst his own men are fully employed at the wine-vats) to gather the straggling grapes which ripen late, and were therefore left at the vintage season. The older expositors are reminded of לָקַשׁ, late hay, and explain יִלְקֹשׁוּ as *denom.* by יִכְרוּ לָקֶשׁוּ (Aben-Ezra, Immanuel, and others) or יֹאכְלוּ לָקֶשׁוּ (Parchon); but how unnatural to think of the second mowing, or even of eating the after-growth of grass, where the vineyard is the subject referred to! On the contrary, לָקַשׁ signifies, as it were, *serotinare*, i.e. *serotinos fructus colligere* (Rosenm.):<sup>1</sup> this is the work which the rich man assigns to them, because he gains by it, and even in the worst case can lose but little.

Vers. 7 sq. tell how miserably they are obliged to shift for themselves during this autumnal season of labour, and also at other times. Naked (עָרוֹם, whether an adverbial form or not, is conceived of after the manner of an accusative: in

<sup>1</sup> In the idiom of Hauran, לָקַשׁ, *fut. i.*, signifies to be late, to come late; in *Piel*, to delay, e.g. the evening meal, return, etc.; in *Hithpa.* *telaqqas*, to arrive too late. Hence *laqīs* לָקִישׁ and *loqsī* לָקִשְׁי, delayed, of any matter, e.g. לָקִישׁ and לָקִשְׁי, late seed (= לָקַשׁ, Amos vii. 1, in connection with which the late rain in April, which often fails, is reckoned on), וְלִדְ לָקִשְׁי, a child born late (i.e. in old age); בָּכִיר בָּכִיר and בִּכְרִי בִּכְרִי are the opposites in every signification.—WETZST

a naked, stripped condition, Arabic *'urjānan*) they pass the night, without having anything on the body (on לְבִישׁ, *vid.* on Ps. xxii. 19), and they have no (אֵין supply לָהֶם) covering or veil (corresponding to the notion of בְּגָד in the cold.<sup>1</sup> They become thoroughly drenched by the frequent and continuous storms that visit the mountains, and for want of other shelter are obliged to shelter themselves under the overhanging rocks, lying close up to them, and clinging to them,—an idea which is expressed here by הִבְקִי, as in Lam. iv. 5, where, of those who were luxuriously brought up on purple cushions, it is said that they “embrace dunghills;” for in Palestine and Syria, the forlorn one, who, being afflicted with some loathsome disease, is not allowed to enter the habitations of men, lies on the dunghill (*mezâbil*), asking alms by day of the passers-by, and at night hiding himself among the ashes which the sun has warmed.<sup>2</sup> The usual accentuation, מִזֹּרֶם with *Dechi*, הָרִים with *Munach*, after which it should be translated *ab in-*

<sup>1</sup> All the Beduins sleep naked at night. I once asked why they do this, since they are often disturbed by attacks at night, and I was told that it is a very ancient custom. Their clothing (*kiswe*, כִּסְוֵה), both of the nomads of the steppe (*bedû*) and of the caves (*wa'r*), is the same, summer and winter; many perish on the pastures when overtaken by snow-storms, or by cold and want, when their tents and stores are taken from them in the winter time by an enemy.—WETZST.

<sup>2</sup> Wetzstein observes on this passage: In the mind of the speaker, מִחֶסֶה is the house made of stone, from which localities not unfrequently derive their names, as *El-hasa*, on the east of the Dead Sea; the well-known commercial town *El-hasâ*, on the east of the Arabian peninsula, which is generally called *Lahsâ*; the town of *El-hasja* (אֶלְחַסְיָה), north-east of Damascus, etc. so that הִבְקִי צֹר forms the antithesis to the comfortable dwellings of the حَضَرِيّ, *hadari*, i.e. those who are firmly settled. The roots הִבַּק, הִבַּר, seem, in the desert, to be only dialectically distinct, and like the root עִבַּק, to signify to be pressed close upon one another. Thus הִבְקָה (pronounced *hibtsha*), a crowd = *zahme*, and *asâbi' mabhâke* (מִבְּחֻבָּה), the closed fingers, etc. The locality, *hibikke* (Beduin pronunciation for *habâka*, הִבְבָּה with the Beduin *Dag. euphonicum*), de-

*undatione montes humectantur*, is false ; in correct Codd. מִזְרֵם has also *Munach* ; the other *Munach* is, as in ch. xxiii. 5a, 9a, xxiv. 6b, and freq., a substitute for *Dechî*. Having sketched this special class of the oppressed, and those who are abandoned to the bitterest want, Job proceeds with his description of the many forms of wrong which prevail unpunished on the earth :

- 9 *They tear the fatherless from the breast,  
And defraud the poor.*  
10 *Naked, they slink away without clothes,  
And hungering they bear the sheaves.*  
11 *Between their walls they squeeze out the oil ;  
They tread the wine-presses, and suffer thirst.*  
12 *In the city vassals groan,  
And the soul of the pierced crieth out—  
And Eloah heedeth not the anomaly.*

The accentuation of ver. 9a (יְגִלוּ with *Dechî*, מִזְרֵם with

scribed in my *Reisebericht*, has its name from this circumstance alone, that the houses have been attached to (fastened into) the rocks. Hence חָבַק in this passage signifies to press into the fissure of a rock, to seek out a corner which may defend one (*dherwe*) against the cold winds and rain-torrents (which are far heavier among the mountains than on the

plain). The *dherwe* (from حָجَرٌ, to afford protection, shelter, a word frequently used in the desert) plays a prominent part among the nomads ; and in the month of March, as it is proverbially said the *dherwe* is better than the *ferwe* (the skin), they seek to place their tents for protection under the rocks or high banks of the wadys, on account of the cold strong winds, for the sake of the young of the flocks, to which the cold storms are often very destructive. When the sudden storms come on, it is a general thing for the shepherds and flocks to hasten to take shelter

under overhanging rocks, and the caverns (*mughr* مغر) which belong to the troglodyte age, and are e.g. common in the mountains of Hauran ; so that, therefore, ver. 8 can as well refer to concealing themselves only for a time (from rain and storm) in the clefts as to troglodytes, who constantly dwell in caverns, or to those dwelling in tents who, during the storms, seek the *dherwe* of rock sides.

*Munach*) makes the relation of יְהוֹם שֵׁר genitival. Heidenheim (in a MS. annotation to Kimchi's *Lex.*) accordingly badly interprets: they plunder from the spoil of the orphan; Ramban better: from the ruin, *i.e.* the shattered patrimony; both appeal to the Targum, which translates מְבִיחַ יְהוֹם, like the Syriac version, *men bezto de-jatme* (comp. Jerome: *vim fecerunt deprædantes pupillos*). The original reading, however, is perhaps (*vid.* Buxtorf, *Lex.* col. 295) מְבִיחַ, ἀπὸ βυζίου, from the mother's breast, as it is also, with LXX. (ἀπὸ μαστοῦ), to be translated contrary to the accentuation. Inhuman creditors take the fatherless and still tender orphan away from its mother, in order to bring it up as a slave, and so to obtain payment. If this is the meaning of the passage, it is natural to understand יִהְבֵּל, ver. 9b, of distraining; but (1) the poet would then repeat himself tautologically, *vid.* ver. 3, where the same thing is far more evidently said; (2) יִהְבֵּל, to detain, would be construed with עַל, contrary to the logic of the word. Certainly the phrase עַל חַבֵּל may be in some degree explained by the interpretation, "to impose a fine" (Ew., Hahn), or "to detain" (Hirz., Welte), or "to oppress with fines" (Schlottm.); but violence is thus done to the usage of the language, which is better satisfied by the explanation of Ralbag (among modern expositors, Ges., Arnh., Vaih., Stick., Hlgst.): and what the unfortunate one has on him they seize; but this עַל = אֲשֶׁר עַל directly as object is impossible. The passage, Deut. vii. 25, cited by Schultens in its favour, is of a totally different kind.

But throughout the Semitic dialects the verb יִהְבֵּל also signifies "to destroy, to treat injuriously" (*e.g.* Arab. *el-châbil*, a by-name of Satan); it occurs in this signification in ch. xxxiv. 31, and according to the analogy of הָרַע עַל, 1 Kings xvii. 20, can be construed with עַל as well as with לְ. The poet, therefore, by this construction will have intended to distinguish the one חַבֵּל from the other, ch. xxii. 6, xxiv. 3; and it

is with Umbreit to be translated: they bring destruction upon the poor; or better: they take undue advantage of those who otherwise are placed in trying circumstances.

The subjects of ver. 10 are these עֲנִיִּים, who are made serfs, and become objects of merciless oppression, and the poet here in ver. 10a indeed repeats what he has already said almost word for word in ver. 7a (comp. ch. xxxi. 19); but there the nakedness was the general calamity of a race oppressed by subjugation, here it is the consequence of the sin of *merces retenta laborum*, which cries aloud to heaven, practised on those of their own race: they slink away (הִלָּךְ, as ch. xxx. 28) naked (*nude*), without (בְּלִי = כִּבְלִי, as perhaps *sine* = *absque*) clothing, and while suffering hunger they carry the sheaves (since their masters deny them what, according to Dent. xxv. 4, shall not be withheld even from the beasts). Between their walls (שִׁוְרֹת like שְׁוֹרֹת, Jer. v. 10, Chaldee שְׁוֹרֵי, i.e. the walls of their masters who have made them slaves, therefore under strict oversight, they press out the oil (יִצְהָרִי, ἄπ. γεργρ.), they tread the wine-vats (יִקְבִּים, *lacus*), and suffer thirst withal (*fut. consec.* according to Ew. § 342, a), without being allowed to quench their thirst from the must which runs out of the presses (בְּתוֹת, *torcularia*, from which the verb יָרַךְ is here transferred to the vats). Böttch. translates: between their rows of trees, without being able to reach out right or left; but that is least of all suitable with the olives. Carey correctly explains: "the factories or the garden enclosures of these cruel slaveholders." This reference of the word to the wall of the enclosure is more suitable than to walls of the press-house in particular. From tyrannical oppression in the country,<sup>1</sup> Job now passes over to the abominations of discord and war in the cities.

Ver. 12a. It is natural, with Umbr., Ew., Hirz., and others,

<sup>1</sup> Brentius here remarks: *Quantum igitur iudicium in eos futurum est, qui in homines ejusdem carnis, ejusdem patriæ, ejusdem fidei, ejusdem Christi*



to read מְחִים like the Peschito; but as *mîte* in Syriac, so also מַחִים in Hebrew as a noun everywhere signifies the dead (Arab. *mauta*), not the dying, mortals (Arab. *maîtûna*); wherefore Ephrem interprets the *præs.* "they groan" by the *perf.* "they have groaned." The pointing מְחִים, therefore, is quite correct; but the accentuation which, by giving *Mehupach Zinnorith* to מַעִיר, and *Asla legarmeh* to מַחִים, places the two words in a genitival relation, is hardly correct: in the city of men, *i.e.* the inhabited, thickly-populated city, they groan; not: men (as Rosenm. explains, according to Gen. ix. 6, Prov. xi. 6) groan; for just because מְחִים appeared to be too inexpressive as a subject, this accentuation seems to have been preferred. It is also possible that the signification fierce anger (Hos. xi. 9), or anguish (Jer. xv. 8), was combined with עִיר, comp.

غَيْرَةٌ, jealousy, fury (= קַנְיָה), of which, however, no trace is anywhere visible.<sup>1</sup> With Jer., Symm., and Theod., we take מַחִים as the sighing ones themselves; the feebleness of the subject disappears if we explain the passage according to such passages as Deut. ii. 34, iii. 6, comp. Judg. xx. 48: it

*committunt quod nec in bruta animalia committendum est, quod malum in Germania frequentissimum est. Væ igitur Germaniæ!*

<sup>1</sup> Wetzstein translates Hos. xi. 9: I will not come as a raging foe, with

בְּ of the attribute = بَصْنَةُ الْغَيُورِ (comp. Jer. xv. 8, עִיר, parall. שָׂדֵר) after the form קִים, to which, if not this עִיר, certainly the עִיר, ἐγρηγόρος, occurring in Dan. iv. 10, and freq., corresponds. What we remarked above, vol. i. p. 440, on the form קִים, is cleared up by the following observation of Wetzstein: "The form קִים belongs to the numerous class of segolate forms of the form פִּעֵל, which, as belonging to the earliest period of the formation of the Semitic languages, take neither plural nor feminine terminations; they have often a collective meaning, and are not originally *abstracta*, but *concreta* in the sense of the Arabic *part. act.* مَفَاعِل. This inflexible primitive formation is frequently found in the present day in the

is the male inhabitants that are intended, whom any conqueror would put to the sword; we have therefore translated men (men of war), although "people" (ch. xi. 3) also would not have been unsuitable according to the ancient use of the word. נַאֲרָ is intended of the groans of the dying, as Jer. li. 52, Ezek. xxx. 24, as ver. 12<sup>b</sup> also shows: the soul of those that are mortally wounded cries out. הַלָּלִים signifies not merely the slain and already dead, but, according to its etymon, those who are pierced through, those who have received their death-blow; their soul cries out, since it does not leave the body without a struggle. Such things happen without God preventing them. לֹא-יִשִּׁים תַּפְּלָה, He observeth not the abomination, either = לֹא יִשִּׁים בְּלִבּוֹ, ch. xxii. 22 (He layeth it not to heart), or, since the phrase occurs nowhere elliptically, = לֹא יִשִּׁים לְבוֹ עַל, ch. i. 8, xxxiv. 23 (He does not direct His heart, His attention to it), here as elliptical, as in ch. iv. 20, Isa. xli. 20. True, the latter phrase is never joined with the *acc.* of the object; but if we translate after נִשִּׁים, ch. iv. 18: *non imputat*, He does not reckon such תַּפְּלָה, *i.e.* does not punish it, בָּם (בְּהֶם) ought to be supplied, which is still somewhat liable to misconstruction, since the preceding subject

idiom of the steppe, which shows that the Hebrew is essentially of primeval antiquity (*uralt*). Thus the Beduin says: *hû qitlî* (הוּא קִטְלִי), he is my opponent in a hand-to-hand combat; *nithî* (נִתְחִי), my opponent in the tournament with lances; *chilfî* (חִלְפִי) and *diddî* (דִּידִי), my adversary; thus a step-mother is called *dir* (דִּיר), as the oppressor of the step-children, and a concubine *dirr* (דִּירָר), as the oppressor of her rival. The Kamus also furnishes several words which belong here, as *till* (טִלֵּב), a persecutor." Accordingly, קִים is derived from קָוָם, as also עִיר, a city, from עָוָר (whence, according to a prevalent law of the change of letters, we have עִיר first of all, *plur.* עִירִים, Judg. x. 4), and signifies the rebelling one, *i.e.* the enemy (who is now in the idiom of the steppe called *qômânî*, from *qôm*, a state of war, a feud), as עִיר, a keeper, and צִיר, a messenger; עִיר (קִיר) is also originally concrete, *a.* wall (enclosure).

is not the oppressors, but those who suffer oppression. הַפְּלָה is properly insipidity (comp. Arab. *tafila*, to stink), absurdity, self-contradiction, here the immorality which sets at nought the moral order of the world, and remains nevertheless unpunished. The Syriac version reads הַפְּלָה, and translates, like Louis Bridel (1818): *et Dieu ne fait aucune attention à leur prière.*

- 13 *Others are those that rebel against the light,  
They will know nothing of its ways,  
And abide not in its paths.*
- 14 *The murderer riseth up at dawn,  
He slayeth the sufferer and the poor,  
And in the night he acteth like a thief.*
- 15 *And the eye of the adulterer watcheth for the twilight;  
He thinks: "no eye shall recognise me,"  
And he putteth a veil before his face.*

With הַפְּלָה begins a new turn in the description of the moral confusion which has escaped God's observation; it is to be translated neither as retrospective, "since they" (Ewald), nor as distinctive, "they even" (Böttch.), i.e. the powerful in distinction from the oppressed, but "those" (for הָמָּה corresponds to our use of "those," אֵלֶּה to "these"), by which Job passes on to another class of evil-disposed and wicked men. Their general characteristic is, that they shun the light. Those who are described in vers. 14 sq. are described according to their general characteristic in ver. 13; accordingly it is not to be interpreted: those belong to the enemies of the light, but: those are, according to their very nature, enemies of the light. The *Beth* is the so-called *Beth essent.*; הֵי (comp. Prov. iii. 26) affirms what they are become by their own inclination, or as what they are fashioned, viz. as ἀποστάται φῶτός (Symm.); מָרַר (on the root מַר, *vid.* on ch. xxiii. 2) signifies properly to push one's self against anything, to lean upon, to

rebel; כִּיר therefore signifies one who strives against another, one who is obstinate (like the Arabic *mārid*, *merid*, comp. *mumāri*, not conformable to the will of another). The improvement כִּירִי אור (not with *Makkeph*, but with *Mahpach* of *Mercha mahpach*. placed between the two words, *vid.* Bär's *Psalterium*, p. x.) assumes the possibility of the construction with the *acc.*, which occurs at least once, Josh. xxii. 19. They are hostile to the light, they have no familiarity with its ways (הִכִּיר, as ver. 17, Ps. cxlii. 5, Ruth ii. 19, to take knowledge of anything, to interest one's self in its favour), and do not dwell (יָשְׁבוּ, Jer. *reversi sunt*, according to the false reading יִשְׁבוּ) in its paths, *i.e.* they neither make nor feel themselves at home there, they have no peace therein. The light is the light of day, which, however, stands in deeper, closer relation to the higher light, for the vicious man hateth τὸ φῶς, John iii. 20, in every sense; and the works which are concealed in the darkness of the night are also ἔργα τοῦ σκοτους, Rom. xiii. 12 (comp. Isa. xxix. 15), in the sense in which light and darkness are two opposite principles of the spiritual world. It need not seem strange that the more minute description of the conduct of these enemies of the light now begins with לְאור. It is impossible that this should mean: still in the darkness of the night (Stick.), prop. towards the light, when it is not yet light. Moreover, in biblical Hebrew, אור does not signify evening, in which sense it occurs in Talmudic Hebrew (*Pesachim* 1a, *Seder olam rabba*, c. 5, אור שבעי, *vespera septima*), like אורְתָא (= לְשָׁפָה) in Talmudic Aramaic. The meaning, on the contrary, is that towards daybreak (comp. הבקר אור, Gen. xliv. 3), therefore with early morning, the murderer rises up, to go about his work, which veils itself in darkness (Ps. x. 8-10) by day, *viz.* to slay (comp. on יָקוּם . . . יָקוּם, Ges. § 142, 3, c) the unfortunate and the poor, who pass by defenceless and alone. One has to supply the idea of the ambush in which the way-

layer lies in wait; and it is certainly inconvenient that it is not expressed. The antithesis **וּבַלַּיְלָה**, ver. 14c, shows that nothing but *primo mane* is meant by **לְאֹר**. He who in the day-time goes forth to murder and plunder, at night commits petty thefts, where no one whom he could attack passes by. Stickel translates: to slay the poor and wretched, and in the night to play the thief; but then the *subjunctivus* **יִהְיֶה** ought to precede (*vid. e.g.* ch. xiii. 5), and in general it cannot be proved without straining it, that the voluntative form of the future everywhere has a modal signification. Moreover, here **יִהְיֶה** does not differ from ch. xviii. 12, xx. 23, but is only a poetic shorter form for **יִהְיֶה**: in the night he is like a thief, *i.e.* plays the part of the thief. And the adulterer's eye observes the darkness of evening (*vid. Prov.* vii. 9), *i.e.* watches closely for its coming on (**נִשְׁמַר**, in the usual signification *observare*, to be on the watch, to take care, observe anxiously), since he hopes to render himself invisible; and that he may not be recognised even if seen, he puts on a mask. **כֶּתֶר פָּנִים** is something by which his countenance is rendered unrecognisable (LXX. ἀποκρυβὴ προσώπου), like the Arab. *sitr*, *sitâreh*, a curtain, veil, therefore a veil for the face, or, as we say in one word borrowed from the Arabic **مَسْخَرَة**, a farce (masquerade): the mask, but not in the proper sense.<sup>1</sup>

16 *In the dark they dig through houses,  
By day they shut themselves up,  
They will know nothing of the light.*

<sup>1</sup> The mask was perhaps never known in Palestine and Syria; **כֶּתֶר פָּנִים** is the *mendil* or women's veil, which in the present day (in *Hauran* exclusively) is called *sitr*, and is worn over the face by all married women in the towns, while in the country it is worn hanging down the back, and is only drawn over the face in the presence of a stranger. If this explanation is correct, the poet means to say that the adulterer, in order to

- 17 *For the depth of night is to them all as the dawn of the morning,*  
*For they know the terrors of the depth of night.*

The handiwork of the thief, which is but slightly referred to in ver. 14c, is here more particularly described. The indefinite subj. of הָתֵר, as is manifest from what follows, is the band of thieves. The בָּ, which is elsewhere joined with הָתֵר (to break into anything), is here followed by the acc. בָּתִּים (to be pronounced *bâttim*, not *bottim*),<sup>1</sup> as in the Talmudic, הָתֵר שְׁנֵי, to pick one's teeth (and thereby to make them loose), *b. Kidduschin*, 24 b. According to the Talmud, Ralbag, and the ancient Jewish interpretation in general, ver. 16b is closely connected to בָּתִּים: houses which they have marked by day for breaking into, and the mode of its accomplishment; but הָתֵם nowhere signifies *designare*, always *obsignare*, to seal up, to put under lock and key, *ch. xiv. 17, ix. 7, xxxvii. 7*; according to which the *Piel*, which occurs only here, is to be explained: by day they seal up, *i.e.* shut themselves up for their safety (לִבִּי is not to be accented with *Athnach*, but with *Rebia mugrasch*): they know not the light, *i.e.* as Schlottm. well explains: they have no fellowship with it; for the biblical יָדַע, γνώσκειν, mostly signifies a knowledge which enters into the subject, and intimately unites

remain undiscovered, wears women's clothes [*comp. Deut. xxii. 5*]; and, in fact, in the Syrian towns (the figure is taken from town-life) women's clothing is always chosen for that kind of forbidden nocturnal undertaking, *i.e.* the man disguises himself in an *izâr*, which covers him from head to foot, takes the *mendil*, and goes with a lantern (without which at night every person is seized by the street watchman as a suspicious person) unhindered into a strange house.—WETZST.

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Aben-Ezra on Ex. xii. 7. The main proof that it is to be pronounced *bâttim* is, that written exactly it is בָּתִּים, and that the *Metheg*, according to circumstances, is changed into an accent, as Ex. viii. 7, xii. 7, Jer. xviii. 22, Ezek. xlv. 4, which can only happen by *Kametz*, not by *Kometz* (*K. chatûph*); *comp. Köhler on Zech. xiv. 2.*

itself with it. In ver. 17 one confirmation follows another. Umbr. and Hirz. explain: for the morning is to them at once the shadow of death; but יְהִי, in the signification at the same time, as we have taken יָחַד in ch. xvii. 16 (nevertheless of simultaneousness of time), is unsupportable: it signifies together, ch. ii. 11, ix. 32; and the arrangement of the words לָמָּוּ . . . יְהִי (to them together) is like Isa. ix. 20, xxxi. 3, Jer. xlvi. 12. Also, apart from the erroneous translation of the יָחַד, which is easily set aside, Hirzel's rendering of ver. 17 is forced: the morning, *i.e.* the bright day, is to them all as the shadow of death, for each and every one of them knows the terrors of the daylight, which is to them as the shadow of death, *viz.* the danger of being discovered and condemned. The interpretation, which is also preferred by Olshausen, is far more natural: the depth of night is to them as the dawn of the morning (on the precedence of the predicate, comp. Amos iv. 13 and v. 8: changing darkness into early morning), for they are acquainted with the terrors of the depth of night, *i.e.* they are not surprised by them, but know how to anticipate and to escape them. Ch. xxxviii. 15 also, where the night, which vanishes before the rising of the sun, is called the "light" of the evil-doer, favours this interpretation (not the other, as Olsh. thinks). The accentuation also favours it; for if בָּקֵר had been the subj., and were to be translated: the morning is to them the shadow of death, בָּקֵר לָמָּוּ צֶלְמָוּת ought to have been accented *Dechâ, Mercha, Athnach*. It is, however, accented *Munach, Munach, Athnach*, and the second *Munach* stands as the deputy of *Dechâ*, whose value in the interpunction it represents; therefore בָּקֵר לָמָּוּ is the predicate: the shadow of death is morning to them. From the *plur.* the description now, with יָבִיר, passes into the *sing.*, as individualizing it. בְּלָהוּת, constr. of בְּלָהוּת, is without a *Dagesh* in the second consonant. Mercier admirably remarks here: *sunt ei familiares et noti nocturni terrores*,

*neque eos timet aut curat, quasi sibi cum illis necessitudo et familiaritas intercederet et cum illis ne noceant fœdus aut pactum inierit.* Thus by their skill and contrivance they escape danger, and divine justice allows them to remain undiscovered and unpunished,—a fact which is most incomprehensible.

It is now time that this thought was once again definitely expressed, that one may not forget what these accumulated illustrations are designed to prove. But what now follows in vers. 18–21 seems to express not Job's opinion, but that of his opponents. Ew., Hirz., and Hlgst. regard vers. 18–21, 22–25, as thesis and antithesis. To the question, What is the lot that befalls all these evil-doers? Job is thought to give a twofold answer: first, to ver. 21, an ironical answer in the sense of the friends, that those men are overtaken by the merited punishment; then from ver. 22 is his own serious answer, which stands in direct contrast to the former. But (1) in vers. 18–21 there is not the slightest trace observable that Job does not express his own view: a consideration which is also against Schlottman, who regards vers. 18–21 as expressive of the view of an opponent. (2) There is no such decided contrast between vers. 18–21 and 22–25, for vers. 19 and 24 both affirm substantially the same thing concerning the end of the evil-doer. In like manner, it is also not to be supposed, with Stick., Löwenth., Böttch., Welte, and Hahn, that Job, outstripping the friends, as far as ver. 21, describes how the evil-doer certainly often comes to a terrible end, and in vers. 22 sqq. how the very opposite of this, however, is often witnessed; so that this consequently furnishes no evidence in support of the exclusive assertion of the friends. Moreover, ver. 24 compared with ver. 19, where there is nothing to indicate a direct contrast, is opposed to it; and ver. 22, which has no appearance of referring to a direct contrast with what has been previously said, is opposed to



such an antithetical rendering of the two final strophes. Ver. 22 might more readily be regarded as a transition to the antithesis, if vers. 18–21 could, with Eichh., Schnurr., Dathe, Umbr., and Vaih., after the LXX., Syriac, and Jerome, be understood as optative: “Let such an one be light on the surface of the water, let . . . be cursed, let him not turn towards,” etc., but ver. 18a is not of the optative form; and 18c, where in that case *אֶל־יִפְנֶה* would be expected, instead of *לֹא־יִפְנֶה*, shows that 18b, where, according to the syntax, the optative rendering is natural, is nevertheless not to be so rendered. The right interpretation is that which regards both vers. 18–21 and 22 sqq. as Job’s own view, without allowing him absolutely to contradict himself. Thus it is interpreted, *e.g.* by Rosenmüller, who, however, as also Renan, errs in connecting ver. 18 with the description of the thieves, and understands ver. 18a of their slipping away, 18b of their dwelling in horrible places, and 18c of their avoidance of the vicinity of towns.

- 18 *He is light upon the surface of the water ;  
 Their heritage is cursed upon the earth ;  
 He turneth no more in the way of the vineyard.*
- 19 *Drought, also heat, snatch away snow-water—  
 So doth Sheól those who have sinned.*
- 20 *The womb forgetteth him, worms shall feast on him,  
 He is no more remembered ;  
 So the desire of the wicked is broken as a tree—*
- 21 *He who hath plundered the barren that bare not,  
 And did no good to the widow.*

The point of comparison in ver. 18a is the swiftness of the disappearing: he is carried swiftly past, as any light substance on the surface of the water is hurried along by the swiftness of the current, and can scarcely be seen; comp. ch. ix. 26: “My days shoot by as ships of reeds, as an eagle

which dasheth upon its prey," and Hos. x. 7, "Samaria's king is destroyed like a bundle of brushwood (LXX., Theod., *φρύγανον*) on the face of the water," which is quickly drawn into the whirlpool, or buried by the approaching wave.<sup>1</sup> But here the idea is not that of being swallowed up by the waters, as in the passage in Hosea, but, on the contrary, of vanishing from sight, by being carried rapidly past by the rush of the waters. If, then, the evil-doer dies a quick, easy death, his heritage (חֵלֶקֶת, from חָלַק, to divide) is cursed by men, since no one will dwell in it or use it, because it is appointed by God to desolation on account of the sin which is connected with it (*vid.* on ch. xv. 28); even he, the evil-doer, no more turns the way of the vineyard (פְּנֵה, with הֵרָה, not an acc. of the obj., but as indicating the direction = אֶל-הֵרָה; comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 18 with ver. 17 of the same chapter), proudly to inspect his wide extended domain, and overlook the labourers. The curse therefore does not come upon him, nor can one any longer lie in wait for him to take vengeance on him; it is useless to think of venting upon him the rage which his conduct during life provoked; he is long since out of reach in Sheôl.

That which Job says figuratively in ver. 18a, and in ch. xxi. 13 without a figure: "in a moment they go down to Sheôl," he expresses in ver. 19 under a new figure, and, moreover, in the form of an emblematic proverb (*vid.* Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, xiv. 696), according to the peculiarity of which, not בָּ, but either only the copulative *Waw* (Prov. xxv. 25) or nothing whatever (Prov. xi. 22), is

<sup>1</sup> The translation: like foam (*spuma* or *bullæ*), is also very suitable here. Thus Targ., Symm., Jerome, and others; but the signification to foam cannot be etymologically proved, whereas קֶצֶף in the signification *confringere* is established by קִצְפוּ, breaking, Joel i. 7, and قَصَفَ; so that consequently קֶצֶף, as synon. of אָץ, signifies properly the breaking forth, and is then allied to עֲבֵרָה.

to be supplied before שאל הטאו. שאל is virtually an object: *eos qui peccarunt*. Ver. 19b is a model-example of extreme brevity of expression, Ges. § 155, 4, b. Sandy ground (צִיָּה, arid land, without natural moisture), added to it (גַּם, not: likewise) the heat of the sun—these two, working simultaneously from beneath and above, snatch away (נִלְקָה, cogn. גָּזַר, root גָּז, to cut, cut away, tear away; Arab. جَزَرَ, fut. i, used of sinking, decreasing water) מִיַּמֵּי שֶׁלֵּג, water of (melted) snow (which is fed from no fountain, and therefore is quickly absorbed), and Sheôl snatches away those who have sinned (= נִלְקָה אֶת-אֲשֶׁר הִטָּאוּ). The two incidents are alike: the death of those whose life has been a life of sin, follows as a consequence easily and unobserved, without any painful and protracted struggle. The sinner disappears suddenly; the womb, i.e. the mother that bare him, forgets him (רָחַם, *matrix* = *mater*; according to Ralbag: friendship, from רָחַם, to love tenderly; others: relationship, in which sense רָחַם = רָחַם is used), worms suck at him (מִתְקָוִי for מִתְקָוִי, according to Ges. § 147, a, *sugit eum*, from which primary notion of sucking comes the signification to be sweet, ch. xxi. 33: Syriac, *metkat ennun remto*; Ar. *imtasahum*, from the synonymous מָצָה, מִצָּה, מִצָּה, he is no more thought of, and thus then is mischief (*abstr. pro concr.* as ch. v. 16) broken like a tree (not: a staff, which עֵץ never, not even in Hos. iv. 12, directly, like the Arabic *‘asa*, *‘asât*, signifies). Since עֵץ is used personally, רָעָה וְגו', ver. 21, can be connected with it as an appositional permutative. His want of compassion (as is still too often seen in the present day in connection with the tyrannical conduct of the executive in Syria and Palestine, especially on the part of those who collect the taxes) goes the length of eating up, i.e. entirely plundering, the barren, child-

less (Gen. xi. 30; Isa. liv. 1), and therefore helpless woman, who has no sons to protect and defend her, and never showing favour to the widow, but, on the contrary, thrusting her away from him. There is as little need for regarding the verb רָעָה here, with Rosenm. after the Targ., in the signification *confringere*, as cognate with רָעַץ, רָצַץ, as conversely to change תִּרְעִים, Ps. ii. 9, into תִּרְעָם; it signifies *depascere*, as in ch. xx. 26, here in the sense of *depopulari*. On the form יִיטִיב for יִטִּיב, *vid.* Ges. § 70, 2, rem.; and on the transition from the *part.* to the *v. fin.*, *vid.* Ges. § 134, rem. 2. Certainly the memory of such an one is not affectionately cherished; this is equally true with what Job maintains in ch. xxi. 32, that the memory of the evil-doer is immortalized by monuments. Here the allusion is to the remembrance of a mother's love and sympathetic feeling. The fundamental thought of the strophe is this, that neither in life nor in death had he suffered the punishment of his evil-doing. The figure of the broken tree (broken in its full vigour) also corresponds to this thought; comp. on the other hand what Bildad says, ch. xviii. 16: "his roots dry up beneath, and above his branch is lopped off" (or: withered). The severity of his oppression is not manifest till after his death.

In the next strophe Job goes somewhat further. But after having, in vers. 22, 23, said that the life of the ungodly passes away as if they were the favoured of God, he returns to their death, which the friends, contrary to experience, have so fearfully described, whilst it is only now and then distinguished from the death of other men by coming on late and painlessly.

- 22 *And He preserveth the mighty by His strength;  
Such an one riseth again, though he despaired of life,*  
23 *He giveth him rest, and he is sustained,  
And His eyes are over their ways.*

- 24 *They are exalted—a little while,—then they are no more,  
And they are sunken away, snatched away like all others,  
And as the top of the stalk they are cut off.—*
- 25 *And if it is not so, who will charge me with lying,  
And make my assertion worthless?*

Though it becomes manifest after their death how little the ungodly, who were only feared by men, were beloved, the form of their death itself is by no means such as to reveal the retributive justice of God. And does it become at all manifest during their life? The *Waw*, with which the strophe begins, is, according to our rendering, not adversative, but progressive. God is the subject. מִשֶּׁשֶׁ, to extend in length, used elsewhere of love, Ps. xxxvi. 11, cix. 12, and anger, Ps. lxxxv. 6, is here transferred to persons: to prolong, preserve long in life. אַבִּירִים are the strong, who bid defiance not only to every danger (Ps. lxxvi. 6), but also to all divine influences and noble impulses (Isa. xlv. 12). These, whose trust in their own strength God might smite down by His almighty power, He preserves alive even in critical positions by that very power: he (the אַבִּיר) rises up (again), whilst he does not trust to life, *i.e.* whilst he believes that he must succumb to death (הָאֲמִין as Ps. xxvii. 13, comp. *Genesis*, S. 368; הָיִין, Aramaic form, like מִלֵּין, ch. iv. 2, xii. 11; the whole is a contracted circumstantial clause for 'והוא לא וגו'). He (God) grants him לְבִטָּח, in security, *viz.* to live, or even directly: a secure peaceful existence, since לְבִטָּח is virtually an object, and the לְ is that of condition (comp. לָלֵב, ch. xxvi. 3). Thus Hahn, who, however, here is only to be followed in this one particular, takes it correctly: and that he can support himself, which would only be possible if an *inf.* with לְ had preceded. Therefore: and he is supported, or he can support himself, *i.e.* be comforted, though this absolute use of נִשְׁעָן cannot be supported: in this instance

we miss עֲלֵ-טִיבוֹ, or some such expression (ch. viii. 15). God sustains him and raises him up again: His eyes (עֵינָיו = עֵינֵיהוּ) are (rest) on the ways of these men, they stand as it were beneath His special protection, or, as it is expressed in ch. x. 3: He causes light to shine from above upon the doings of the wicked. "They are risen up, and are conscious of the height (of prosperity)—a little while, and they are no more." Thus ver. 24a is to be explained. The accentuation רוֹמֵם with *Mahpach*, מַעֲטָה with *Asla legarmeh* (according to which it would have to be translated: they stand on high a short time), is erroneous. The verb רוֹמֵם signifies not merely to be high, but also to rise up, raise one's self, e.g. Prov. xi. 11, and to show one's self exalted, here *extulerunt se in altum* or *exaltati sunt*; according to the form of writing רוֹמֵם, רוֹמֵם is treated as an *Ayin Waw* verb *med. O*, and the *Dagesh* is a so-called *Dag. affectuosum* (Olsh. § 83, b), while רוֹמֵם (like רָבִי, Gen. xlix. 23) appears to assume the form of a double *Ayin* verb *med. O*, consequently רוֹמֵם (Ges. § 67, rem. 1). מַעֲטָה, followed by *Waw* of the conclusion, forms a clause of itself, as more frequently עוֹד מַעֲטָה (yet a little while, then . . .), as, e.g. in an exactly similar connection in Ps. xxxvii. 10; here, however, not expressive of the sudden judgment of the ungodly, but of their easy death without a struggle (*εὐθανασία*): a little, then he is not (again a transition from the *plur.* to the distributive or individualizing *sing.*). They are, viz. as ver. 24b further describes, bowed down all at once (an idea which is expressed by the *perf.*), are snatched off like all other men. הִפְכִּי is an Aramaizing *Hophal*-form (e.g. Dan. vi. 25, הִפְכִּי, comp. *supra* יִפְכִּי, ch. iv. 20) approaching the *Hoph.* of strong verbs, for הִפְכִּי (Ges. § 67, rem. 8), from מִכֵּה, to bow one's self (Ps. cvi. 43), to be brought low (Eccl. x. 18); comp. מִלֵּךְ, to cause to vanish, to annul. יִקְפֹּצֵן (for which it is unnecessary with Olsh. to read יִקְבֹּצֵן, after Ezek. xxix. 5) signifies, according to the primary signification of

קָבֵץ, *comprehendere, constringere, contrahere* (cogn. קָבֵץ, קָבֵץ, קָבֵץ, comp. *supra*, i. 437): they are hurried together, or snatched off, *i.e.* deprived of life, like the Arabic قَبَضَ الله قَبْضَهُ (קָבֵץ אֱלֹהִים) and passive قُبِضَ, equivalent to, he has died.

There is no reference in the phrase to the *componere artus*, Gen. xlix. 33; it is rather the figure of housing (gathering into the barn) that underlies it; the word, however, only implies seizing and drawing in. Thus the figure which follows is also naturally (comp. קָבֵץ, قَبْضَةٌ, *manipulus*) connected with what precedes, and, like the head of an ear of corn, *i.e.* the corn-bearing head of the wheat-stalk, they are cut off (by which one must bear in mind that the ears are reaped higher up than with us, and the standing stalk is usually burnt to make dressing for the field; *vid.* Ges. *Thes.* s.v. קָטַח<sup>1</sup>).

On יִמְלִי (fut. *Niph.* = יִמְלִי), *vid.* on ch. xiv. 2, xviii. 16; the signification *præciduntur*, as observed above, is more suitable here than *marcescunt* (in connection with which signification ch. v. 26 ought to be compared, and the form regarded as fut. *Kal*). Assured of the truth, in conformity with experience, of that which has been said, he appeals finally to the friends: if it be not so (on יִפְסֹף = יִפְסֹף in conditional clauses, *vid.* ch. ix. 24), who (by proving the opposite) is able to charge me with lying and bring to nought

<sup>1</sup> Another figure is also presented here. It is a common thing for the Arabs (Beduins) in harvest-time to come down upon the fields of standing corn—especially barley, because during summer and autumn this grain is indispensable to them as food for their horses—of a district, chiefly at night, and not unfrequently hundreds of camels are laden at one time. As they have no sickles, they cut off the upper part of the stalk with the *'aqfe* (a knife very similar to the Roman *sica*) and with sabres, whence this theft is called *qard* קָרַן, *sabring off*; and that which is cut off, as well as the uneven stubble that is left standing, is called *qarid*.—WETZST.

(לֹא־יִהְיֶה = לֹא־יִהְיֶה, Ew. § 321, *b*, perhaps by לֹא being conceived of as originally *infin.* from לֹא־יִהְיֶה (comp. לֹא־יִהְיֶה), in the sense of non-existence, (אֲדֹמ) my assertion?

The bold accusations in the speech of Eliphaz, in which the uncharitableness of the friends attains its height, must penetrate most deeply into Job's spirit. But Job does not answer like by like. Even in this speech in opposition to the friends, he maintains the passionless repose which has once been gained. Although the misjudgment of his character has attained its height in the speech of Eliphaz, his answer does not contain a single bitter personal word. In general, he does not address them, not as though he did not wish to show respect to them, but because he has nothing to say concerning their unjust and wrong conduct that he would not already have said, and because he has lost all hope of his reproof taking effect, all hope of sympathy with his entreaty that they would spare him, all hope of understanding and information on their part.

In the first part of the speech (ch. xxiii.) he occupies himself with the mystery of his own suffering lot, and in the second part (ch. xxiv.) with the reverse of this mystery, the evil-doers' prosperity and immunity from punishment. How is he to vindicate himself against Eliphaz, since his lament over his sufferings as unmerited is accounted by the friends more and more as defiant obstinacy (מִרִּי), and consequently tends to bring him still deeper into that suspicion which he is trying to remove? His testimony concerning himself is of no avail; for it appears to the friends more self-delusive, hypocritical, and sinful, the more decidedly he maintains it; consequently the judgment of God can alone decide between him and his accusers. But while the friends accuse him by word of mouth, God himself is pronouncing sentence against him by His acts,—his affliction is a *de facto* accusation of



God against him. Therefore, before the judgment of God can become a vindication of his affliction against the friends, he must first of all himself have defended and proved his innocence in opposition to the Author of his affliction. Hence the accusation of the friends, which in the speech of Eliphaz is become more direct and cutting than heretofore, must urge on anew with all its power the desire in Job of being able to bring his cause before God.

At the outset he is confident of victory, for his consciousness does not deceive him; and God, although He is both one party in the cause and judge, is influenced by the irresistible force of the truth. Herein the want of harmony in Job's conception of God, the elevation of which into a higher unity is the goal of the development of the drama, again shows itself. He is not able to think of the God who pursues him, the innocent one, at the present time with suffering, as the just God; on the other hand, the justice of the God who will permit him to approach His judgment throne, is to him indisputably sure: He will attend to him, and for ever acquit him. Now Job yields to the arbitrary power of God, but then he will rise by virtue of the justice and truth of God. His longing is, therefore, that the God who now afflicts him may condescend to hear him: this seems to him the only way of convincing God, and indirectly the friends, of his innocence, and himself of God's justice. The basis of this longing is the desire of being free from the painful conception of God which he is obliged to give way to. For it is not the darkness of affliction that enshrouds him which causes Job the intensest suffering, but the darkness in which it has enshrouded God to him,—the angry countenance of God which is turned to him. But if this is sin, that he is engaged in a conflict concerning the justice of the Author of his affliction, it is still greater that he indulges evil thoughts respecting the Judge towards whose throne of judgment he

presses forward. He thinks that God designedly avoids him, because He is well aware of his innocence ; now, however, He will admit no other thought but that of suffering him to endure to the end the affliction decreed. Job's suspicion against God is as dreadful as it is childish. This is a profoundly tragic stroke. It is not to be understood as the sarcasm of defiance ; on the contrary, as one of the childish thoughts into which melancholy bordering on madness falls. From the bright height of faith to which Job soars in ch. xix. 25 sqq. he is here again drawn down into the most terrible depth of conflict, in which, like a blind man, he gropes after God, and because he cannot find Him thinks that He flees before him lest He should be overcome by him. The God of the present, Job accounts his enemy ; and the God of the future, to whom his faith clings, who will and must vindicate him so soon as He only allows himself to be found and seen—this God is not to be found ! He cannot get free either from his suffering or from his ignominy. The future for him is again veiled in a twofold darkness.

Thus Job does not so much answer Eliphaz as himself, concerning the cutting rebukes he has brought against him. He is not able to put them aside, for his consciousness does not help him ; and God, whose judgment he desires to have, leaves him still in difficulty. But the mystery of his lot of affliction, which thereby becomes constantly more torturing, becomes still more mysterious from a consideration of the reverse side, which he is urged by Eliphaz more closely to consider, terrible as it may be to him. He, the innocent one, is being tortured to death by an angry God, while for the ungodly there come no times of punishment, no days of vengeance : greedy conquerors, merciless rulers, oppress the poor to the last drop of blood, who are obliged to yield to them, and must serve them, without wrong being helped by the right ; murderers, who shun the light, thieves, and adulterers, carry on their evil

courses unpunished; and swiftly and easily, without punishment overtaking them, or being able to overtake them, Sheôl snatches them away, as heat does the melted snow; even God himself preserves the oppressors long in the midst of extreme danger, and after a long life, free from care and laden with honour, permits them to die a natural death, as a ripe ear of corn is cut off. Bold in the certainty of the truth of his assertion, Job meets the friends: if it is not so, who will convict me as a liar?! What answer will they give? They cannot long disown the mystery, for experience outstrips them. Will they therefore solve it? They might, had they but the key of the future state to do it with! But neither they nor Job were in possession of that, and we shall therefore see how the mystery, without a knowledge of the future state, struggled through towards solution; or even if this were impossible, how the doubts which it excites are changed to faith, and so are conquered.

*Bildad's Third Speech.*—Chap. xxv.

*Schema: 10.*

[Then began Bildad the Shuhite, and said:]

- 2 *Dominion and terror are with Him,  
He maketh peace in His high places.*
- 3 *Is there any number to His armies,  
And whom doth not His light surpass?*
- 4 *How could a mortal be just with God,  
And how could one born of woman be pure?*
- 5 *Behold, even the moon, it shineth not brightly,  
And the stars are not pure in His eyes.*
- 6 *How much less mortal man, a worm,  
And the son of man, a worm!*

*Ultimum hocce classicum, observes Schultens, quod a parte*

*triumvirorum sonuit, magis receptui canentis videtur, quam praelium renovantis.* Bildad only repeats the two common-places, that man cannot possibly maintain his supposedly perverted right before God, the all-just and all-controlling One, to whom, even in heaven above, all things cheerfully submit, and that man cannot possibly be accounted spotlessly pure, and consequently exalted above all punishment before Him, the most holy One, before whom even the brightest stars do not appear absolutely pure. *הַמֶּשֶׁל* is an *inf. abs.* made into a substantive, like *הַשִּׁשְׁמָה*; the *Hiph.* (to cause to rule), which is otherwise causative, can also, like *Kal*, signify to rule, or properly, without destroying the *Hiphil*-signification, to exercise authority (*vid.* on ch. xxxi. 18); *הַמֶּשֶׁל* therefore signifies sovereign rule. *עֲשֶׂה*, with *הוּא* to be supplied, which is not unfrequently omitted both in participial principal clauses (ch. xii. 17 sqq., Ps. xxii. 29, Isa. xxvi. 3, xxix. 8, xl. 19, comp. Zech. ix. 12, where *אני* is to be supplied) and in partic. subordinate clauses (Ps. vii. 10, lv. 20, Hab. ii. 10), is an expression of the simple *præs.*, which is represented by the *partic.* used thus absolutely (including the personal pronoun) as a proper tense-form (Ew. § 168, c, 306, d). Schlottman refers *עֲשֶׂה* to *הַמֶּשֶׁל* and *וַיִּפְדֵּה*; but the analogy of such attributive descriptions of God is against it. Umbreit and Hahn connect *בְּמִרוֹמָיו* with the subject: He in His heights, *i.e.* down from His throne in the heavens. But most expositors rightly take it as descriptive of the place and object of the action expressed: He establishes peace in His heights, *i.e.* among the celestial beings immediately surrounding Him. This, only assuming the abstract possibility of discord, might mean: *facit majestate sua ut in summa pace et promptissima obedientia ipsi ministrent angeli ipsius in excelsis* (Schmid). But although from ch. iv. 18, xv. 15, nothing more than that even the holy ones above are neither removed from the possibility of sin nor the necessity of a judicial authority which is high above them, can

be inferred; yet, on the other hand, from ch. iii. 8, ix. 13 (comp. xxvi. 12 sq.), it is clear that the poet, in whose conception, as in Scripture generally, the angels and the stars stand in the closest relation, knows of actual, and not merely past, but possibly recurring, instances of hostile dissension and titanic rebellion among the celestial powers; so that עֲשֵׂה שָׁלוֹם, therefore, is intended not merely of a harmonizing reconciliation among creatures which have been contending one against another, but of an actual restoration of the equilibrium that had been disturbed through self-will, by an act of mediation and the exercise of judicial authority on the part of God.

Ver. 3. Instead of the appellation מְרוֹמָיו, which reminds one of Isa. xxiv. 21,—where a like peacemaking act of judgment on the part of God is promised in reference to the spirit-host of the heights that have been working seductively among the nations on earth,—נִדְרָיו, of similar meaning to צִבְאוֹ, used elsewhere, occurs in this verse. The stars, according to biblical representation, are like an army arrayed for battle, but not as after the Persian representation—as an army divided into troops of the *Ahuramazdâ* and *Angramayus* (Ahriman), but a standing army of the children of light, clad in the armour of light, under the guidance of the one God the Creator (Isa. xl. 26, comp. the anti-dualistic assertion in Isa. xlv. 7). The one God is the Lord among these numberless legions, who commands their reverence, and maintains unity among them; and over whom does not His light arise? Umbr. explains: who does not His light, which He communicates to the hosts of heaven, vanquish (קִים עַל in the usual warlike meaning: to rise against any one); but this is a thought that is devoid of purpose in this connection. אִוְרוֹ with the emphatic suff. *élu* (as ch. xxiv. 23, עֵינֶיהוּ) at any rate refers directly to God: *His* light in distinction from the derived light of the hosts of heaven. This distinction is better brought out if we interpret (Merc., Hirz., Hahn,

Schlottm., and others): over whom does (would) not His light arise? *i.e.* all receive their light from His, and do but reflect it back. But יָקִים = יִרְרָא cannot be justified by ch. xi. 17. Therefore we interpret with Ew. and Hlgt. thus: whom does not His light surpass, or, literally, over whom (*i.e.* which of these beings of light) does it not rise, leaving it behind and exceeding it in brightness (יָקִים as synon. of יָרִים)? How then could a mortal be just with God, *i.e.* at His side or standing up before Him; and how could one of woman born be spotless! How could he (which is hereby indirectly said) enter into a controversy with God, who is infinitely exalted above him, and maintain before Him a moral character faultless, and therefore absolutely free from condemnation! In the heights of heaven God's decision is revered; and should man, the feeble one, and born flesh of flesh (*vid.* ch. xiv. 1), dare to contend with God? Behold, עַד-יִרְרָא (עד, as usually when preceded by a negation, *adeo, ne . . . quidem, e.g.* Ex. xiv. 28, comp. Nah. i. 10, where J. H. Michaelis correctly renders: *adeo ut spinas perplexitate æquent*, and אָא used in the same way, ch. v. 5, Ew. § 219, c), even as to the moon, it does not (לֹא with *Waw apod.*, Ges. § 145, 2, although there is a reading לֹא without ! ) shine bright, יִאֱהִל = יִהְיֶה, from אֱהֵל = הֵל.<sup>1</sup> Thus LXX., Targ. Jer., and Gecatilia translate; whereas Saadia translates: it turns not in (לא יִדְחַל), or properly, it does not pitch its tent, fix its habitation. But to pitch one's tent is אֱהֵל or אִהֵל, whence יִהְיֶה, Isa. xiii. 20, = יִאֱהֵל; and what is still more decisive, one would naturally expect יִאֱהֵל נֶשֶׁם in connection with this thought. We therefore render אֱהֵל as a form for once boldly used in the scriptural language for הֵל, as in Isa. xxviii. 28 אֶרֶשׁ once occurs for דִּישׁ. Even the moon is only a feeble light before

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of observation, that *hilâl* signifies in Arabic the new moon (comp. *Genesis*, S. 307); and the Hiphil *ahalla*, like the Kal *halla*, is used of the appearing and shining of the new moon.

God, and the stars are not clean in His eyes ; there is a vast distance between Him and His highest and most glorious creatures—how much more between Him and man, the worm of the dust !

The friends, as was to be expected, are unable to furnish any solution of the mystery, why the ungodly often live and die happily ; and yet they ought to be able to give this solution, if the language which they employ against Job were authorized. Bildad alone speaks in the above speech, Zophar is silent. But Bildad does not utter a word that affects the question. This designed omission shows the inability of the friends to solve it, as much as the tenacity with which they firmly maintain their dogma ; and the breach that has been made in it, either they will not perceive or yet not acknowledge, because they think that thereby they are approaching too near to the honour of God. Moreover, it must be observed with what delicate tact, and how directly to the purpose in the structure of the whole, this short speech of Bildad's closes the opposition of the friends. Two things are manifest from this last speech of the friends : First, that they know nothing new to bring forward against Job, and nothing just to Job's advantage ; that all their darts bound back from Job ; and that, though not according to their judgment, yet in reality, they are beaten. This is evident from the fact that Bildad is unable to give any answer to Job's questions, but can only take up the one idea in Job's speech, that he confidently and boldly thinks of being able to approach God's throne of judgment ; he repeats with slight variation what Eliphaz has said twice already, concerning the infinite distance between man and God, ch. iv. 17-21, xv. 14-16, and is not even denied by Job himself, ch. ix. 2, xiv. 4. But, secondly, the poet cannot allow us to part from the friends with too great repugnance ; for they are Job's friends notwithstanding, and at the close we see them willingly obedient to God's instruction, to go to

Job that he may pray for them and make sacrifice on their behalf. For this reason he does not make Bildad at last repeat those unjust incriminations which were put prominently forward in the speech of Eliphaz, ch. xxii. 5-11. Bildad only reminds Job of the universal sinfulness of the human race once again, without direct accusation, in order that Job may himself derive from it the admonition to humble himself; and this admonition Job really needs, for his speeches are in many ways contrary to that humility which is still the duty of sinful man, even in connection with the best justified consciousness of right thoughts and actions towards the holy God.

*Job's Second Answer.—Chap. xxvi.*

*Schema: 6. 6. 6. 6. 3.*

[Then Job began, and said:]

- 2 *How hast thou helped him that is without power,  
Raised the arm that hath no strength!*
- 3 *How hast thou counselled him that hath no wisdom,  
And fully declared the essence of the matter!*
- 4 *To whom hast thou uttered words,  
And whose breath proceeded from thee?*

Bildad is the person addressed, and the exclamations in vers. 2, 3 are ironical: how thy speech contains nothing whatever that might help me, the supposedly feeble one, in conquering my affliction and my temptation; me, the supposedly ignorant one, in comprehending man's mysterious lot, and mine! לֹא-יָכֹחַ, according to the idea, is only equivalent to לוֹ כֹחַ לֹא (אין) כֹחַ, and לוֹ יָרַע לֹא-עוֹ equivalent to לוֹ יָרַע בְּלֹא-עוֹ; the former is the *abstr. pro concreto*, the latter the genitival connection—the arm of the no-power, *i.e.* powerless (Ges. § 152, 1). The powerless one is Job himself, not God (Merc., Schlottm.), as even the choice of the verbs, vers.



2*b*, 3*a*, shows. Respecting תַּשִּׁיָּה, which we have translated essentiality, duration, completion, we said, on ch. v. 12, that it is formed from תִּשֵּׁ (vid. Prov. viii. 21), not directly indeed, but by means of a verb תִּשֵּׁ (תִּשֵּׂה), in the signification *subsistere* (comp. תָּסַ, and Syriac קִס<sup>1</sup>); it is a *Hophal*-formation (like תִּנָּה), and signifies, so to speak, durability, *subsistentia*, *substantia*, *ὑπόστασις*, so that the comparison of תִּשֵּׁ with אִשָּׁשׁ

אִס (whence אִשָּׁשׁ, Arab. *asīs*, *asās*, etc., *fundamentum*) is forced upon one, and the relationship to the Sanskrit *as* (*asmi* = *εἰμι*) can remain undecided. The observation of J. D. Michaelis<sup>2</sup> to the contrary, *Supplem.* p. 1167: *non placent in linguis ejusmodi etyma metaphysica nimis a vulgari sensu remota; philosophi in scholis ejusmodi vocabula condunt, non plebs*, is removed by the consideration that תִּשִּׁיָּה, which out of Prov. and Job occurs only in Isa. xxviii. 29, Mic. vi. 9, is a Chokma-word: it signifies here, as frequently, *vera et realis sapientia* (J. H. Michaelis). The speech of Bildad is a proof of poverty of thought, of which he himself gives the evidence. His words—such is the thought of ver. 4—are altogether inappropriate, inasmuch as they have no reference whatever to the chief points of Job's speech; and they are, moreover, not his own, but the suggestion of another, and that not God, but Eliphaz, from whom Bildad has borrowed the substance of his brief declamation. Since this is the meaning of ver. 4*b*, it might seem as though אִתְּמִי were

<sup>1</sup> Comp. also Spiegel, *Grammatik der Huzvâresch-Sprache*, S. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Against the comparison of the Arab. *واسى*, *solari*, by Michaelis, Ges., and others (who assume the primary significations *solatium*, *auxilium*), Lagarde (*Anmerkungen zur griech. Uebersetzung der Proverbien*, 1863, S. 57 f.) correctly remarks that *واسى* is only a change of letters of the common language for *أاسى*; but *وشى*, to finish painting (whence *توشية*, decoration), or *ושח* as a transposition from *שוח*, to be level, simple (Hitzig on Prov. iii. 21), leads to no suitable sense.

intended to signify by whose assistance (Arnh., Hahn); but as the poet also, in ch. xxxi. 37, comp. Ezek. xliii. 10, uses וַיְנַיֵּד *seq. acc.*, in the sense of explaining anything to any one, to instruct him concerning anything, it is to be interpreted: to whom hast thou divulged the words (LXX., τὴν ἀνήγγειλας ῥήματα), i.e. thinking and designing thereby to affect him?

In what follows, Job now continues the description of God's exalted rule, which Bildad had attempted, by tracing it through every department of creation; and thus proves by fact, that he is wanting neither in a recognition nor reverence of God the almighty Ruler.

5 — *The shades are put to pain*

*Deep under the waters and their inhabitants.*

6 *Sheôl is naked before him,*

*And the abyss hath no covering.*

7 *He stretched the northern sky over the emptiness;*

*He hung the earth upon nothing.*

Bildad has extolled God's majestic, awe-inspiring rule in the heights of heaven, His immediate surrounding; Job continues the strain, and celebrates the extension of this rule, even to the depths of the lower world. The operation of the majesty of the heavenly Ruler extends even to the realm of shades; the sea with the multitude of its inhabitants forms no barrier between God and the realm of shades; the marrowless, bloodless phantoms or shades below writhe like a woman in travail as often as this majesty is felt by them, as, perhaps, by the raging of the sea or the quaking of the earth. On רַפָּאִים, which also occurs in Phœnician inscriptions, *vid. Psychol.* p. 479; the book of Job corresponds with Ps. lxxxviii. 11 in the use of this appellation. The *sing.* is not רַפָּאִי (whence רַפָּאִים, as the name of a people), but רַפָּא (רַפָּה), which signifies both giants or heroes of colossal stature

(from רפה = רָפָה, to be high), and the relaxed (from רפה, to be weary, like רָפָה, to soften, to soothe), *i.e.* those who are bodiless in the state after death (comp. חָלָה, Isa. xiv. 10, to be weakened, *i.e.* placed in the condition of a *rapha*). It is a question whether יְחֻלָּלִי be *Pilel* (Ges.) or *Pulal* (Olsh.); the *Pul.*, indeed, signifies elsewhere to be brought forth with writhing (ch. xv. 7); it can, however, just as well signify to be put in pain. On account of the reference implied in it to a higher causation here at the commencement of the speech, the *Pul.* is more appropriate than the *Pil.*; and the pausal *ā*, which is often found elsewhere with *Hithpael* (*Hithpal.*), ver. 14, ch. xxxiii. 5, but never with *Piel* (*Pil.*), proves that the form is intended to be regarded as passive.

Ver. 6a. שְׂאוֹל is seemingly used as *masc.*, as in Isa. xiv. 9b; but in reality the *adj.* precedes in the primitive form, without being changed by the gender of שְׂאוֹל. שְׂאוֹלֵי אֲבֵרֶתֶן alternates with שְׂאוֹל, like קִבֵּר in Ps. lxxxviii. 12. As Ps. cxxxix. 8 testifies to the presence of God in Sheôl, so here Job (comp. ch. xxxviii. 17, and especially Prov. xv. 11) that Sheôl is present to God, that He possesses a knowledge which extends into the depths of the realm of the dead, before whom all things are γυμνὰ καὶ τετραχληλισμένα (Heb. iv. 13). The following *partt.*, ver. 7, depending logically upon the chief subject which precedes, are to be determined according to ch. xxv. 2; they are conceived as present, and indeed of God's primeval act of creation, but intended of the acts which continue by virtue of His creative power.

Ver. 7. By צִפֹּן many modern expositors understand the northern part of the earth, where the highest mountains and rocks rise aloft (accordingly, in Isa. xiv. 13, יִרְכָתִי צִפֹּן are mentioned parallel with the starry heights), and consequently the earth is the heaviest (Hirz., Ew., Hlgst., Welte, Schlottm., and others). But (1) it is not probable that the poet would first

have mentioned the northern part of the earth, and then in ver. 7b the earth itself—first the part, and then the whole; (2) נטה is never said of the earth, always of the heavens, for the expansion of which it is the stereotype word (נָטָה, ch. ix. 8, Isa. xl. 22, xliv. 24, li. 13, Zech. xiv. 1, Ps. civ. 2; נוטיהם, Isa. xlii. 5; נטה, Jer. x. 12, li. 15; יְרֵי נָטוּ, Isa. xlv. 12); (3) one expects some mention of the sky in connection with the mention of the earth; and thus is צָפֶן,<sup>1</sup> with Rosenm., Ges., Umbr., Vaih., Hahn, and Olsh., to be understood of the northern sky, which is prominently mentioned, because there is the pole of the vault of heaven, which is marked by the Pole-star, there the constellation of the Greater Bear (שֶׁף, ch. ix. 9) formed by the seven bright stars, there (in the back of the bull, one of the northern constellations of the ecliptic) the group of the Pleiades (פְּלִימָה), there also, below the bull and the twins, Orion (פְּסִיל). On the derivation, notion, and synonyms of תָּהָה, *vid. Genesis*, S. 93; here (where it may be compared with the Arab. *tehîj-un*, empty, and *tîh*, desert) it signifies nothing more than the unmeasurable vacuum of space, parall. פְּלִימָה, not anything = nothing (comp. modern Arabic *lâsh*, or even *mâsh*, compounded of لا and شَيْء, a thing, *e.g.* *bilâs*, for nothing, *ragul mâsh*, useless men). The sky which vaults the earth from the arctic pole, and the earth itself, hang free without support in space. That which is elsewhere (*e.g.* ch. ix. 6) said of the pillars and foundations of the earth, is intended of the internal support of the body of the earth, which is, as it were, fastened together by the mountains, with their roots extend-

<sup>1</sup> The name צָפֶן signifies the northern sky as it appears by day, from its beclouded side in contrast with the brighter and more rainless south; comp. old Persian *apâkhtara*, if this name of the north really denotes the "starless" region, Greek ζόφος, the north-west, from the root *skap*, σκαπεῖν, σκαπαγός (Curtius, *Griech. Etymologie*, ii. 274), *aquilo*, the north wind, as that which brings black clouds with it.

ing into the innermost part of the earth; for the idea that the earth rests upon the bases of the mountains would be, indeed, as Löwenthal correctly observes, an absurd inversion. On the other side, we are also not justified in inferring from Job's expression the laws of the mechanism of the heavens, which were unknown to the ancients, especially the law of attraction or gravitation. The knowledge of nature on the part of the Israelitish Chokma, expressed in ver. 7, however, remains still worthy of respect. On the ground of similar passages of the book of Job, Keppler says of the yet unsolved problems of astronomy: *Hæc et cetera hujusmodi latent in Pandectis ævi sequentis, non antea discenda, quam librum hunc Deus arbiter seculorum recluserit mortalibus.* From the starry heavens and the earth Job turns to the celestial and sub-celestial waters.

- 8 *He bindeth up the waters in His clouds,  
Without the clouds being rent under their burden.*  
9 *He enshroudeth the face of His throne,  
Spreading His clouds upon it.*  
10 *He compasseth the face of the waters with bounds,  
To the boundary between light and darkness.*

The clouds consist of masses of water rolled together, which, if they were suddenly set free, would deluge the ground; but the omnipotence of God holds the waters together in the hollow of the clouds (צִירָה, *Milel*, according to a recognised law, although it is also found in Codd. accented as *Milra*, but contrary to the Masora), so that they do not burst asunder under the burden of the waters (תַּחֲטָאֵם); by which nothing more nor less is meant, than that the physical and meteorological laws of rain are of God's appointment. Ver. 9 describes the dark and thickly-clouded sky that showers down the rain in the appointed rainy season. אָחַז signifies to take hold of, in architecture to hold together by means of

beams, or to fasten together (*vid.* Thenius on 1 Kings vi. 10, comp. 2 Chron. ix. 18, כְּסָתָהֶם, *coagmentata*), then also, as usually in Chald. and Syr., to shut (by means of cross-bars, Neh. vii. 3), here to shut off by surrounding with clouds: He shuts off פְּנֵי־כִסֵּא, the front of God's throne, which is turned towards the earth, so that it is hidden by storm-clouds as by a סָפָה, ch. xxxvi. 29, Ps. xviii. 12. God's throne, which is here, as in 1 Kings x. 19, written כִּסֵּא instead of כִּסֵּא (comp. Arab. *el-cursi*, of the throne of God the Judge, in distinction from العرش, the throne of God who dwells above the world<sup>1</sup>), is indeed in other respects invisible, but the cloudless blue of heaven is as it were its reflected splendour (Ex. xxiv. 10) which is cast over the earth. God veils this His radiance which shines forth towards the earth, פָּרְשׁוּ עָלָיו עָנָנָיו, by spreading over it the clouds which are led forth by Him. פָּרְשׁוּ is commonly regarded as a Chaldaism for פָּרְשׁוּ (Ges. § 56, Olsh. § 276), but without any similar instance in favour of this vocalization of the 3 *pr. Piel* (*Pil.*). Although רָעַנְנָה and שָׁפַעְנָה, ch. xv. 32, iii. 18, have given up the *i* of the *Pil.*, it has been under the influence of the following guttural; and although, moreover, *i* before *Resh* sometimes passes into *a*, *e.g.* וַיִּרָא, it is more reliable to regard פָּרְשׁוּ as *inf. absol.* (Ew. § 141, c): *expandendo*. Ges. and others regard this פָּרְשׁוּ as a mixed form, composed from פָּרַשׁ and פָּרַח; but the verb פָּרַשׁ (with *Shin*) has not the signification to expand, which is assumed in connection with this derivation; it signifies to separate (also Ezek. xxxiv. 12, *vid.* Hitzig on that passage),

<sup>1</sup> According to the more recent interpretation, under Aristotelian influence, العرش is the outermost sphere, which God as *πρῶτον κινουῦν* having set in motion, communicates light, heat, life, and motion to the other revolving spheres; for the *causæ mediæ* descend from God the Author of being (*muhejjî*) from the highest heaven step by step into the sublunary world.

whereas פָּרַשׁ certainly signifies to expand (ch. xxxvi. 29, 30); wherefore the reading פָּרְשֵׁוֹ (with *Sin*), which some Codd. give, is preferred by Bär, and in agreement with him by Luzzatto (*vid.* Bär's *Leket zebi*, p. 244), and it seems to underlie the interpretation where פָּרְשֵׁוֹ עָלָיו is translated by פָּרַשׁ (פָּרַשׁ) עָלָיו, He spreadeth over it (*e.g.* by Aben-Ezra, Kimchi, Ralbag). But the Talmud, *b. Sabbath*, 88 *b* פִּירַשׁ שְׂרִי מִזֵּי שְׂכִינְתּוֹ וַעֲנֵנוּ עָלָיו, the Almighty separated part of the splendour of His Shechina and His cloud, and laid it upon him, *i.e.* Moses, as the passage is applied in the Haggada), follows the reading פָּרְשֵׁוֹ (with *Shin*), which is to be retained on account of the want of naturalness in the consonantal combination שֵׁוֹ; but the word is not to be regarded as a mixed formation (although we do not deny the possibility of such forms in themselves, *vid. supra*, i. 411), but as an intensive form of פָּרַשׁ formed by Prosthesis and an Arabic change of *Sin* into *Shin*, like فَرَشَا, فَرَشَدَ, فَرَشَجَ, which, being formed from فَرَسَ = פָּרַשׁ (פָּרַשׁ), to expand, signifies to spread out (the legs) apart.

Ver. 10 passes from the waters above to the lower waters. תְּכֵלֶת signifies, as in ch. xi. 7, xxviii. 3, Neh. iii. 21, the extremity, the extreme boundary; and the connection of תְּכֵלֶת אֹר is genitival, as the *Tarcha* by the first word correctly indicates, whereas אֹר is supplied with *Munach*, the substitute for *Rebia mugrasch* in this instance (according to *Psalter*, ii. 503, § 2). God has marked out (חָגַג, LXX. ἐγύρωσεν) a law, *i.e.* here according to the sense: a fixed bound (comp. Prov. viii. 29 with Ps. civ. 9), over the surface of the waters (*i.e.* describing a circle over them which defines their circuit) unto the extreme point of light by darkness, *i.e.* where the light is touched by the darkness. Most expositors (Rosenm., Hirz., Hahn, Schlottm., and others) take עֲרִי־תְכֵלֶת adverbially: most accurately, and draw אֹר to חָגַג as a second object, which is contrary to the usage of the language, and doubtful and

unnecessary. Pareau has correctly interpreted: *ad lucis usque tenebrarumque confinia*; עַם in the local sense, not *æque ac*, although it might also have this meaning, as *e.g.* Eccl. ii. 16. The idea is, that God has appointed a fixed limit to the waters, as far as to the point at which they wash the *terra firma* of the extreme horizon, and where the boundary line of the realms of light and darkness is; and the basis of the expression, as Bouillier, by reference to Virgil's *Georg.* i. 240 sq., has shown, is the conception of the ancients, that the earth is surrounded by the ocean, on the other side of which the region of darkness begins.

- 11 *The pillars of heaven tremble  
And are astonished at His threatening.*  
12 *By His power He rouseth up the sea,  
And by His understanding He breaketh Rahab in pieces.*  
13 *By his breath the heavens become cheerful;  
His hand hath pierced the fugitive dragon.*

The mountains towering up to the sky, which seem to support the vault of the sky, are called poetically "the pillars of heaven." יְרוֹפָּפִי is *Pulal*, like יְחוּלְלִי, ver. 5; the signification of violent and quick motion backwards and forwards is secured to the verb רוּף by the Targ. אֲתִרוּפָּה = הִתְפַּלֵּץ, ch. ix. 6, and the Talm. רִפְפֵּיהּ of churned milk, blinking eyes (comp. הִקְרַה עֵינַי, the twinkling of the eye, and רָף, fut. i. o. *nictare*), flapping wings (comp. רָף and רָפַף, *movere, motitare alas*), and wavering thinking. יַעֲרֶה is the divine command which looses or binds the powers of nature; the astonishment of the supports of heaven is, according to the radical signification of עָרַם (cogn. שָׁמַם), to be conceived of as a torpidity which follows the divine impulse, without offering any resistance whatever. That רָעַע, ver. 12a, is to be understood transitively, not like ch. vii. 5, intransitively, is proved by the



dependent (borrowed) passages, Isa. li. 15, Jer. xxxi. 35, from which it is also evident that רנע cannot with the LXX. be translated κατέπαυσεν. The verb combines in itself the opposite significations of starting up, i.e. entering into an excited state, and of being startled, from which the significations of stilling (*Niph.*, *Hiph.*), and of standing back or retreat (رجع), branch off. The conjecture נער after the Syriac version (which translates, *go'ar b'jamo*) is superfluous. רנה, which here also is translated by the LXX. τὸ κῆτος, has been discussed already on ch. ix. 13. It is not meant of the turbulence of the sea, to which מְהִיז is not appropriate, but of a sea monster, which, like the crocodile and the dragon, are become an emblem of Pharaoh and his power, as Isa. li. 9 sq. has applied this primary passage: the writer of the book of Job purposely abstains from such references to the history of Israel. Without doubt, רנה denotes a demoniacal monster, like the demons by the Persians that shall be destroyed at the end of the world, one of which is called *akomano*, evil thought, another *taromaiti*, pride. This view is supported by ver. 13, where one is not at liberty to determine the meaning by Isa. li. 9, and to understand נחש בְּרִית, like תַּנִּין in that passage, of Egypt. But this dependent passage is an important indication for the correct rendering of חֲלָלָה. One thing is certain at the outset, that שִׁפְרָה is not *perf. Piel* = שִׁפְרָה, and for this reason, that the *Dagesh* which characterizes *Piel* cannot be omitted from any of the six *mutæ*; the translation of Jerome, *spiritus ejus ornavit cælos*, and all similar ones, are therefore false. But it is possible to translate: "by His spirit (creative spirit) the heavens are beauty, His hand has *formed* the flying dragon." Thus, in the signification to bring forth (as Prov. xxv. 23, viii. 24 sq.), חֲלָלָה is rendered by Rosenm., Arnh., Vaih., Welte, Renan, and others, of whom Vaih. and Renan, however, do not understand ver. 13a of the creation of the heavens, but of their illumination. By

this rendering vers. 13a and 13b are severed, as being without connection; in general, however, the course of thought in the description does not favour the reference of the whole or half of ver. 13 to the creation. Accordingly, חללה is not to be taken as *Pilel* from חול (חיל), but after Isa. li. 9, as *Poel* from חלל, according to which the idea of ver. 13a is determined, since both lines of the verse are most closely connected.

נָחֵשׁ בָּרִחַ (בְּרִית) is, to wit, the constellation of the Dragon,<sup>1</sup> one of the most straggling constellations, which winds itself between the Greater and Lesser Bears almost half round the polar circle.

“*Maximus hic plexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis  
Circum perque duas in morem fluminis Arctos.*”

VIRGIL, *Georg.* i. 244 sq.

Aratus in Cicero, *de nat. Deorum*, ii. 42, describes it more graphically, both in general, and in regard to the many stars of different magnitudes which form its body from head to tail. Among the Arabs it is called *el-hajje*, the serpent, e.g. in Firuzabâdi: “the *hajje* is a constellation between the Lesser Bear (*farqadân*, the two calves) and the Greater Bear (*benât en-na’sch*, the daughters of the bier),” or *et-tanîn*, the dragon, e.g. in one of the authors quoted by Hyde on Ulugh Beigh’s *Tables of the Stars*, p. 18: “the *tanîn* lies round about the north pole in the form of a long serpent, with many bends and windings.” Thus far the testimony of the old expositors is found in Rosenmüller. The Hebrew name is חֲלִי (the quiver), and is to be distinguished from חָלִי and חֲלִי, the Zodiac constellations Aries and Aquarius.<sup>2</sup> It is questionable how בָּרִחַ is to be understood. The LXX. translates δράκοντα ἀποστάτην in this passage, which is certainly in-

<sup>1</sup> Ralbag, without any ground for it, understands it of the milky way (הענול החלבי), which, according to Rapoport, Pref. to Slonimski’s *Toledoth ha-schamajim* (1838), was already known to the Talmud *b. Berachoth*, 58b, under the name of נהר דנור.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid.* *Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum* (1838), S. 220 f.

correct, since **בריה** beside **נחש** may naturally be assumed to be an attributive word referring to the motion or form of the serpent. Accordingly, Isa. xxvii. 1, *ὄφις φεύγοντα* is more correct, where the Syr. version is **הַנִּיָּא הַרְמָנָא**, the fierce serpent, which is devoid of support in the language; in the passage before us the Syr. also has **הַנִּיָּא יַעְרֵק**, the fleeing serpent, but this translation does not satisfy the more neuter signification of the adjective. Aquila in Isaiah translates *ὄφις μόχλων*, as Jerome translates the same passage *serpentem vectem* (whereas he translates *coluber tortuosus* in our passage), as though it were **בָּרִיחַ**; Symm. is better, and without doubt a substantially similar thought, *ὄφις συγκαλείοντα*, the serpent that joins by a bolt, which agrees with the traditional Jewish explanation, for the dragon in Aben-Ezra and Kimchi (in *Lex.*)—after the example of the learned Babylonian teacher of astronomy, Mar-Samuel (died 257), who says of himself that the paths of the heavens are as familiar to him as the places of Nehardea<sup>1</sup>—is called **נחש עקלתון**, because it is as though it were wounded, and **בריה**, because it forms a bar (**מבריה**) from one end of the sky to the other; or as Sabbatai Donolo (about 940), the Italian astronomer,<sup>2</sup> expresses it: “When God created the two lights (the sun and moon) and the five stars (planets) and the twelve **מזלות** (the constellations of the Zodiac), He also created the **חלי** (dragon), to unite these heavenly bodies as by a weaver’s beam (**מנור אורנים**), and made it stretch itself on the firmament from one end to another as a bar (**כבריה**), like a wounded serpent furnished with head and tail.” By this explanation **בָּרִיחַ** is either taken directly as **בָּרִיחַ**, *vectis*, in which signification it does not, however, occur elsewhere, or the signification *transversus* (*transversarius*) is

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 324. On Isa. xxvii. 1 Kimchi interprets the **מבריה** differently: he scares (pushes away).

<sup>2</sup> Vid. extracts from his **ספר המזלות** in Joseph Kara’s *Comm. on Job*, contributed by S. D. Luzzatto in *Kerem Chemed*, 7th year, S. 57 ff.

assigned to the בָּרִיָּה (= *barriah*) with an unchangeable *Kametz*,—a signification which it might have, for בָּרַח signifies properly to go through, to go slanting across, of which the meanings to unite slantingly and to slip away are only variations. בָּרִיָּה, notwithstanding, has in the language, so far as it is preserved to us, everywhere the signification *fugitivus*, and we will also keep to this: the dragon in the heavens is so called, as having the appearance of fleeing and hastening away. But in what sense is it said of God, that He pierces or slays it? In Isa. li. 9, where the תַּנִּין is the emblem of Egypt (Pharaoh), and xxvii. 1, where נֹחַשׁ בְּרִיָּה is the emblem of Assyria, the empire of the Tigris, the idea of destruction by the sword of Jehovah is clear. The present passage is to be explained according to ch. iii. 8, where לִיָּתָן is only another name for נֹחַשׁ בְּרִיָּה (comp. Isa. xxvii. 1). It is the dragon in the heavens which produces the eclipse of the sun, by winding itself round about the sun; and God must continually wound it anew, and thus weaken it, if the sun is to be set free again. That it is God who disperses the clouds of heaven by the breath of His spirit, the representative of which in the elements is the wind, so that the azure becomes visible again; and that it is He who causes the darkening of the sun to cease, so that the earth can again rejoice in the full brightness of that great light,—these two contemplations of the almighty working of God in nature are so expressed by the poet, that he clothes the second in the mythological garb of the popular conception.

In the closing words which now follow, Job concludes his illustrative description: it must indeed, notwithstanding, come infinitely short of the reality.

14 *Behold, these are the edges of His ways,  
And how do we hear only a whisper thereof!  
But the thunder of His might—who comprehendeth it?*

These (אֵלֶּה retrospective, as in ch. xviii. 21) are only קְצוֹת, the extremest end-points or outlines of the ways of God, which Job has depicted; the wondrous fulness of His might, which extends through the whole creation, transcends human comprehension; it is only שְׁמִיץ דָּבָר therefrom that becomes audible to us men. שְׁמִיץ (שְׁמִיץ) is translated by Symm. here ψιθύρισμα, ch. iv. 12, ψιθυρισμός; the Arab. شَمَسْ (to speak very quickly, mutter) confirms this idea of the word; Jerome's translation, *via parvam stillam sermonis ejus* (comp. ch. iv. 12, *venas*, tropical for parts), is doubly erroneous: the rendering of the שְׁמִיץ has the antithesis of רָעַם against it, and דָּבָר is not to be understood here otherwise than in עֲרֹת דָּבָר, Deut. xxiii. 15, xxiv. 1: shame of something = something that excites a feeling of shame, a whisper of something = some whisper. The notion "somewhat," which the old expositors attribute to שְׁמִיץ, lies therefore in דָּבָר מָה is exclamatory in a similar manner as in Ps. lxxxix. 48: how we hear (נִשְׁמָע, not נִשְׁמָע) only some whisper thereof (בּוֹ partitive, as e.g. Isa. x. 22), i.e. how little therefrom is audible to us, only as the murmur of a word, not loud and distinct, which reaches us!

As in the speech of Bildad the poet makes the opposition of the friends to fade away and cease altogether, as incapable of any further counsel, and hence as conquered, so in Job's closing speech, which consists of three parts, ch. xxvi., xxvii.–xxviii., xxix.–xxxi., he shows how Job in every respect, as victor, maintains the field against the friends. The friends have neither been able to loose the knot of Job's lot of suffering, nor of the universal distribution of prosperity and misfortune. Instead of loosing the knot of Job's lot of suffering, they have cut it, by adding to Job's heavy affliction the invention of heinous guilt as its ground of explanation; and the knot of the contradictions of human life in general with divine justice they have ignored, in order that they may not

be compelled to abandon their dogma, that suffering everywhere necessarily presupposes sin, and sin is everywhere necessarily followed by suffering. Even Job, indeed, is not at present able to solve either one or other of the mysteries; but while the friends' treatment of these mysteries is untrue, he honours the truth, and keenly perceives that which is mysterious. Then he proves by testimony and an appeal to facts, that the mystery may be acknowledged without therefore being compelled to abandon the fear of God. Job firmly holds to the objective reality and the testimony of his consciousness; in the fear of God he places himself above all those contradictions which are unsolvable by and perplexing to human reason; his faith triumphs over the rationalism of the friends, which is devoid of truth, of justice, and of love.

Job first answers Bildad, ch. xxvi. He characterizes his poor reply as what it is: as useless, and not pertinent in regard to the questions before them: it is of no service to him, it does not affect him, and is, moreover, a borrowed weapon. For he also is conscious of and can praise God's exalted and awe-inspiring majesty. He has already shown this twice, ch. ix. 4-10, xii. 13-25, and shows it here for the third time: its operation is not confined merely to those creatures that immediately surround God in the heavens; it extends, without being restrained by the sea, even down to the lower world; and as it makes the angels above to tremble, so there it sets the shades in consternation. From the lower world, Job's contemplation rises to the earth, as a body suspended in space without support; to the clouds above, which contain the upper waters without bursting, and veil the divine throne, of which the sapphire blue of heaven is the reflection; and then he speaks of the sea lying between Sheôl and heaven, which is confined within fixed bounds, at the extreme boundaries of which light passes over into darkness;

—he celebrates all this as proof of the creative might of God. Then he describes the sovereign power of God in the realm of His creation, how He shakes the pillars of heaven, rouses the sea, breaks the monster in pieces, lights up the heavens by chasing away the clouds and piercing the serpent, and thus setting free the sun. But all these—thus he closes—are only meagre outlines of the divine rule, only a faint whisper, which is heard by us as coming from the far distance. Who has the comprehension necessary to take in and speak exhaustively of all the wonders of His infinite nature, which extends throughout the whole creation? From such a profound recognition and so glorious a description of the exaltation of God, the infinite distance between God and man is most clearly proved. Job has adequately shown that his whole soul is full of that which Bildad is anxious to teach him; a soul that only requires a slight impulse to make it overflow with such praise of God, as is not wanting in an universal perception of God, nor is it full of wicked devices. When therefore Bildad maintains against Job that no man is righteous before such an exalted God, Job ought indeed to take it as a warning against such unbecoming utterances concerning God as those which have escaped him; but the universal sinfulness of man is no ground of explanation for his sufferings, for there is a righteousness which avails before God; and of this, Job, the suffering servant of God, has a consciousness that cannot be shaken.

## THIRD PART.—THE TRANSITION TO THE UNRAVELMENT.

## CHAP. XXVII.—XXXI.

*Job's Final Speech to the Friends.*—Chap. xxvii. xxviii.

*Schema:* 12. 10. 12. 10. | 10. 8. 8. 8. 8. 10.

[Then Job continued to take up his proverb, and said :]

- 2 *As God liveth, who hath deprived me of my right,  
And the Almighty, who hath sorely saddened my soul—*
- 3 *For still all my breath is in me,  
And the breath of Eloah in my nostrils—*
- 4 *My lips do not speak what is false,  
And my tongue uttereth not deceit !*
- 5 *Far be it from me, to grant that you are in the right :  
Till I die I will not remove my innocence from me.*
- 6 *My righteousness I hold fast, and let it not go :  
My heart reproacheth not any of my days.*
- 7 *Mine enemy must appear as an evil-doer,  
And he who riseth up against me as unrighteous.*

The friends are silent, Job remains master of the discourse, and his continued speech is introduced as a continued *שְׁאֵת מִשְׁלִי* (after the analogy of the phrase *נִשְׁאָ קוֹל*), as in Num. xxiii. 7 and further on, the oracles of Balaam. *מִשְׁלִי* is speech of a more elevated tone and more figurative character; here, as frequently, the unaffected outgrowth of an elevated solemn mood. The introduction of the ultimatum, as *מִשְׁלִי*, reminds one of “the proverb (*el-methel*) seals it” in the mouth of the Arab, since in common life it is customary to use a pithy saying as the final proof at the conclusion of a speech.

Job begins with an asseveration of his truthfulness (*i.e.*



the agreement of his confession with his consciousness) by the life of God. From this oath, which in the form *bi-hajât alláh* has become later on a common formula of assurance, R. Josua, in his tractate *Sota*, infers that Job served God from love to Him, for we only swear by the life of that which we honour and love; it is more natural to conclude that the God by whom, on the one hand, he believes himself to be so unjustly treated, still appears to him, on the other hand, to be the highest manifestation of truth. The interjectional clause: living is God! is equivalent to, as true as God liveth. That which is affirmed is not what immediately follows: He has set aside my right, and the Almighty has sorely grieved my soul (Raschi); but *המר נפשי* and *הסיר משפטי* are attributive clauses, by which what is denied in the form of an oath—which, introduced by *אם* (as Gen. xlii. 15, 1 Sam. xiv. 45, 2 Sam. xi. 11, Ges. § 155, 2, *f*), is contained in ver. 4—preserves its closer reference to the false semblance of an evil-doer which suffering casts upon him, but which he constantly repudiates as surely not lying, as that God liveth. Among moderns, Schlottm. (comp. Ges. § 150, 3), like most of the old expositors, translates: so long as my breath is in me, . . . my lips shall speak no wrong, so that vers. 3 and 4 together contain what is affirmed. But (1) *כִּי* indeed sometimes introduces that which shall happen as affirmed by oath, Jer. xxii. 5, xlix. 13; but here that which shall not take place is affirmed, which would be introduced first in a general form by *כִּי* *explic. s. recitativum*, then according to its special negative contents by *אם*,—a construction which is perhaps possible according to syntax, but it is nevertheless perplexing; (2) it may perhaps be thought that “the whole continuance of my breath in me” is conceived as accusative and adverbial, and is equivalent to, so long as my breath may remain in me (*כל עור*, as long as ever, like the Arab. *cullama*, as often as ever); but the usage of the language does not favour this explanation,

for 2 Sam. i. 9, בל-עור נפשי בי, signifies my whole soul (my full life) is still in me; and we have a third instance of this prominently placed בל *per hypallagen* in Hos. xiv. 3, בל-השא ען, *omnem auferas iniquitatem*, Ew. § 289, *a* (comp. Ges. § 114, rem. 1). Accordingly, with Ew., Hirz., Hahn, and most modern expositors, we take ver. 3 as a parenthetical confirmatory clause, by which Job gives the ground of his solemn affirmation that he is still in possession of his full consciousness, and cannot help feeling and expressing the contradiction between his lot of suffering, which brands him as an evil-doer, and his moral integrity. The נִשְׁמָתִי which precedes the רוּחַ signifies, according to the prevailing usage of the language; the intellectual, and therefore self-conscious, soul of man (*Psychol.* p. 94 sq.). This is in man and in his nostrils, inasmuch as the breath which passes in and out by these is the outward and visible form of its being, which is in every respect the condition of life (*ib.* p. 100 sq.). The suff. of נִשְׁמָתִי is unaccented, on account of the word which follows being a monosyllable; the tone has retreated (נִכְסוּת אֲחֻרָּה, to use a technical grammatical expression), as *e.g.* also in ch. xix. 25, xx. 2, Ps. xxii. 20. Because he lives, and, living, cannot deny his own existence, he swears that his own testimony, which is suspected by the friends, and on account of which they charge him with falsehood, is perfect truth.

Ver. 4 is not to be translated: "my lips shall never speak what is false;" for it is not a resolve which Job thus strongly makes, after the manner of a vow, but the agreement of his confession, which he has now so frequently made, and which remains unalterable, with the abiding fact. Far be from me—he continues in ver. 5—to admit that you are right (תִּלְיָה לִי with unaccented *ah*, not of the *fem.*, comp. ch. xxxiv. 10, but of direction: for a profanation to me, *i.e.* let it be profane to me, Ew. § 329, *a*, Arab. *hāshā li*, in a like sense); until I expire (prop.: sink together), I will not put my innocence

(תְּמִימָה, perfection, in the sense of purity of character) away from me, *i.e.* I will not cease from asserting it. I will hold fast (as ever) my righteousness, and leave it not, *i.e.* let it not go or fall away; my heart does not reproach even one of my days. מִיָּמִי is virtually an obj. in a partitive sense: *mon cœur ne me reproche pas un seul de mes jours* (Renan). The heart is used here as the seat of the conscience, which is the knowledge possessed by the heart, by which it excuses or accuses a man (*Psychol.* p. 160); חֶרֶף (whence חֶרְף, the season in which the fruits are gathered) signifies *carpere*, to pluck = to pinch, lash, inveigh against. Jos. Kimchi and Ralbag explain: my heart draws not back (from the confession of my innocence) my whole life long (as Maimonides explains נִחְרַפָּה, Lev. xix. 20, of the female slave who is inclined to, *i.e.* stands near to, the position of a free woman), by comparison with the Arabic أَنْحَرَفَ, *deflectere*; it is not, however, حَرَف, but خَرَف, *decerpere*, that is to be compared in the tropical sense of the prevailing usage of the Hebrew specified. The old expositors were all misled by the misunderstood partitive מִיָּמִי, which they translated *ex* (= *inde a*) *diebus meis*. There is in ver. 7 no ground for taking יָדִי, with Hahn, as a strong affirmative, as supposed in ch. xviii. 12, and not as expressive of desire; but the meaning is not: let my opponents be evil-doers, I at least am not one (Hirz.). The voluntative expresses far more emotion: the relation must be reversed; he who will brand me as an evil-doer, must by that very act brand himself as such, inasmuch as the מְרַשֵּׁעַ of a צָדִיק really shows himself to be a רָשָׁע, and by recklessly judging the righteous, is bringing down upon himself a like well-merited judgment. The בְּ is the so-called *Caph veritatis*, since בְּ, *instar*, signifies not only similarity, but also equality. Instead of קִיָּמִי, the less manageable, primitive form, which the poet used in ch. xxii. 20 (comp. vol. i. 440),

and beside which קֵם (קום, 2 Kings xvi. 7) does not occur in the book, we here find the more emphatic form מִתְקוֹמֵמִי (comp. ch. xx. 27).<sup>1</sup>

The description of the misfortune of the ungodly which now follows, beginning with בִּי, requires no connecting thought, as for instance: My enemy must be accounted as ungodly, on account of his hostility; I abhor ungodliness, for, etc.; but that he who regards him as a רשע is himself a רשע, Job shows from the fact of the רשע having no hope in death, whilst, when dying, he can resign himself to the confident hope of a divine vindication of his innocence.

- 8 *For what is the hope of the godless, when He cutteth off,  
When Eloah taketh away his soul?*
- 9 *Will God hear his cry  
When distress cometh upon him?*
- 10 *Or can he delight himself in the Almighty,  
Can he call upon Eloah at all times?*
- 11 *I will teach you concerning the hand of God,  
I will not conceal the dealings of the Almighty.*
- 12 *Behold, ye have all seen it,  
Why then do ye cherish foolish notions?*

In comparing himself with the רשע, Job is conscious that he has a God who does not leave him unheard, in whom he delights himself, and to whom he can at all times draw near; as, in fact, Job's fellowship with God rests upon the freedom of the most intimate confidence. He is not one of the godless; for what is the hope of one who is estranged from God, when he comes to die? He has no God on whom his hope

<sup>1</sup> In Beduin the enemy is called *qômâni* (vid. *supra*, on ch. xxiv. 12, p. 26), a denominative from *qôm* قَوْم, war, feud; but *qôm* has also the signification of a collective of *qômâni*, and one can also say: *entum wa-ijânâ qôm*, you and we are enemies, and *bênâtna qôm*, there is war between us.—WETZST.

might establish itself, to whom it could cling. The old expositors err in many ways respecting ver. 8, by taking *בָּצַע*, *abscindere* (root *בָּצַ*), in the sense of (*opes*) *corradere* (thus also more recently Rosenm. after the Targ., Syr., and Jer.), and referring *יִשָּׁל* to *שָׁלָה* in the signification *tranquillum esse* (thus even Blumenfeld after Ralbag and others). *נַפְשׁוֹ* is the object to both verbs, and *בָּצַע נַפֶּשׁ*, *abscindere animam*, to cut off the thread of life, is to be explained according to ch. vi. 9, Isa. xxxviii. 12. *שָׁלָה נַפֶּשׁ*, *extrahere animam* (from *שָׁלָה*, whence *שָׁלָה נִשְׁלָה*, the after-birth, cogn. *שָׁל נִשְׁלָה*, *נִשְׁל נִשְׁלָה*), is of similar signification, according to another figure, since the body is conceived of as the sheath (*נִרְנָה*, Dan. vii. 15) of the soul<sup>1</sup> (comp. *שָׁל* in the universal signification *evaginare ensem*). The *fut. apoc. Kal* *יִשָּׁל* (= *יִשָּׁלֵה*) is therefore in meaning equivalent to the intrans. *יִשָּׁל*, Deut. xxviii. 40 (according to Ew. § 235, c, obtained from this by change of vowel), *decidere*; and Schnurrer's supposition that *יִשָּׁל*, like the Arab. *يسل*, is equivalent to *ישאל* (when God demands it), or such a violent correction as De Lagarde's<sup>2</sup> (when he is in distress *יצק*, when one demands his soul with a curse *יִשְׁאַל בְּאַלָה*), is unnecessary.

The ungodly man, Job goes on to say, has no God to hear his cry when distress comes upon him; he cannot delight himself (*יִתְעַנֵּג*, pausal form of *יִתְעַנֵּג*, the primary form of *יִתְעַנֵּג*) in the Almighty; he cannot call upon Eloah at any

<sup>1</sup> On the similar idea of the body, as the *kosha* (sheath) of the soul, among the Hindus, *vid. Psychol.* p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. zur griech. Uebers. der Proverbien* (1863), S. VI. f., where the first reason given for this improvement of the text is this, that the usual explanation, according to which *יִשָּׁל* and *יִבְצַע* have the same subj. and obj. standing after the verb, is altogether contrary to Semitic usage. But this assertion is groundless, as might be supposed from the very beginning. Thus, e.g. the same obj. is found after two verbs in ch. xx. 19, and the same subj. and obj. in Neh. iii. 20.

time (*i.e.* in the manifold circumstances of life under which we are called to feel the dependence of our nature). Torn away from God, he cannot be heard, he cannot indeed pray and find any consolation in God. It is most clearly manifest here, since Job compares his condition of suffering with that of a חַנָּה, what comfort, what power of endurance, yea, what spiritual joy in the midst of suffering (הַחֲנֻנִי, as ch. xxii. 26, Ps. xxxvii. 4, 11, Isa. lv. 2, lviii. 13 sq.), which must all remain unknown to the ungodly, he can draw from his fellowship with God; and seizing the very root of the distinction between the man who fears God and one who is utterly godless, his view of the outward appearance of the misfortune of both becomes changed; and after having allowed himself hitherto to be driven from one extreme to another by the friends, as the heat of the controversy gradually cools down, and as, regaining his independence, he stands before them as their teacher, he now experiences the truth of *docendo discimus* in rich abundance. I will instruct you, says he, in the hand, *i.e.* the mode of action, of God (בְּ just as in Ps. xxv. 8, 12, xxxii. 8, Prov. iv. 11, of the province and subject of instruction); I will not conceal אֲשֶׁר עִם-שִׁרִי, *i.e.* according to the sense of the passage: what are the principles upon which He acts; for that which is with (עִם) any one is the matter of his consciousness and volition (*vid.* on ch. xxiii. 10, p. 10).

Ver. 12a is of the greatest importance in the right interpretation of what follows from ver. 13 onwards. The instruction which Job desires to impart to the friends has reference to the lot of the evil-doer; and when he says: Behold, ye yourselves have all beheld (learnt) it—in connection with which it is to be observed that אַתֶּם כֻּלְּכֶם does not signify merely *vos omnes*, but *vosmet ipsi omnes*,—he grants to them what he appeared hitherto to deny, that the lot of the evil-doer, certainly in the rule, although not with-

out exceptions, is such as they have said. The application, however, which they have made of this abiding fact of experience, is and remains all the more false: Wherefore then (וְהַיִּתְּ makes the question sharper) are ye vain (blinded) in vanity (self-delusion), viz. in reference to me, who do not so completely bear about me the characteristic marks of a רֶשַׁע? The verb הִבַּל signifies to think and act vainly (without ground or connection), 2 Kings xvii. 15 (comp. ἐματαιώθησαν, Rom. i. 21); the combination הִבַּל הִבַּל may be judged of according to Ges. § 138, rem. 1, as it is also by Ew. § 281, a, but הִבַּל may also be taken as the representative of the gerund, as e.g. עֲרִיָּה, Hab. iii. 9.

In the following strophe Job now begins as Zophar (ch. xx. 29) concluded. He gives back to the friends the doctrine they have fully imparted to him. They have held the lot of the evil-doer before him as a mirror, that he may behold himself in it and be astounded; he holds it before them, that they may perceive how not only his bearing under suffering, but also the form of his affliction, is of a totally different kind.

- 13 *This is the lot of the wicked man with God,  
And the heritage of the violent which they receive from the  
Almighty :*
- 14 *If his children multiply, it is for the sword,  
And his offspring have not bread enough.*
- 15 *His survivors shall be buried by the pestilence,  
And his widows shall not weep.*
- 16 *If he heapeth silver together as dust,  
And prepareth garments for himself as mire :*
- 17 *He prepareth it, and the righteous clothe themselves,  
And the innocent divide the silver among themselves.*
- 18 *He hath built as a moth his house,  
And as a hut that a watchman setteth up.*

We have already had the combination אָדָם רָשָׁע for אִישׁ רָשָׁע in ch. xx. 29; it is a favourite expression in Proverbs, and reminds one of *ἄνθρωπος ὀδύτης* in Homer, and *ἄνθρωπος σπείρων, ἐχθρός, ἔμπορος*, in the parables Matt. xiii. *Psik* (*Pasek*) stands after רָשָׁע, to separate the wicked man and God, as in Prov. xv. 29 (Norzi). לָמוֹ, exclusively peculiar to the book of Job in the Old Test. (here and ch. xxix. 21, xxxviii. 40, xl. 4), is לָ rendered capable of an independent position by means of מו = מה, לו. The sword, famine, and pestilence are the three punishing powers by which the evil-doer's posterity, however numerous it may be, is blotted out; these three, חָרֵב, רָעָב, and מָוֶת, appear also side by side in Jer. xv. 2; מָוֶת, instead of מְמוֹתַי (Jer. xvi. 4), *divis mortibus*, is (as also Jer. xviii. 21) equivalent to דָּבָר in the same trio, Jer. xiv. 12; the plague is personified (as when it is called by an Arabian poet *umm el-farit*, the mother of death), and Vavassor correctly observes: *Mors illos sua sepeliet, nihil præterea honoris supremi consecuturos*. Böttcher (*de inferis*, § 72) asserts that בָּמוֹת can only signify *pestilentiae tempore*, or better, *ipso mortis momento*; but since בָּ occurs by the passive elsewhere in the sense of *ab* or *per*, e.g. Num. xxxvi. 2, Hos. xiv. 4, it can also by נִקְבֵּר denote the efficient cause. Olshausen's correction בָּמוֹת לֹא יִקְבְּרוּ, they will not be buried when dead (Jer. xvi. 4), is still less required; "to be buried by the pestilence" is equivalent to, not to be interred with the usual solemnities, but to be buried as hastily as possible. Ver. 15b (common to our poet and the psalm of Asaph, lxxviii. 64, which likewise belongs to the Salomonic age) is also to be correspondingly interpreted: the women that he leaves behind do not celebrate the usual mourning rites (comp. Gen. xxiii. 2), because the decreed punishment which, stroke after stroke, deprives them of husbands and children, prevents all observance of the customs of mourning, and because the shock stifles the feeling of pity. The treasure in gold which his avarice has heaped



up, and in garments which his love of display has gathered together, comes into the possession of the righteous and the innocent, who are spared when these three powers of judgment sweep away the evil-doer and his family. Dust and dirt (*i.e.* of the streets, חֲרוֹת) are, as in Zech. ix. 3, the emblem of a great abundance that depreciates even that which is valuable. The house of the ungodly man, though a palace, is, as the fate of the fabric shows, as brittle and perishable a thing, and can be as easily destroyed, as the fine spinning of a moth, עֵץ (according to the Jewish proverb, the brother of the סָף), or even the small case which it makes from remnants of gnawed articles, and drags about with it; it is like a light hut, perhaps for the watchman of a vineyard (Isa. i. 8), which is put together only for the season during which the grapes are ripening.<sup>1</sup>

- 19 *He lieth down rich, and doeth it not again,  
He openeth his eyes and—is no more.*  
20 *Terrors take hold of him as a flood;  
By night a tempest stealeth him away.*

<sup>1</sup> The watchman's hut, for the protection of the vineyards and melon and maize fields against thieves, herds, or wild beasts, is now called either *'arîshe* and *mantara* (מַנְטָרָה) if it is only slightly put together from branches of trees, or *chême* (חֵמָה) if it is built up high in order that the watcher may see a great distance. The *chême* is the more frequent; at harvest it stands in the midst of the threshing-floors (*bejâdir*) of a district, and it is constructed in the following manner:—Four poles (*'awâmid*) are set up so as to form the corners of a square, the sides of which are about eight feet in length. Eight feet above the ground, four cross pieces of wood (*'awârid*) are tightly bound to these with cords, on which planks, if they are to be had, are laid. Here is the watcher's bed, which consists of a litter. Six or seven feet above this, cross-beams are again bound to the four poles, on which boughs, or reeds (*qasab*), or a mat (*hasîra*, חֲצִירָה) forms a roof (*sath*, שֹׁטָח), from which the *chême* has its name; for the *Piel*-forms עָרַשׁ, חָיָם, and שֹׁטָח signify, “to be stretched over anything after the manner of a roof.” Between the roof and the bed, three sides of the *chême* are hung round with a mat, or with

- 21 *The east wind lifteth him up, that he departeth,  
And hurleth him forth from his place.*  
 22 *God casteth upon him without sparing,  
Before His hand he fleeth hither and thither.*  
 23 *They clap their hands at him,  
And hiss him away from his place.*

The pointing of the text **וְלֹא יִסְתָּף** is explained by Schnurr., Umbr., and Stick.: He goes rich to bed and nothing is taken as yet, he opens his eyes and nothing more is there; but if this were the thought intended, it ought at least to have been **וְאֵין נִסְתָּף**, since **לֹא** signifies *non*, not *nihil*; and Stickel's translation, "while nothing is carried away," makes the *fut.* instead of the *præt.*, which was to be expected, none the more tolerable; also **סָתַף** can indeed signify to gather hastily together, to take away (*e.g.* Isa. xxxiii. 4), when the connection favours it, but not here, where the first impression is that **רָשַׁע** is the subj. both to **וְלֹא יִסְתָּף** and to **וְאֵינֶנּוּ**. Böttcher's translation, "He lieth down rich and cannot be displaced," gives the words a meaning that is ridiculed by the usage of the language. On the other hand, **וְלֹא יִסְתָּף** can signify: and he

reeds or straw (*qashsh*, **קֶשֶׁשׁ**) bound together, in order both to keep off the cold night-winds, and also to keep the thieves in ignorance as to the number of the watchers. A small ladder, *sullem* (**סֻלֶּם**), frequently leads to the bed-chamber. The space between the ground and this chamber is closed only on the west side to keep off the hot afternoon sun, for through the day the watcher sits below with his dog, upon the ground. Here is also his place of reception, if any passers-by visit him; for, like the village shepherd, the field-watcher has the right of showing a humble hospitality to any acquaintances. When the fruits have been gathered in, the *chême* is removed. The field-watchman is now called *nâtâr* (**נָאֲטָר**), and the verb is *natar*, **נָטַר**, "to keep watch," instead of which the quadriliteral *nôtar*, **נִטַּר** (from the *plur.* **נוֹאֲטִיר**, "the watchers"), has also been formed. In one part of Syria all these forms are written with **נָ** (d) instead of **ט**, and pronounced accordingly. The **נָטַר** in this passage is similarly related to the **נָטַר** in Cant. i. 6, viii. 11, 12.—WETZST.

is not conveyed away (comp. *e.g.* Jer. viii. 2, Ezek. xxix. 5; but not Isa. lvii. 1, where it signifies to be swept away, and also not Num. xx. 26, where it signifies to be gathered to the fathers), and is probably intended to be explained after the pointing that we have, as Rosenm. and even Ralbag explain it: "he is not conveyed away; one opens his eyes, and he is not;" or even as Schlottm.: "he is not conveyed away; in one moment he still looks about him, in the next he is no more;" but the relation of the two parts of the verse in this interpretation is unsatisfactory, and the preceding strophe has already referred to his not being buried. Since, therefore, only an unsuitable, and what is more, a badly-expressed thought, is gained by this reading, provided the expression might be regarded with Hahn as interrogative: is he not swept away? which, however, is only a makeshift, we must see whether it may not perhaps be susceptible of another pointing. Jerome transl.: *dives cum dormierit, nihil secum auferet*; the thought is not bad, but מְנַחֵם is wanting, and אֵל alone does not signify *nihil*. Better LXX. (Ital., Syr.): *πλούσιος κοιμηθήσεται καὶ οὐ προσθήσει*. This translation follows the form of reading הָיָה = הָיָה, gives a suitable sense, places both parts of the verse in the right relation, and accords with the style of the poet (*vid.* ch. xx. 9, xl. 5); and accordingly, with Ew., Hirz., and Hlgst., we decide in favour of this reading: he lieth down to sleep rich, and he doeth it no more, since in the night he is removed from life and also from riches by sudden death; or also: in the morning he openeth his eyes without imagining it is the last time, for, overwhelmed by sudden death, he closes them for ever. Vers. 20*a* and 20*b* are attached cross-wise (*chiastisch*) to this picture of sudden destruction, be it by night or by day: the terrors of death seize him (*sing. fem.* with a *plur.* subj. following it, according to Ges. § 146, 3) like a flood (comp. the floods of Belial, Ps. xviii. 5), by night

a whirlwind (וּנְכַתְּנוּ סוּפָה, as ch. xxi. 18) carrieth him away. The Syriac and Arabic versions add, as a sort of interpolation: as a fluttering (large white) night-moth,—an addition which no one can consider beautiful.

Ver. 21 extends the figure of the whirlwind. In Hebrew, even when the narrative has reference to Egyptian matters (Gen. xli. 23), the קָרִים which comes from the Arabian desert is the destructive, devastating, and parching wind κατ' ἐξοχῆς.<sup>1</sup> וַיִּלֶּךְ signifies *peribit* (*ut pereat*), as ch. xiv. 20, xix. 10. שֹׁעֵר (comp. סֹעֵרָה, O storm-chased one) is connected with the accus. of the person pursued, as in Ps. lviii. 10. The subj. of וַיִּשְׁלַח, ver. 22, is God, and the verb stands without an obj.: to cast at any one (shoot), as Num. xxxv. 22 (for the figure, comp. ch. xvi. 13); LXX. correctly: ἐπιρρίψει (whereas ch. xviii. 7, σφάλαι = ותכשילוהו). The gerundive with יִכְרֶה lays stress upon the idea of the exertion of flight: whithersoever he may flee before the hand of God, every attempt is in vain. The suff. *émo*, ver. 23a, both according to the syntax and the matter, may be taken as the plural suff.; but the fact that כִּפְּיָמוּ can be equivalent to כִּפְּיָי (comp.

<sup>1</sup> In Syria and Arabia the east wind is no longer called *qadīm*, but exclusively *sharqīja*, i.e. the wind that blows from the rising of the sun (*sharq*). This wind rarely prevails in summer, occurring then only two or three days a month on an average; it is more frequent in the winter and early spring, when, if it continues long, the tender vegetation is parched up, and a year of famine follows, whence in the Lebanon it is called *semûm* (שִׁמּוֹם), which in the present day denotes the "poisonous wind" (= *nesme musimme*), but originally, by alliance with the Hebr. שָׂמָם, denoted the "devastating wind." The east wind is dry; it excites the blood, contracts the chest, causes restlessness and anxiety, and sleepless nights or evil dreams. Both man and beast feel weak and sickly while it prevails. Hence that which is unpleasant and revolting in life is compared to the east wind. Thus a maid in Hauran, at the sight of one of my Damascus travelling companions, whose excessive ugliness struck her, cried: *billâh, nahâr el-jôm aqshar* (اقشر), *wagahetni* (وجهتنی) *sharqīja*, "by God, it is an unhealthy day to-day: an east wind blew upon me." And in a festive dance song of the *Merg* district, these words occur: *wa rudd*

Ps. xi. 7), עָלַי to עָלַי (comp. ch. xx. 23, xxii. 2), as לִי is equivalent to לִי (*vid.* Isa. xlv. 15, liii. 8), is established, and there is no reason why the same may not be the case here. The accumulation of the terminations *émo* and *ômo* gives a tone of thunder and a gloomy impress to this conclusion of the description of judgment, as these terminations frequently occur in the book of Psalms, where moral depravity is mourned and divine judgment threatened (*e.g.* in Ps. xvii. xlix. lviii. lix. lxxiii.). The clapping of hands (שָׁפַף כַּפָּי = שָׁפַף, Lam. ii. 15, comp. נָקַע, Nah. iii. 19) is a token of malignant joy, and hissing (שָׁרַף, Zeph. ii. 15, Jer. xlix. 17) a token of scorn. The expression in ver. 23b is a pregnant one. Clapping of hands and hissing accompany the evil-doer when merited punishment overtakes him, and chases him forth from the place which he hitherto occupied (comp. ch. viii. 18).

Earlier expositors have thought it exceedingly remarkable that Job, in ch. xxvii. 13-23, should agree with the assertions of the three friends concerning the destiny of the ungodly and his descendants, while he has previously opposed them

*li nômet hodênik | seb' lejâli bi-'olija | wa berd wa sherd wa sharqîja . . .*

"And grant me again to slumber on thy bosom,

Seven nights in an upper chamber,

And (I will then endure) cold, drifting snow, and east wind."

During the harvest, so long as the east wind lasts, the corn that is already threshed and lying on the threshing-floors cannot be winnowed; a gentle, moderate draught is required for this process, such as is only obtained by a west or south wind. The north wind is much too strong, and the east wind is characterized by constant gusts, which, as the Hauranites say, "*jôchotû tîbn wa-habb*, carries away chaff and corn." When the wind shifts from the west to the east, a whirlwind (*zôba'a*, זֹבַעָה) not unfrequently arises, which often in summer does much harm to the threshing-floors and to the cut corn that is lying in swaths (unless it is weighted with stones). Storms are rare during an east wind; they come mostly with a west wind (never with a south or north wind). But if an east wind does bring a storm, it is generally very destructive, on account of its strong gusts; and it will even uproot the largest trees.—WETZST.

on this point, ch. xii. 6, xxi. xxiv. Kennicott thinks the confusion is cleared away by regarding ch. xxvi. 2-xxvii. 12 as Job's answer to the third speech of Bildad, xxvii. 13 sqq. as the third speech of Zophar, and xxviii. (to which the superscription xxvii. 1 belongs) as Job's reply thereto; but this reply would begin with 'פ, and is no appropriate answer to the carved out speech of Zophar. Stuhlmann (1804) makes this third speech of Zophar begin with xxvii. 11, and imagines a gap between xxvii. 10 and xxvii. 11; but who then are the persons whom Zophar addresses by "you"? The three everywhere address themselves to Job, while here Zophar, contrary to custom, would address himself not to him, but, according to Stuhlmann's exposition, to the others with reference to Job. Ch. xxviii. Stuhlmann removes and places after ch. xxv. as a continuation of Bildad's speech; Zophar's speech therefore remains unanswered, and Zophar may thank this critic not only for allowing him another opportunity of speaking, but also for allowing him the last word. Bernstein (Keil-Tzschirner's *Analekten*, Bd. i. St. 3) removes the contradiction into which Job seems to fall respecting himself in a more thorough manner, by rejecting the division ch. xxvii. 7-xxviii. 28, which is certainly indissolubly connected as a whole, as a later interpolation; but there is no difference of language and poetic spirit here betraying an interpolator; and had there been one, even he ought indeed to have proceeded on the assumption that such an insertion should be appropriate to Job's mouth, so that the task of proving its relative fitness, from his standpoint at least, remains. Hosse (1849) goes still further: he puts ch. xxvii. 10, xxxi. 35-37, xxxviii. 1, etc., together, and leaves out all that comes between these passages. There is then no transition whatever from the entanglement to the unravelment. Job's final reply, ch. xxvii. xxviii., with the monologue ch. xxix.-xxxi., in which even a feeble perception must recognise one of the most

essential and most beautiful portions of the dramatic whole, forms this transition.

Eichhorn (in his translation of Job, 1824), who formerly (*Allgem. Bibliothek der bibl. Lit.* Bd. 2) inclined to Kennicott's view, and Böckel (2d edition, 1804) seek another explanation of the difficulty, by supposing that in ch. xxvii. 13-23 Job reproduces the view of the friends. But in ver. 11 Job announces the setting forth of his own view; and the supposition that with *זֶה חֵלֶק אֲדָרָם רָשָׁע* he does not begin the enunciation of his own view, but that of his opponents, is refuted by the consideration that there is nothing by which he indicates this, and that he would not enter so earnestly into the description if it were not the feeling of his heart. Feeling the worthlessness of these attempted solutions, De Wette (*Einleitung*, § 288), with his customary spirit of criticism with which he depreciates the sacred writers, turns against the poet himself. Certainly, says he, the division ch. xxvii. 11-xxviii. 28 is inappropriate and self-contradictory in the mouth of Job; but this want of clearness, not to say inconsistency, must be brought against the poet, who, despite his utmost endeavour, has not been able to liberate himself altogether from the influence of the common doctrine of retribution.

This judgment is erroneous and unjust. Umbreit (2d edition, S. 261 [Clark's edition, 1836, ii. 122]) correctly remarks, that "without this apparent contradiction in Job's speeches, the interchange of words would have been endless;" in other words: had Job's standpoint been absolutely immoveable, the controversy could not possibly have come to a well-adjusted decision, which the poet must have planned, and which he also really brings about, by causing his hero still to retain an imperturbable consciousness of his innocence, but also allowing his irritation to subside, and his extreme harshness to become moderated. The latter, in reference to

the final destiny of the godless, is already indicated in ch. xxiv., but is still more apparent here in ch. xxvii., and indeed in the following line of thought: "As truly as God lives, who afflicts me, the innocent one, I will not incur the guilt of lying, by allowing myself to be persuaded against my conscience to regard myself as an evil-doer. I am not an evil-doer, but my enemy who regards me and treats me as such must be accounted wicked; for how unlike the hopelessness and estrangement from God, in which the evil-doer dies, is my hope and entreaty in the midst of the heaviest affliction! Yea, indeed, the fate of the evil-doer is a different one from mine. I will teach it you; ye have all, indeed, observed it for yourselves, and nevertheless ye cherish such vain thoughts concerning me." What is peculiar in the description that then follows—a description agreeing in its substance with that of the three, and similar in its form—is therefore this, that Job holds up the end of the evil-doer before the friends, that from it they may infer that *he is not an evil-doer*, whereas the friends held it up before Job that he might infer from it that *he is an evil-doer*, and only by a penitent acknowledgment of this can he escape the extreme of the punishment he has merited. Thus in ch. xxvii. Job turns their own weapon against the friends.

But does he not, by doing so, fall into contradiction with himself? Yes; and yet not so. The Job who has become calmer here comes into contradiction with the impassioned Job who had, without modification, placed the exceptional cases in opposition to the exclusive assertion that the evil-doer comes to a fearful end, which the friends advance, as if it were the rule that the prosperity of the evil-doer continues uninterrupted to the very end of his days. But Job does not come into collision with his true view. For how could he deny that in the rule the retributive justice of God is manifest in the case of the evil-doer! We can only perceive



his true opinion when we compare the views he here expresses with his earlier extreme antitheses: hitherto, in the heat of the controversy, he has opposed that which the friends one-sidedly maintained by the direct opposite; now he has got upon the right track of thought, in which the fate of the evil-doer presents itself to him from another and hitherto mistaken side,—a phase which is also but imperfectly appreciated in ch. xxiv.; so that now at last he involuntarily does justice to what truth there is in the assertion of his opponent. Nevertheless, it is not Job's intention to correct himself here, and to make an admission to the friends which has hitherto been refused. Hirzel's explanation of this part inclines too much to this erroneous standpoint. On the contrary, our rendering accords with that of Ewald, who observes (S. 252 f. 2d edition, 1854) that Job here maintains *in his own favour*, and against them, what the friends directed *against* him, since the hope of not experiencing such an evil-doer's fate becomes strong in him: "Job is here on the right track for more confidently anticipating his own rescue, or, what is the same thing, the impossibility of his perishing just as if he were an evil-doer." Moreover, how well designed is it that the description vers. 13 sqq. is put into Job's mouth! While the poet allows the friends designedly to interweave lines taken from Job's misfortunes into their descriptions of the evil-doer's fate, in Job's description not one single line is found which coincides with his own lot, whether with that which he has already experienced, or even with that which his faith presents to him as in prospect. And although the heavy lot which has befallen him looks like the punitive suffering of the evil-doer, he cannot acknowledge it as such, and even denies its bearing the marks of such a character, since even in the midst of affliction he clings to God, and confidently hopes for His vindication. With this rendering of ch. xxvii. 13 sqq. all doubts of its genuineness, which is indeed

admitted by all modern expositors, vanish; and, far from charging the poet with inconsistency, one is led to admire the undiminished skill with which he brings the idea of the drama by concealed ways to its goal.

But the question still comes up, whether ch. xxviii. 1, opening with וַי, does not militate against this genuineness. Hirzel and others observe, that this וַי introduces the confirmation of ch. xxvii. 12b: "But wherefore then do ye cherish such vain imaginations concerning me? For human sagacity and perseverance can accomplish much, but the depths of divine wisdom are impenetrable to man." But how is it possible that the וַי, ch. xxviii. 1, should introduce the confirmation of ch. xxvii. 12b, passing over ch. xxvii. 13-23? If it cannot be explained in any other way, it appears that ch. xxvii. 13-23 must be rejected. There is the same difficulty in comprehending it by supplying some suppressed thought, as *e.g.* Ewald explains it: *For*, as there may also be much in the divine dealings that is dark, etc.; and Hahn: Because evil-doers perish according to their desert, it does not necessarily follow that every one who perishes is an evil-doer, and that every prosperous person is godly, *for*—the wisdom of God is unsearchable. This mode of explanation, which supposes, between the close of ch. xxvii. and the beginning of ch. xxviii., what is not found there, is manifestly forced; and in comparison with it, it would be preferable, with Stickel, to translate וַי "because," and take ch. xxviii. 1, 2 as the antecedent to ver. 3. Then after ch. xxvii. a dash might be made; but this dash would indicate an ugly blank, which would be no honour to the poet. Schlottmann explains it more satisfactorily. He takes ch. xxvii. 13 sqq. as a warning addressed to the friends, lest they bring down upon themselves, by their unjust judgment, the evil-doer's punishment which they have so often proclaimed. If this rendering of ch. xxvii. 13 sqq. were correct, the description of the fate of the evil-doer would be influenced by an under-

lying thought, to which the following statement of the exalted nature of the divine wisdom would be suitably connected as a confirmation. We cannot, however, consider this rendering as correct. The picture ought to have been differently drawn, if it had been designed to serve as a warning to the friends.

It has a different design. Job depicts the revelation of the divine justice which is exhibited in the issue of the life of the evil-doer, to teach the friends that they judge him and his lot falsely. To this description of punishment, which is intended thus and not otherwise, ch. xxviii. with its confirmatory **כי** must be rightly connected. If this were not feasible, one would be disposed, with Pareau, to alter the position of ch. xxviii., as if it were removed from its right place, and put it after ch. xxvi. But we are cautioned against such a violent measure, by the consideration that it is not evident from ch. xxvi. why the course of thought in ch. xxviii., which begins with **כי**, should assume the exact form in which we find it; whereas, on the other hand, it was said in ch. xxvii. that the ungodly heaps up silver, **כסף**, like dust, but that the innocent who live to see his fall divide this silver, **כסף**, among themselves; so that when in ch. xxviii. 1 it continues: **כי יש לבסף מוצא**, there is a connection of thought for which the way has been previously prepared.

If we further take into consideration the fact of ch. xxviii. being only an amplification of the one closing thought to which everything tends, viz. that the fear of God is man's true wisdom, then ch. xxviii., also in reference to this its special point, is suitably attached to the description of the evil-doer's fate, ch. xxvii. 13 sqq. The miserable end of the ungodly is confirmed by this, that the wisdom of man, which he has despised, consists in the fear of God; and Job thereby at the same time attains the special aim of his teaching, which is announced at ch. xxvii. 11 by **אורה אתכם ביראאל**: viz. he has at the same time proved that he who retains the

fear of God in the midst of his sufferings, though those sufferings are an insoluble mystery, cannot be a רשע. This design of the confirmation, and that connection of thought, which should be well noted, prove that ch. xxviii. stands in its original position. And if we ponder the fact, that Job has depicted the ungodly as a covetous rich man who is snatched away by sudden death from his immense possession of silver and other costly treasures, we see that ch. xxviii. confirms the preceding picture of punitive judgment in the following manner: silver and other precious metals come out of the earth, but wisdom, whose value exceeds all these earthly treasures, is to be found nowhere within the province of the creature; God alone possesses it, and from God alone it comes; and so far as man can and is to attain to it, it consists in the fear of the LORD, and the forsaking of evil. This is the close connection of ch. xxviii. with what immediately precedes, which most expositors since Schultens have missed, by transferring the central point to the unsearchableness of the divine wisdom which rules in the world; whereas Bouiller correctly observes that the whole of ch. xxviii. treats not so much of the wisdom of God as of the wisdom of man, which God, the sole possessor of wisdom, imparts to him: *omnibus divitiis, fluxis et evanidis illis possessio præponderat sapientiæ, quæ in pio Dei cultu et fuga mali est posita*. The view of von Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, i. 96, 2d edit.) accords with this: "If ch. xxviii. 1, where a confirmatory or explanatory כִּי forms the transition, is taken together with xxviii. 12, where another part of the speech is introduced with a *Waw*, and finally with ch. xxviii. 28, where this is rounded off, as forming the unity of one thought: it thus proves that the final destruction of the godless, who is happy and prosperous in worldly things, is explained by the fact that man can obtain every kind of hidden riches by his own exertion and courage, but not the wisdom which is not indigenous to this outward world, but is known to God alone, and is to be learned

from Him only; and the teaching concerning it is: behold, the fear of God, that is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding."

Before we now pass on to the detailed exposition of ch. xxviii., we may perhaps here, without anticipating, put the question, Whence has the poet obtained the knowledge of the different modes of mining operations which is displayed in ch. xxviii. 1 sqq., and which has every appearance of being the result of personal observation? Since, as we have often remarked already, he is well acquainted with Egypt, it is most natural that he derived this his knowledge from Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula. The ruins of mines found there show that the Sinaitic peninsula has been worked as a mining district from the earliest times. The first of these mining districts is the *Wadi Nasb*, where Lepsius (*Briefe*, S. 338) found traces of old smelting-places, and where also Graul and his companions, having their attention drawn to it by Wilkinson's work, searched for the remains of a mine, and found at least traces of copper slag, but could see nothing more (*Reise*, ii. 202). E. Rüppell explored the spot at the desire of the Viceroy Mehemed Ali, and Russegger with less successful result (*vid.* the particulars in Ritter's *Erdkunde*, xiv. 784-788).<sup>1</sup> A second mining district is denoted by the ruins of a temple of *Hathor*, on the steep terrace of the rising

<sup>1</sup> The valley is not called *Wadi nahas* (Copper valley), which is only a supposition of Rüppell, but *Wadi nasb*, نَسَب, which, according to Reinaud, signifies valley of statues or columns. Thirty hours' journey from Suez, says a connoisseur in the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, 1863, S. 802 f., lies the *Wadi nesb* [a pronunciation which assumes the form of writing نَسَب]; it is rare that the ore is so easy to get, and found in such abundance, for the blocks containing the copper are in many places 200 feet in diameter, and the ore is almost in a pure state. The mineral (the black earth containing the copper) abounds in the metal. . . . Besides this, iron-ore, manganese, carbonate of lead, and also the exceeding precious cinnabar, have been discovered on Sinai.

ground *Sarbut* (*Serâbît*) *el-châdim*, which stretches out into a spacious valley. This field of ruins, with its many lofty columns within the still recognisable area of a temple, and round about it, gives the impression of a large burying-ground, and it is described and represented as such by Carsten Niebuhr (*Reise*, 235, Tafel xlv.). In February 1854, Graul (*Reise*, ii. 203) and Tischendorf spent a short time upon this eminence of the desert, which is hard to climb, and abounds in monuments. It produced a strong impression upon us—says the latter (*Aus dem heiligen Lande*, S. 35)—as we tarried in the midst of the grotesque forms of these monuments, while the setting sun cast its deep red gleam over the wild terrific-looking copper rocks that lay around in their varied shades, now light, now dark. That these copper rocks were worked in ancient days, is proved by the large black heaps of slag which Lepsius (*Briefe*, S. 338) discovered to the east and west of the temple. Moreover, in the inscriptions *Hathor* bears the by-name “Queen of *Mafkat*,” i.e. the copper country (*mafka*, copper, with the feminine post-positive article *t*). It even bears this name on the monuments in the *Wadi maghâra*, one of the side-gorges of the *Wadi mucatteb* (i.e. the Written Valley, valley full of inscriptions). These signs of another ancient mining colony belong almost entirely to the earliest Egyptian antiquity, while those on *Sarbut el-châdim* extend back only to *Amenemha* III., consequently to the last dynasty of the old kingdom. Even the second king of the fifth dynasty, *Snefru*, and indeed his predecessor (according to Lepsius, his successor) *Chufu*—that *Xéouf* who built the largest pyramid—appear here as conquerors of foreign peoples, and the mountainous district dedicated to *Hathor* is also called *Mafkart*. The remains of a mine, discovered by J. Wilson, at the eastern end of the north side of the *Wadi mucatteb*, also belongs to this copper country: they lie near the road, but in back gorges; there is a very high wall of

rock of granite or porphyry, which is penetrated by dark seams of metal, which have been worked out from above downwards, thus forming artificial caverns, pits, and shafts; and it may be inferred that the yield of ore was very abundant, and, from the simplicity of the manner of working, that it is of very great antiquity. This art of mining thus laid open, as Ritter says,<sup>1</sup> furnishes the most important explanation of Job's remarkable description of mining operations.

As to Egypt itself, it has but few places where iron-ore was obtained, and it was not very plentiful, as iron occurs much more rarely than bronze on the tombs, although Wilkinson has observed important copper mines almost as extensive as the copper country of Sinai: we only, however, possess more exact information concerning the gold mines on the borders of Upper Egypt. Agatharchides mentions them in his *Periplus*; and Diodorus (iii. 11 sqq.) gives a minute description of them, from which it is evident that mining in those days was much the same as it was with us about a hundred years ago: we recognise in it the day and night relays, the structure of shafts, the crushing and washing apparatus, and the smelting-place.<sup>2</sup> There are the gold mines of Nubia, the name of which signifies the gold country, for *NOYB* is the old Egyptian name for gold. From the time of *Sethoshi* I., the father of *Sesostris*, we still possess the plan of a gold mine, which Birch (*Upon a historical tablet of Rameses II. of the XIX. dynasty, relating to the gold mines of Æthiopia*) has first of all correctly determined. Moreover, on monuments of all ages frequent mention is made of other metals (silver, iron, lead), as of precious stones, with which *e.g.* harps were ornamented; the diamond can also be

<sup>1</sup> In the essay on the Sinaitic peninsula in *Piper's Ev. Jahrbuch*, 1852. The mining district that J. Wilson saw (1843-44) is not one that was unknown up to that time, but one of the places of the *Wadi maghâra* recognised as favouring the ancient Egyptian system of excavation.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Klemm, *Allgem. Cultur-Geschichte*, v 304.

traced. In the *Papyrus Prisse*, which Chabas has worked up under the title *Le plus ancien livre du monde*, *Phtha-hotep*, the author of this moral tractate, iv. 14, says: "Esteem my good word more highly than the (green) emerald, which is found by slaves under the pebbles."<sup>1</sup> The emerald-hills near Berenice produced the emerald.

But if the scene of the book of Job is to be sought in Idumæa proper ('Gebâl) or in Haurân, there were certainly mines that were nearer than the Egyptian. In *Phunon* (*Phinon*), between Petra and Zoar, there were pits from which copper (*χαλκοῦ μέταλλα*, *æris metalla*) was obtained even to the time of Moses, as may be inferred from the fact of Moses having erected the brazen serpent there (Num. xxi. 9 sq., comp. xxxiii. 42 sq.), and whither, during the persecutions of the Christians in the time of the emperors, many witnesses for the faith were banished, that they might fall victims to the destructive labour of pit life (Athanasius extravagantly says: *ἐνθα καὶ φονεὺς καταδικαζόμενος ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μόγις δύναται ζῆσαι*).<sup>2</sup> But Edrîsi also knew of gold and silver mines in the mountains of Edom, the '*Gebel esh-Sherâ* (الشراة), i.e. הַר שְׁעִיר. According to the *Onomasticon*, דְּרִי זָהָב, Deut. i. 1 (LXX. *καταχρύσεια*), indicates such gold mines in Arabia Petræa; and Jerome (under *Cata ta chrysea*<sup>3</sup>) observes on that passage: *sed et metalli æris Phæno, quod nostro tempore corruit, montes venarum auri plenos olim fuisse vicinos existimant*. Eupolemus' account (in Euseb. *præp.* ix. 30) of an island *Ὀὐρφή*, rich in gold mines, in

<sup>1</sup> According to a contribution from Prof. Lauth of Munich.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid.* Genesis, S. 512; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 125-127; as also my *Kirchliches Chronikon des peträischen Arabiens* in the *Luth. Zeitschr.* 1840, S. 133.

<sup>3</sup> *Opp. ed. Vallarsi*, iii. 183. The text of Eusebius is to be amended according to that of Jerome; *vid.* Ugolini, *Thes.* vol. v. col. cxix. sq. What Ritter says, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 127, is disfigured by mischievous mistakes.



the Red Sea, does not belong here; for by the red sea, ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα,<sup>1</sup> it is not the Arabian Gulf that is meant; and the reference of the name of the range of hills *Telûl ed-dhahab* in ancient Gilead to gold mines rests only on hearsay up to the present time. But it is all the more worthy of mention that traces of former copper mines are still found on the Lebanon (*vid.* Knobel on Deut. viii. 9); that Edrisi (*Syria*, *ed. Rosenm.* p. 12) was acquainted with the existence of a rich iron mine near Beirut; and that, even in the present day, the Jews who dwell in *Deir el-kamar*, on the Lebanon, work the iron on leases, and especially forge horse-shoes from it, which are sent all over Palestine.<sup>2</sup>

The poet of the book of Job might therefore have learned mining in its diversified modes of operation from his own observation, both in the kingdom of Egypt, which he had doubtless visited, and also in Arabia Petræa and in the Lebanon districts, so as to be able to put a description of them into the mouth of his hero. It is unnecessary, with Stickel, to give the preference to the mining of Arabia proper, where iron and lead are still obtained, and where, according to ancient testimony, even gold is said to have been worked at one time. "Since he places his hero in the country east of Jordan, the poet may in ver. 2 have thought chiefly of the mines of the Iron mountain (τὸ σιδηροῦν καλούμενον ὄρος, *Jos. Bell.* iv. 8, 2), which is also called the 'cross mountain,' *el-mi'râd*, because it runs from west to east, while the '*Gebel 'Aglân* stretches from north to south. It lies between the gorges of the *Wâdî Zerkâ* and *Wâdî 'Arabûn*, begins at the mouths of the two *Wâdîs* in the *Ghôr*, and ends in the east with a precipitous descent towards the town of *Gerash*, which from its

<sup>1</sup> On the meaning of this appellation, *vid.* *Genesis*, S. 630.

<sup>2</sup> Schwarz, *Das h. Land* (1852), S. 323. The Egyptian monuments mention a district by the name of *Asj*, which paid native iron as tribute; *vid.* Brugsch, *Geogr. der Nachbarländer Ägyptens*, S. 52.

height, and being seen from afar, is called the *Negde* (נֶגְדָה). The ancient worked-out iron mines lie on the south declivity of the mountain south-west of the village of *Burmâ*, and about six miles from the level bed of the *Wâdî Zerkâ*. The material is a brittle, red, brown, and violet sandstone, which has a strong addition of iron. It also contains here and there a large number of small shells, where it is then considerably harder. Of these ancient mines, some which were known in Syria under the name of the 'rose mines,' *ma'âdin el-ward*, were worked by Ibrahim Pasha from 1835 till 1839; but when, in 1840, Syria reverted to Turkey, this mining, which had been carried on with great success, because there was an abundance of wood for the smelting furnaces, ceased. A large forest, without a proprietor, covers the back and the whole north side of this mountain down to the bed of the *Wâdî 'Arabûn*; and as no tree has been cut down in it for centuries, the thicket, with the fallen and decaying stems, gives one an idea of a primeval forest. We passed through the forest from *Kefrengî* to *Burmâ* in June 1860. Except North Gilead, in which the Iron mountain is situated, no other province of *Basan* admits of a mine; they are exclusively volcanic, their mountains are slag, lava, and basalt; and probably the last-mentioned kind of stone owes its name to the word *Βασάλτις*, the secondary form of *Βασάντις* (= *Basan*)."—WETZST.

- Ch. xxviii. 1 *For there is a mine for the silver,  
And a place for gold which they fine.*  
2 *Iron is taken out of the dust,  
And he poureth forth stone as copper.*  
3 *He hath made an end of darkness,  
And he searcheth all extremities  
For the stone of darkness and of the shadow of  
death.*

4 *He breaketh away a shaft from those who tarry above :  
There, forgotten by every foot,  
They hang and swing far from men.*<sup>1</sup>

According to the most natural connection demonstrated by us, Job desires to show that the final lot of the rich man is well merited, because the treasures which he made the object of his avarice and pride, though ever so costly, are still earthy in their nature and origin. Therefore he begins with the most precious metals, with silver, which has the precedence in reference to ch. xxvii. 16 sq., and with gold. *נִצָּן* without any secondary notion of fulness (Schultens) signifies the issuing place, *i.e.* the place from which anything naturally comes forth (ch. xxxviii. 27), or whence it is obtained (1 Kings x. 28); here in the latter sense of the place where a mineral is found, or the mine, as the parall. *מִן*, the place where the gold comes forth, therefore a gold mine. According to the accentuation (*Rebia mugrasch, Mercha, Silluk*), it is not to be translated: and a place for the gold where they refine it; but: a place for the gold which they refine. *פָּזַל*, to strain, filter, is the technical expression for purifying the precious metals from the rock that is mingled with them (Mal. iii. 3) by washing. The pure gold or silver thus obtained is called *פָּזָה* (Ps. xii. 7; 1 Chron. xxviii. 18, xxix. 4). Diodorus, in his description of mining in Upper Egypt (iii. 11 sqq.), after having described the operation of crushing the stone to small

<sup>1</sup> Among the expositors of this and the two following strophes, are two acquainted with mining: The director of mines, von Veltheim, whose observations J. D. Michaelis has contributed in the *Orient. u. exeg. Bibliothek*, xxiii. 7-17; and the inspector of mines, Rudolf Nasse, in *Studien und Krit.* 1863, 105-111. Umbreit's Commentary contains some observations by von Leonhard; he understands ver. 4c as referring to the descent upon a cross bar attached to a rope, ver. 5b of the lighting up by burning poles, ver. 6 of the lapis lazuli, and ver. 10a of the earliest mode of "letting off the water."

fragments,<sup>1</sup> proceeds: "Then artificers take the crushed stone and lay it on a broad table, which is slightly inclined, and pour water over it; this washes away the earthy parts, and the gold remains on the slab. This operation is repeated several times, the mass being at first gently rubbed with the hand; then they press it lightly with thin sponges, and thus draw off all that is earthy and light, so that the gold dust is left quite clean. And, finally, other artificers take it up in a mass, shake it in an earthen crucible, and add a proportionate quantity of lead, grains of salt, and a little tin and barley bran; they then place a close-fitting cover over the crucible, and cement it with clay, and leave it five days and nights to seethe constantly in the furnace. After this they allow it to cool, and then finding nothing of the flux in the crucible, they take the pure gold out with only slight diminution." The expression for the first of these operations, the separation of the gold from the quartz by washing, or indeed sifting (straining, *Seihen*), is קָטַף; and for the other, the separation by exposure to heat, or smelting, is צָרַף.

Ver. 2. From the mention of silver and gold, the description passes on to iron and ore (copper, *cuprum* = *æs Cyprium*). Iron is called בַּרְזֶל, not with the noun-ending *el* like בַּרְזֶלֶל (thus Ges., Olsh., and others), but probably expanded from בָּזַל (Fürst), like שָׁבִיט from שָׁבִיט = שָׁבֵט, סִמְפִּיר from סִפִּיר, *βάλσαμον* from בָּשָׂם, since, as Pliny testifies, the name of basalt (iron-marble) and iron are related,<sup>2</sup> and copper is called נְחָשֶׁת,

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* the whole account skilfully translated in Klemm's *Allgem. Cultur-Geschichte*, v. 503 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. nat.* xxxvi. 7, 11: *Invenit eadem Ægyptus in Æthiopia quem vocant basalten (basaniten) ferrei coloris atque duritiæ, unde et nomen ei dedit* (*vid.* von Raumer, *Palästina*, S. 96, 4th edition). Neither Seetzen nor Wetzstein has found proper iron-ore in Basan. Basalt is all the more prevalent there, from which Basan may have its name. For there is no

special Semitic word for basalt; Boethor calls in the aid of نَوْعٌ رَحَامٌ "a kind of black marble;" but, as Wetzstein informs me, this is

for which the book of Job (ch. xx. 24, xxviii. 2, xl. 18, xli. 19; comp. even Lev. xxvi. 19) always has נְחֹשֶׁת (*æreum* = *æs*, Arab. *nuhās*). Of the iron it is said that it is procured from the עֲפָר, by which the bowels of the earth are meant here, as the surface of the earth in ch. xli. 25; and of copper it is said that they pour out the stone into copper (*vid.* Ges. § 139, 2), *i.e.* smelt copper from it: יָצַק as ch. xxix. 6, *fundit*, here with a subj. of the most general kind: one pours; on the contrary, ch. xli. 15 sq. *partic.* of יָצַק. Ver. 3 distinctly shows that it is the bowels of the earth from which these metals are obtained: he (man) has made an end of the darkness, since he turns out and lights up the lightless interior of the earth; and לְכָל־תְּכֵלִית, to every extremity, *i.e.* to the remotest depths, he searches out the stone of deep darkness and of the shadow of death, *i.e.* hidden in the deepest darkness, far beneath the surface of the earth (*vid.* on ch. x. 22;

only a translation of the phrase of a French dictionary which he had, for the general name of basalt, at least in Syria, is *hagar aswad* (black stone). Iron is called *hadid* in Arabic (literally a pointed instrument, with the not infrequent transference of the name of the tool to the material from which it is made). פֶּרֶזֶל (פרזל) is known in Arabic only in the form *firzil*, as the name for iron chains and great smith's shears for cutting iron; but it is remarkable that in Berber, which is related to Egyptian, iron is called even in the present day *wazzâl*; *vid.* *Lex. geographicum ed. Juynboll*, tom. iv. (*adnot.*) p. 64, l. 16, and Marcel, *Vocabulaire Français-arabe de dialectes vulgaires africains*, p. 249: “*Fer حدید, hadyd (en*

*berbere* وزال, *ouezzâl*; اوزال, *ôouzzâl*).” The Coptic name of iron is *benipi* (dialect. *penipe*), according to Prof. Lanth perhaps, as also *barôt*, ore, connected with *ba*, the hieroglyph name of a very hard mineral; the black basalt of an obelisk in the British Museum is called *bechenen* in the inscription. If it really be so, that iron and basalt are homonymous in Semitic, the reason could only be sought for in the dark iron-black colour of basalt, in its hardness, and perhaps also its weight (which, however, is only about half the specific gravity of pure iron), not in the magnetic iron, which has only in more modern times been discovered to be a substantial component part of basalt, the grains of which cannot be seen by the naked eye, and are only detected with the magnetic needle, or by chemical analysis.

and comp. Pliny, *h. n.* xxxiii. *proœm.* of mining: *imus in viscera ejus [terræ] et in sede Manium opes quærimus*). Most expositors (Hirz., Ew., Hahn, Schlottm., and others) take לְכָל-חֲבִלִּית adverbially, "to the utmost" or "most closely," but *vid.* on ch. xxvi. 10; לְחֲבִלִּית might be used thus adverbially, but לְכָל-חֲבִלִּית is to be explained according to לְכָל-רוּחַ, Ezek. v. 10 (to all the winds).

Ver. 4. Job now describes the operation of mining more minutely; and it is worthy of observation that the last-mentioned metal, with which the description is closely connected, is copper. נַחַל, which signifies elsewhere a valley, the bed of a river, and the river itself, like the Arab. *وَادٍ* (not from נַחַל = נָהַל, to flow on, as Ges. *Thes.* and Fürst, but from נַחַל, root חל to hollow, whence נַחֲלִיָּה = חֲלִיל, a flute, as being a hollowed musical instrument), signifies here the excavation made in the earth, and in fact, as what follows shows, in a perpendicular direction, therefore the shaft. Nasse contends for the signification "valley," by which one might very well conceive of "the working of a surface vein:" "By this mode of working, a small shaft is made in the vein (consequently in a perpendicular direction), and the ore is worked from both sides at once. At a short distance from the first shaft a second is formed, and worked in the same way. Since thus the work progresses lengthwise, a cutting becomes formed in the mountain which may well be compared to a deep valley, if, as is generally the case where the stone is firm and the ways are almost perpendicular, the space that is hewn out remains open (that is, not broken in or filled in)." But if נַחַל everywhere else denotes a valley with its watercourse, it has not necessarily a like signification in mining technology. It signifies, perhaps not without reference to its usual signification, the shafts open above and surrounded by walls of rock (in distinction from the more or less horizontal galleries

or pit-ways, as they were cut through the excavated rocks in the gold mines of Upper Egypt; often so crooked that, as Diodorus relates, the miners, provided with lights on their forehead, were always obliged to vary the posture of the body according to the windings of the galleries); and מַעַם־נֶר, away from him who remains above, shows that one is to imagine these shafts as being of considerable depth; but what follows even more clearly indicates this: there forgotten (הִנְשָׁכְחִים) with the demonstrative *art.* as ch. xxvi. 5, Ps. xviii. 31, xix. 11, Ges. § 109 *ad init.*) of (every) foot (that walks above), they hang (comp. Rabb. מְרַלֵּל, *pendulus*<sup>1</sup>) far from men, hang and swing or are suspended; comp. Pliny, *h. n.* xxxiii. 4, 21, according to Sillig's text: *is qui cædit funibus pendet, ut procul intuenti species ne ferarum quidem sed alitum fiat. Pendentes majori ex parte librant et linias itineri præducunt.* רָלָל has

here the primary signification proper also to the Arab. نَلَّ,

*deorsum pendere*; and נָע is related to נָוַר, as *nuere*, νεύειν, to *nutare*. The מַעַם־רֶגֶל of מַעַם־רֶגֶל, taken strictly, does not correspond to the Greek ὑπό, neither does it form an adverbial secondary definition standing by itself: far away from the foot; but it is to be understood, as כֵּן is also used elsewhere after נִשְׁכַּח, Deut. xxxi. 21, Ps. xxxi. 13: forgotten out of the mouth, out of the heart; here: forgotten away from the foot, so that this advances without knowing that there is a man beneath; therefore: totally vanished from the remembrance of those who pass by above. מַעַם־נֶר is not to be connected with נָע (Hahn, Schlottm.), but with רָלָל, for *Munach* is the representative of *Rebia mugrasch*, according to *Psalter*, ii. 503, § 2; and רָלָל is regularly *Milel*, whereas Isa. xxxviii. 14 is *Milra*

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Luzzatto on Isa. xviii. 5, where וְלִזְלִים, of the trembling and quivering twigs, is correctly traced to וְלָל = וְלָל; on the other hand, Isa. xiv. 19, אֲבִנֵי־בֹר, is wrongly translated *fundo della fossa*, by comparison with Job xxviii. 3. אֲבִן does not signify a shaft, still less the lowest shaft, but stone (rock).

without any evident reason. The accentuation here follows no fixed law with likewise regulated exceptions (*vid.* Olsh. § 233, c).

Moreover, the perception that ver. 4 speaks of the shaft of the mine, and the descent of the miners by a rope, is due to modern exegesis; even Schultens, who here exclaims: *Cimmeriæ tenebræ, quas me exsuperaturum viâ sperare ausim*, perceived the right thing, but only imperfectly as yet. By נחל he understands the course or vein of the metal, where it is embedded; and, since he understands נר after the Arab. 'garr, foot of the mountain, he translates: *rumpit (homo) alveum de pede montis*. Rosenm., on the other hand, correctly translates: *canalem deorsum actum ex loco quo versatur homo*. Schlottm. understands by נר the miner himself dwelling as a stranger in his loneliness; and if we imagine to ourselves the mining districts of the peninsula of Sinai, we might certainly at once conceive the miners' dwellings themselves which are found in the neighbourhood of the shaft in connection with נר-מעם. But in and for itself נר signifies only those settled (above), without the secondary idea of strangers.

- 5 *The earth—from it cometh forth bread,  
And beneath it is turned up like fire.*
- 6 *The place of the sapphire are its stones,  
And it containeth gold ore.*
- 7 *The way, that no bird of prey knoweth,  
And the eye of the hawk hath not gazed at,*
- 8 *Which the proud beast of prey hath not trodden,  
Over which the lion hath not walked.*

Ver. 5 is not to be construed as Rosenm.: *ad terram quod attinet, ex qua egreditur panis, quod subtus est subvertitur quasi igne*; nor with Schlottm.: (they swing) in the earth, out of which comes bread, which beneath one turns about with fire;



for ver. 5a is not formed so that the *Waw* of וְתַחְתִּיהָ could be *Waw apod.*, and אֶרֶץ cannot signify "in the interior of the earth" as *locativus*; on the contrary, it stands in opposition to תַּחְתִּיהָ, that which is beneath the earth, as denoting the surface of the earth (the proper name of which is אֶרֶץ, from the root רָם, with the primary notion of a flat covering). They are two grammatically independent predicates, the first of which is only the foil of the other: the earth, out of it cometh forth bread (לֶחֶם as Ps. civ. 14), and beneath it (the surface of the earth) = that which lies beneath it (וְתַחְתִּיהָ only virtually a subj. in the sense of וְתַחְתִּיּוֹתֶיהָ, since תַּחְתִּי occurs only as a preposition), is turned about (comp. the construction of the *sing.* of the verb with the *plur.* subj., ch. xxx. 15) as (by) fire (*instar ignis, scil. subvertentis*); i.e. the earth above furnishes nourishment to man, but that not satisfying him, he also digs out its inward parts (comp. Pliny, *h. n.* xxxiii. *proœm.*: *in sede Manium opes quærimus, tanquam parum benigna fertilique quæqua calcatur*), since this is turned or tossed about (comp. מַהֲפֹכָה, the special word for the overthrow of Sodom by fire) by mining work, as when fire breaks out in a house, or even as when a volcanic fire rumbles within a mountain (Castalio: *agunt per magna spatia cuniculos et terram subeunt non secus ac ignis facit ut in Aetna et Vesuvio*). The reading בָּמוֹ (Schlottm.) instead of כִּמוֹ is natural, since fire is really used to blast the rock, and to separate the ore from the stone; but, with the exception of Jerome, who has arbitrarily altered the text (*terra, de qua oriebatur panis in loco suo, igni subversa est*), all the old translations reproduce כִּמוֹ, which even Nasse, in opposition to von Veltheim, thinks suitable: Man's restless search, which rummages everything through, is compared to the unrestrainable ravaging fire.

Ver. 6 also consists of two grammatically independent assertions: the place (bed) of the sapphire is its rock. Must we refer לוֹ to מִפִּיר, and translate: "and it contains fine dust

of gold" (Hirz., Umbr., Stick., Nasse)? It is possible, for Theophrastus (p. 692, *ed. Schneider*) says of the sapphire it is ὥσπερ χρυσόπαστος, as it were covered with gold dust or grains of gold; and Pliny, *h. n.* xxxvii. 9, 38 sq.: *Inest ei (cyano) aliquando et aureus pulvis qualis in sapphiris, in iis enim aurum punctis conlucet*, which nevertheless does not hold good of the proper sapphire, but of the azure stone (*lapis lazuli*) which is confounded with it, a variegated species of which, with gold, or rather with iron pyrites glittering like gold, is specially valued.<sup>1</sup> But Schultens rightly observes: *vix crediderim, illum auratitem pulvisculum sapphiri peculiari mentione dignum*; and Schlottm.: such a collateral definition to ספיר, expressed in a special clause (not a relative one), has something awkward about it. On the other hand, עפרית זהב is a perfectly suitable appellation of gold ore. "The earth, which is in itself black," says Diodorus in the passage quoted before, "is interspersed with veins of marble, which is of such pre-eminent whiteness, that its brilliance surpasses everything that glitters, and from it the overseers of the mine prepare gold with a large number of workmen." And further on, of the heating of this gold ore he says: "the hardest auriferous earth they burn thoroughly in a large fire; thus they make it soft, so that it can be worked by the hand." עפרית זהב is a still more suitable expression for such auriferous earth and ore than for the nuggets of ἄπυρος χρυσός (*i.e.* unsmelted) of the size of a chestnut, which, according to Diodorus, ii. 50, are obtained in mines in Arabia (μεταλλεύεται). But it is inadmissible to refer לו to man, for the clause would then require to be translated: and gold ore is to him = he has, while it is rather intended to be said that the interior of the earth has gold ore. לו is therefore, with Hahn and Schlottm., to be referred to מקום: and this place of the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Quenstedt, *Handbuch der Mineralogie* (1863), S. 355 and 302.

sapphire, it contains gold. The poet might have written לָהּ, but לוֹ implies that where the sapphire is found, gold is also found. The following נְהִיב (with *Dechî*), together with the following relative clause, is connected with אֶצְבְּנֶיהָ, or even with מְקוֹם, which through ver. 6b is become the chief subj.: the place of the sapphire and of the gold is the rock of the bowels of the earth,—a way, which, etc., *i.e.* such a place is the interior of the earth, accessible to no living being of the earth's surface except to man alone. The sight of the bird of prey, the עֵיט, *âetós*, and of the אֵיָה, *i.e.* the hawk or kite, reaches from above far and wide beneath;<sup>1</sup> the sons of pride, שְׁחָז (also Talmud. arrogance, *ferocia*, from שָׁחַז = שָׁחַץ, to raise one's self, not: plumpness, as Meier, after שָׁחַץ, to be plump, thick), *i.e.* the beasts of prey, especially the lion, שִׁחַל (*vid.* on ch. iv. 10, from שָׁחַל, *sehal*, to roar, Arab. of the ass, comp. the Lat. *rudere* used both of the lion and of the ass), seek the most secret retreat, and shun no danger; but the way by which man presses forward to the treasures of the earth is imperceptible and inaccessible to them.

- 9 *He layeth his hand upon the pebbles ;  
He turneth up the mountains from the root.*  
10 *He cutteth canals through the rocks ;  
And his eye seeth all kinds of precious things.*  
11 *That they may not leak, he dammeth up rivers ;  
And that which is hidden he bringeth to light.*  
12 *But wisdom, whence is it obtained ?  
And which is the place of understanding ?*

Beneath, whither no other being of the upper world penetrates, man puts his hand upon the quartz or rock. חֶקְמִישׁ (perhaps from חָלַם, to be strong, firm; Arabic, with the re-

<sup>1</sup> The אֵיָה—says the Talmud *b. Chullin*, 63b—is in Babylon, and seeth a carcase in the land of Israel.

duplication resolved, *chalnubûs*, like עֲבָבִיִּשׁ, Arab. 'ancabûth, *vid. Jesurun*, p. 229) signifies here the quartz, and in general the hard stone; שָׁלַח יָדָאֵל something like our "to take in hand" of an undertaking requiring strong determination and courage, which here consists in blasting and clearing away the rock that contains no ore, as Pliny, *h. n.* xxxiii. 4, 21, describes it: *Occursant . . . silices; hos igne et aceto rumpunt, sæpius vero, quoniam id cuniculos vapore et fumo strangulat, cædunt fractariis CL libras ferri habentibus egeruntque umeris noctibus ac diebus per tenebras proxumis tradentes; lucem novissimi cernunt.* Further: he (man, devoted to mining) overturns (*subvertit* according to the primary signification of הִפֵּךְ, أَفَنَك, أَفَنَك, to turn, twist) mountains from the roots. The accentuation הִפֵּךְ with *Rebia mugrasch*, מִשְׁרַשׁ with *Mercha*, is false; it is, according to Codd. and old editions, to be accented הִפֵּךְ with *Tarcha*, מִשְׁרַשׁ with *Munach*, and to be translated accordingly: *subvertit a radice montes* (for *Munach* is the transformation of a *Rebia mugrasch*), not *a radice montium*. Blasting in mining which lays bare the roots (the lowest parts) of the mountains is intended, the conclusion of which—the signal for the flight of the workmen, and the effective crash—is so graphically described by Pliny in the passage cited above: *Peracto opere cervices fornicum ab ultumo cadunt; dat signum ruina eamque solus intellegit in cacumine ejus montis vigil. Hic voce, nutu evocari jubet operas pariterque ipse devolat. Mons fractus cadit ab sese longe fragore qui concipi humana mente non possit eque efflatu incredibili spectant victores ruinam naturæ.*

The meaning of ver. 10 depends upon the signification of the יְאִירִים. It is certainly the most natural that it should signify canals. The word is Egyptian; *aur* in the language of the hieroglyphs signifies a river, and especially the Nile; wherefore at the close of the Laterculus of Eratosthenes the name of the king, Φρουρορῶ (Φουρορῶ), is explained by ἡτοὺ Νεῖλος. If water-canals are intended, they may be either

such as go in or come away. In the first case it may mean water let in like a cataract over the ruins of the blasted auriferous rock, the *corrugi* of Pliny: *Alius par labor ac vel majoris impendi: flumina ad lavandam hanc ruinam jugis montium obiter duxere a centesimo plerumque lapide; corrugos vocant, a corrivatione credo; mille et hic labores.* But בָּקַעַ is not a suitable word for such an extensive and powerful flooding with water for the purpose of washing the gold. It suits far better to understand the expression of galleries or ways cut horizontally in the rock to carry the water away. Thus von Veltheim explains it: "The miner makes ways through the hard rock into his section [in which the perpendicular shaft terminates], guides the water which is found in abundance at that depth through it [*i.e.* the water at the bottom of the pit that hinders the progress of the work], and is able [thus ver. 10*b* naturally is connected with what precedes] to judge of the ore and fragments that are at the bottom, and bring them to the light. This mode of mining by constantly forming one gallery under the other [so that a new gallery is made under the pit that is worked out by extending the shaft, and also freeing this from water by making another outlet below the previous one] is the oldest of all, of which anything certain is known in the history of mining, and the most natural in the days when they had no notion of hydraulics." This explanation is far more satisfactory than that of Herm. Sam. Reimarus, of the "Wolfenbütteler Fragmente" (in his edition of the *Neue Erkl. des B. Hiob*, by John Ad. Hoffmann, 1734, iv. S. 772): "*He breaks open watercourses in the rocks.* What the miners call coming upon water, is when they break into a fissure from which strong streams of water gush forth. The miner not only knows how to turn such water to good account, but it is also a sign that there are rich veins of ore near at hand, as there is the most water by these courses and fissures. Hence follows: *and then his eye sees*

*all kinds of precious things.*" But there is no ground for saying that water indicates rich veins of ore, and בקע is much more appropriate to describe the designed formation of courses to carry off the water than an accidental discovery of water in course of the work; moreover, יארים is as appropriate to the former as it is inappropriate to the latter explanation, for it signifies elsewhere the arms of the Nile, into which the Nile is artificially divided; and therefore it may easily be transferred to the horizontal canals of the mine cut through the hard rock (or through the upper earth). Nevertheless, although the water plays an important part in mining operations, by giving rise to the greatest difficulties, as it frequently happens that a pit is deluged with water, and must be abandoned because no one can get down to it: it is improbable that ver. 10 as well as ver. 11 refers to this; we therefore prefer to understand יארים as meaning the (horizontal) courses (galleries or drifts) in which the ore is dug,—a rendering which is all the more possible, since, on the one hand, in Coptic *jaro* (Sahidic *jero*) signifies the Nile of Egypt (*phiaro ente chēmi*); on the other, *ior* (*eioor*) signifies a ditch, διώρυξ (comp. Isa. xxxiii. 21, יארים, LXX. διώρυγες), *vid. Ges. Thes.* Thus also ver. 10*b* is consistently connected with what precedes, since by cutting these *cuniculi* the courses of the ore (veins), and any precious stones that may also be embedded there, are laid bare.

Ver. 11*a*. Contrary to the correct indication of the accentuation, Hahn translates: he stops up the droppings of the watercourses; מִבְּקֵי has *Dechâ*, and is therefore not to be connected with what follows as a genitive. But Reimarus' translation: from the drops he connects the streams, is inadmissible. "The trickling water," he observes, "is carefully caught in channels by the miners for use, and is thus brought together from several parts to the reservoir and the water-wheel. What Pliny calls *corrugus*, *corrivatio*." On the

contrary, Schlottm. remarks that **חבש** cannot signify such a connection, *i.e.* gathering together of watercourses; it occurs elsewhere only of uniting, *i.e.* binding up wounds. Nevertheless, although **חבש** cannot directly signify “to collect,” the signification *coercere* (ch. xxxiv. 17), which is not far from this idea,—as is evident from the Arab. **حَبَسَ** (حَبَسَ), a dam

or sluice for collecting water, and **مَحْبَسُ الْمَاءِ**, a reservoir, cistern,—is easily transferable to water, in the sense of binding = catching up and accumulating. But it is contrary to the form of the expression that **מַבְבֵּי**, with this use of **חבש**, should denote the *materia ex qua*, and that **נַהֲרֹת** should be referred to the miry ditches in which “the crushed ore is washed, for the purpose of separating the good from the worthless.” On the contrary, from the form of the expression, it is to be translated: *a fletu* (not *e fletu*) *flumina obligat*, whether it be that *a fletu* is equivalent to *ne flent s. stillent* (Simeon Duran: **שלא ילו**), or *obligat* equivalent to *cohibet* (Rabag: **מַהַלֵּה**). Thus von Veltheim explains the passage, since he here, as in ver. 10, understands the channels for carrying off the water. “The miner covers the bottom with mire, and fills up the crevices so exactly [*i.e.* he besmears it, where the channel is broken through, with some water-tight substance, *e.g.* clay], that it may entirely carry off the water that is caught by it out of the pit [in which the shaft terminates], and not let it fall through the fissures [crevices] to the company of miners below [to the vein that lies farther down]; then the miner can descend still deeper [since the water runs outwards and does not soak through], and bring forth the ore that lies below the channel.” This explanation overlooks the fact that **יַאֲרִים** is used in ver. 10, whereas ver. 11 has **נַהֲרֹת**. It is not probable that these are only interchangeable expressions for the channels that carry off the water.

יָאֵרִים is an appropriate expression for it, but not נַהֲרוֹת, which as appropriately describes the conflux of water in the mine itself.

The meaning of ver. 11*a* is, that he (the miner) binds or stops the watercourses which his working out of the pit has interfered with and injured, so that they may not leak, *i.e.* that they may not in the least ooze through, whether by building up a wall or by collecting the water that streams forth in reservoirs (Arab. *mahbas*) or in the channels which carry it outwards,—all these modes of draining off the water may be included in ver. 11*a*, only the channel itself is not, with von Veltheim, to be understood by נַהֲרוֹת, but the concourse of the water which, in one way or the other, is rendered harmless to the pit-work, so that he (the miner), as ver. 11*b* says, can bring to light (לְאֹר = אֹר) whatever precious things the bowels of the earth conceals (תַּעֲלָמָה), according to Kimchi and others, with euphonic *Mappik*, as according to the Masora כִּכְבוֹדָה Isa. xxviii. 4, גִּשְׁמָה Ezek. xxii. 24, and also וּגְלָה Zech. iv. 2, only לְחַפְּאוֹת הַקְּרִיָּאָה וְלֹא לְכִינוֹי, *i.e.* they have *Mappik* only for euphony, not as the expression of the *suff.*).

With the question in ver. 12 the description of mining attains the end designed: man can search after and find out silver, gold, and other metals and precious stones, by making the foundations of the earth accessible to him; but wisdom, whence shall he obtain it, and which (וְאִי־יָדָה), according to another reading (וְאִי־יָדָה) is the place of understanding? הַחֲכָמָה has the *art.* to give prominence to its transcendency over the other attainable things. חֲכָמָה is the principal name, and בִּינָה interchanges with it, as תְּבִינָה, Prov. viii. 1, and other synonyms in which the Chokma literature abounds elsewhere in Prov. i.-ix. בִּינָה is properly the faculty of seeing through that which is distinguishable, consisting of the possession of the right criteria; חֲכָמָה, however, is the perception, in general, of things in their true nature and their final causes.



- 13 *A mortal knoweth not its price,  
And it is not found in the land of the living.*
- 14 *The abyss saith : It is not in me,  
And the sea saith : It is not with me.*
- 15 *Pure gold cannot be given for it,  
And silver cannot be weighed as its price ;*
- 16 *And it is not outweighed with the fine gold of Ophir,  
With the precious onyx and the sapphire.*

It is self-evident that wisdom is found nowhere directly present and within a limited space, as at the bottom of the sea, and cannot be obtained by a direct exchange by means of earthly treasures. It is, moreover, not this self-evident fact that is denied here; but the meaning is, that even if a man should search in every direction through the land of the living, *i.e.* (as *e.g.* Ps. lii. 7) the world—if he should search through the תְּהוֹמוֹת, *i.e.* the subterranean waters that feed the visible waters (*vid.* Gen. xlix. 25)—if he should search through the sea, the largest bounded expanse of this water that wells up from beneath—yea, even if he would offer all riches and precious things to put himself in possession of the means and instruments for the acquirement of wisdom,—wisdom, *i.e.* the profoundest perception of the nature of things, would still be beyond him, and unattainable. עָרָף, ver. 13, an equivalent (from עָרַף, to range beside, to place at the side of), interchanges with מְחַיֵּר (from מָחַר, cogn. מָכַר, *mercari*). קָנוֹר is זָהָב קָנוֹר, 1 Kings vi. 20 and freq., which hardly signifies gold shut up = carefully preserved, rather: closed = compressed, unmixed; Targ. זָהָב קָנוֹר, *aurum colatum (purgatum)*.

Ewald compares سَجَر, to seethe, heat; therefore: heated, gained by smelting. On the other hand, כָּתֵם, כָּתֵם from כָּתַם, *occulere*, seems originally to denote that which is precious, then precious gold in particular, LXX. χρυσίφ Ωφέιφ, *Cod.*

*Vat. and Cod. Sinaiticus*, Σωφίρ (Egyptized by prefixing the Egyptian *sa*, part, district, side, whence *e.g.* *sa-rēs*, the upper country, and *sa-lēt*, the lower country, therefore = *sa-ofir*, land of Ophir).. שֹׁהִם is translated here by the LXX. ὄνυξ (elsewhere σαρδόνυξ or σάρδιος), of which Pliny, *h. n.* xxxvii. 6, 24, appealing to Sudines, says, *in gemma esse candorem unguis humani similitudinem*; wherefore Knobel, Rödiger, and others, compare the Arab. سَاهِم, which, however, does not signify pale, but lean, and parched by the heat, with which, in hot countries at least, not pallor, but, on the contrary, a dark brown-black colour, is identified (Fl.). مَسْمُوم, striped (Mich.), would be more appropriate, since the onyx is marked through by white veins; but this is a *denom.* from *sahm*, a dart, prop. darted, and is therefore wide of the mark. On the etymology of כַּפִּיר, *vid.* *Jesurun*, p. 61. Nevertheless both שֹׁהִם and כַּפִּיר are perhaps foreign names, as the name of the emerald (*vid. ib.* p. 108), which is Indian (Sansk. *marakata*, or even *marakta*); and, on the other hand, it is called in hieroglyph (determined by the stone) *uot*, the green stone (in Coptic *p. auannēse*, the green colour) (Lauth).

The transcendent excellence of wisdom above the most precious earthly treasures, which the author of the introduction to the book of Proverbs briefly describes, ch. iii. 14 sq., is now drawn out in detail.

- 17 *Gold and glass are not equal to it,  
Nor is it exchanged for jewels of gold.*
- 18 *Pearls and crystal are not to be mentioned,  
And the acquisition of wisdom is beyond corals.*
- 19 *The topaz of Ethiopia is not equal to it,  
It is not outweighed by pure fine gold.*

20 Whence, then, cometh wisdom,  
And which is the place of understanding?

Among the separate חפצים, Prov. iii. 15, which are here detailed, apart from זהב, glass has the transparent name זכוכית, or, as it is pointed in Codd., in old editions, and by Kimchi, זְכוּכִית with *Cholem* (in the dialects with נ instead of כ). Symm. indeed translates crystal, and in fact the ancient languages have common names for glass and crystal; but the crystal is here called זְכוּשִׁית, which signifies prop., like the Arab. *'gibs*, ice; *κρύσταλλος* also signifies prop. ice, and this only in Homer, then crystal, exactly as the cognate קְרַח unites both significations in itself. The reason of this homonymy lies deeper than in the outward similarity,—the ancients really thought the crystal was a product of the cold; Pliny, xxxvii. 2, 9, says: *non alibi certe reperitur quam ubi maxime hibernæ nives rigent, glaciemque esse certum est, unde nomen Græci dedere*. The Targ. translates זכוּשִׁית by בִּירְזִילִין, certainly in the sense of the Arabico-Persic *bullûr* (*bulûr*), which signifies crystal, or even glass, and moreover is the primary word for *βήρυλλος*, although the identical Sanskrit word, according to the laws of sound, *vaidurja* (Pali, *velurija*), is, according to the lexicons, a name of the *lapis lazuli* (Persic, *lagurd*). Of the two words זָאֵמוֹת and פְּנִינִים, the one appears to mean pearls and the other corals; the ancient appellations of these precious things which belong to the sea are also blended; the Persic *mergân* (Sanskrit. *mangara*) unites the significations pearl and coral in itself. The root פָּנ, פָּנִי, which has the primary notion of pushing, especially of vegetation (whence פֶּנֶן, a branch, shoot, prop. motion; French, *jet*), and Lam. iv. 7, where snow and milk, as figures of whiteness (purity), are placed in contrast with פְּנִינִים as a figure of redness, favour the signification corals for פְּנִינִים. The Coptic *bēnōni*, which

signifies *gemma*, favours (so far as it may be compared) corals rather than pearls. And the fact that ראמנות, Ezek. xxvii. 16, appear as an Aramæan article of commerce in the market of Tyre, is more favourable to the signification pearls than corals; for the Babylonians sailed far into the Indian Ocean, and brought pearls from the fisheries of Bahrein, perhaps even from Ceylon, into the home markets (*vid.* Layard, *New Discoveries*, 536). The name is perhaps, from the Eastern Asiatic name of the pearl,<sup>1</sup> mutilated and Hebraized.<sup>2</sup>

The name of the פִּטְיָה of Ethiopia appears to be derived from *τοπαζ* by transposition; Pliny says of the topaz, xxxvii. 8, 32, among other passages: *Juba Topazum insulam in rubro mari a continenti stadiis CCC abesse dicit, nebulosam et ideo quæsitam sæpius navigantibus; ex ea causa nomen accepisse:*

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. Zeitschr. für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iv. 40f. The recently attempted explanation of *κοράλλιον* from *קֶרֶל* (to which *κλῆρος* the rather belongs), in the primary signification *lapillus* (Arab. 'garal'), is without support.

<sup>2</sup> Two reasons for פִּינִיִּים = pearls (in favour of which Bochart compares the name of the pearl-oyster, *πίννα*) and ראמנות = corals, which are maintained by Carey, are worthy of remark. (1.) That פִּינִיִּים does not signify corals, he infers from Lam. iv. 7, for the redness of corals cannot be a mark of bodily beauty; "but when I find that there are some pearls of a slightly reddish tinge, then I can understand and appreciate the comparison." (2.) That ראמנות signifies corals, is shown by the origin of the word, which properly signifies *reém-* (wild oxen) horns, which is favoured by a mention of Pliny, *h. n.* xiii. 51: (*Tradidere*) *juncos quoque lapideos perquam similes veris per litora, et in alto quasdam arbusculas colore bubuli cornus ramosas et cacuminibus rubentes*. Although Pliny there speaks of marine petrified plants of the Indian Ocean (not, at least in his sense, of corals), this hint of a possible derivation of ראמנות is certainly surprising. But as to Lam. iv. 7, this passage is to be understood according to Cant. v. 10 (my friend is צֶהַב וְאֶדֶם). The white and red are intended to be conceived of as mixed and overlapping one another, as our [Germ.] popular poetry speaks of cheeks which "shine with milk and purple;" and as in Homer, *Il.* iv. 141-146, the colour of the beautifully formed limbs of Menelaus is represented by the figure (which appears hideous to us): *ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοῖνικι μίγη* (ebony stained with purple).

*topazin enim Troglodytarum lingua significationem habere quaerendi.* This topaz, however, which is said to be named after an island of the same name, the Isle of Serpents in Agatharchides and Diodorus, is, according to Pliny, yellowish green, and therefore distinct from the otherwise so-called topaz. To make a candid confession, we grope about everywhere in the dark here, and the ancient versions are not able to help us out of our difficulty.<sup>1</sup> The poet lays everything under contribution to illustrate the thought, that the worth of wisdom exceeds the worth of the most valuable earthly thing; beside which, in מִשְׁפָּה חִכְמָה מִפְּנִינִים, “the acquisition or possession (from מִשְׁפָּה, *مسك*, to draw to one’s self, to take hold of) of wisdom is above corals,” there is an indication that, although not by the precious things of the earth, still in some way or other, wisdom can be possessed, so that consequently the question repeated at the end of the strophe will not remain unanswered. This is its meaning: now if wisdom is not to be found in any of the places named, and is not to be attained by any of the means mentioned, whence can man hope to attain it, and whither must he turn to find it? for its existence is certain, and it is an indisputable need of man that he should partake of it.

- 21 *It is veiled from the eyes of all living,  
And concealed from the fowls of heaven.*  
22 *Destruction and death say :*  
*With our ears we heard a report of it.—*  
23 *Elohim understandeth the way to it,*

<sup>1</sup> The Targ. translates נִשְׁבִּיזָא by בִּירֻלִין, *βήρουλλος*; סִפִּיר by שְׁבִיזָא (سبز); *vid.* Pott in the *Zeitschr. f. K. d. M.* iv. 275); אֹבֶרְיִין by פּוֹ, *ὄβρυζον*; סִנְדֻלְכִין by רִאמוֹת, *σανδαράχη*, red gold-pigment (*vid.* Rödiger-Pott, as just quoted, S. 267); גְּבִישׁ again by בִּירֻלִין in the sense of the Arabico-Persic *bullûr*, Kurd. *bellûr*, crystal; מִרְגְּלִין by פְּנִינִים, *μαργαρίται*; פִּטְרָה by מִרְגְּלָא יֶרְקָא (the green pearl); פִּטְלֹן by כְּתָם, *πέταλον*, in the sense of *lamina auri*).

*And He—He knoweth its place.*

24 *For He looketh to the ends of the earth,  
Under the whole heaven He seeth.*

No living created being (כָּל־חַי, as ch. xii. 10, xxx. 23) is able to answer the question; even the birds that fly aloft, that have keener and farther-seeing eyes than man, can give us no information concerning wisdom; and the world at least proclaims its existence in a rich variety of its operations, but in the realm of Abaddon and of death below (comp. the combination שְׂאוֹל וְאֲבֹדֶן, Prov. xv. 11, ἄδου καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, Apoc. i. 18) it is known only by an indistinct hearsay, and from confused impressions. Therefore: no creature, whether in the realm of the living or the dead, can help us to get wisdom. There is but One who possesses a perfect knowledge concerning wisdom, namely Elohim, whose gaze extends to the ends of the earth, and who sees under the whole heaven, i.e. is everywhere present (יָחַד, definition of place, not equivalent to אֲשֶׁר יָחַד; comp. on ch. xxiv. 9b), who therefore, after the removal of everything earthly (sub-celestial), alone remains. And why should He with His knowledge, which embraces everything, not also know the way and place of wisdom? Wisdom is indeed the ideal, according to which He has created the world.

25 *When He appointed to the wind its weight,  
And weighed the water according to a measure,*

26 *When He appointed to the rain its law,  
And the course to the lightning of the thunder:*

27 *Then He saw it and declared it,  
Took it as a pattern and tested it also,*

28 *And said to man: Behold, the fear of the Lord is wisdom,  
And to depart from evil is understanding.*

It is impracticable to attach the inf. לַעֲשׂוֹת to ver. 24 as the

purpose, because it is contrary to the meaning; but it is impossible, according to the syntax, to refer it to ver. 27 as the purpose placed in advance, or to take it in the sense of *perfecturus*, because in both instances it ought to have been יִתְּנֶה instead of הִתְּנֶה, or at least יִתְּנֶה with the verb placed first (*vid.* ch. xxxvii. 15). But even the temporal use of ל in לְפָנָיו at the turn (of morning, of evening, *e.g.* Gen. xxiv. 63) cannot be compared, but לַעֲשׂוֹת signifies *perficiendo* = *quum perficeret* (as *e.g.* 2 Sam. xviii. 29, *mittendo* = *quum mitteret*), it is a gerundival *inf.* (Nägelsb. S. 197f, 2d edition); and because it is the past that is spoken of, the modal *inf.* can be continued in the *perf.*, Ges. § 132, rem. 2. The thought that God, when He created the world, appointed fixed laws of equable and salutary duration, he particularizes by examples: He appointed to the wind its weight, *i.e.* the measure of its force or feebleness; distributed the masses of water by measure; appointed to the rain its law, *i.e.* the conditions of its development and of its beginning; appointed the way, *i.e.* origin and course, to the lightning (לְהִתְּנֶה from הִתְּנֶה, *secare*). When

He thus created the world, and regulated what was created by laws, then He perceived (וַיִּרְאֵהוּ with *He Mappic*. according to the testimony of the Masora) it, wisdom, *viz.* as the ideal of all things; then He declared it, *enarravit*, *viz.* by creating the world, which is the development and realization of its substance; then He gave it a place הִתְּנֶה (for which Döderl. and Ewald unnecessarily read הִתְּנֶה), *viz.* to create the world after its pattern, and to commit the arrangement of the world as a whole to its supreme protection and guidance; then He also searched it out or tested it, *viz.* its demiurgic powers, by setting them in motion to realize itself.

If we compare Prov. viii. 22–31 with this passage, we may say: the חכמה is the divine ideal-world, the divine imagination of all things before their creation, the complex unity of all

the ideas, which are the essence of created things and the end of their development. "Wisdom," says one of the old theologians,<sup>1</sup> "is a divine imagination, in which the ideas of the angels and souls and all things were seen from eternity, not as already actual creatures, but as a man beholds himself in a mirror." It is not directly one with the Logos, but the Logos is the demiurg by which God has called the world into existence according to that ideal which was in the divine mind. Wisdom is the impersonal model, the Logos the personal master-builder according to that model. Nevertheless the notions, here or in the later cognate portion of Scripture, Prov. viii. 22-31, are not as yet so distinct as the New Testament revelation of God has first of all rendered possible. In those days, when God realized the substance of the חכמה, this eternal mirror of the world, in the creation of the world, He also gave man the law, corresponding to which he corresponds to His idea and participates in wisdom. Fearing the supreme Lord (אֱלֹהִים only here in the book of Job, one of the 134 וְדָאֵן, i.e. passages, where אֱלֹהִים is not merely to be read instead of יהוה, but is actually written<sup>2</sup>), and renouncing evil (סוּר מֵרָע, according to another less authorized mode of writing מֵרָע),—this is man's share of wisdom, this is his relative wisdom, by which he remains in connection with the absolute. This is true human φιλοσοφία, in contrast to all high-flown and profound speculations; comp. Prov. iii. 7, where, in like manner, "fear Jehovah" is placed side by side with "depart from evil," and Prov. xvi. 6, according to which it is rendered possible סוּר מֵרָע, to escape the evil of sin and its punishment by fearing God. "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom" (Prov. i. 7; comp. Ps. cxi. 10) is the *symbolum*, the motto and uppermost principle, of that Israelitish Chokma, whose greatest achievement is the book of Job. The whole

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Jul. Hamberger, *Lehre Jak. Böhme's*, S. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Buxtorf's *Tiberias*, p. 245; comp. Bär's *Psalterium*, p. 133.



of ch. xxviii. is a minute panegyric of this principle, the materials of which are taken from the far-distant past; and it is very characteristic, that, in the structure of the book, this twenty-eighth chapter is the clasp which unites the half of the *δέσις* with the half of the *λύσις*, and that the poet has inscribed upon this clasp that sentence, "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom." But, moreover, Job's closing speech, which ends in this celebration of the praise of the *הכמה*, also occupies an important position, which must now be determined, in the structure of the whole.

After Job has refuted Bildad, and, continuing his description, has celebrated in such lofty strains the majesty of God, it can hardly be expected that the poet will allow Zophar to speak for the third time. Bildad is unable to advance anything new, and Zophar has already tried his utmost to terrify Job for the second time; besides, Job's speech furnishes no material for a reply (a motive which is generally overlooked), unless the controversy were designed to ramble on into mere personalities. Accordingly the poet allows Job to address the friends once more, but no longer in the extreme and excited tone of the previous dialogue, but, since the silence of the friends must produce a soothing impression on Job, tempering him to gentleness and forbearance, in a tone of confession conscious of victory, yet altogether devoid of haughty triumph,—a confession in which only one single word of reproach (ch. xxvii. 12*b*) escapes him. Ch. xxvii. xxviii. contain this confession—Job's final address to his friends.

Job once again most solemnly asserts his innocence before the friends; all attempts on the part of the friends to entice or to extort from him a confession which is against his conscience, have therefore been in vain: joyous and victorious he raises his head, invincible, even to death, in the conviction of that which is a fact of his consciousness that cannot be

got rid of by denial. He is not an evil-doer; accordingly he must stand convicted as an evil-doer who treats him as such. For although he is not far from death, and is in sore vexation, he has not manifested the hopelessness and defection from God in which the evil-doer passes away. Job has indeed even expressed himself despondingly, and complained of God's wrath; but the true essence of his relation to God came to light in such words as ch. xvi. 19-21, xvii. 9, xix. 25-27. If the friends had not been blind to such brilliant aspirations of his life in God, how could they regard him as a godless man, and his affliction as the punishment of such an one! His affliction has, indeed, no connection with the terrible end of the evil-doer. Job here comes before the friends with the very doctrine they have so frequently advanced, but infatuated with the foolish notion that it is suited to his case. He here gives it back to them, to show them that it is not suited to him. He also does not deny, that in the rule the evil-doer meets a terrible end, although he has hitherto disputed the assertion of the friends, because of the exclusiveness with which it was maintained by them. His counter-assertion respecting the prosperity of the evil-doer, which from the beginning was not meant by him so exclusively as the friends meant theirs respecting the misfortune of the evil-doer, is here indirectly freed from the extreme appearance of exclusiveness by Job himself, and receives the necessary modification. Job does not deny, yea, he here brings it under the notice of the friends, that the sword, famine, and pestilence carry off the descendants of the evil-doer, and even himself; that his possessions at length fall into the hands of the righteous, and contain within themselves the germ of destruction from the very first; that God's curse pursues, and suddenly destroys, the godless rich man himself. Thus it comes to pass; for while silver and other precious things come from the depths of the earth, wisdom, whose

worth far transcends all earthly treasures, is to be found with no created being, but is with God alone; and the fear of God, to avoid evil, is the share of wisdom to which man is directed according to God's primeval decree.

The object of the section, ch. xxviii., is primarily to confirm the assertion concerning the judgment that befalls the evil-doer, ch. xxvii. 13-23; the confirmation is, however, at the same time, according to the delicately laid plan of the poet, a glorious general confession, in which Job's dialogue with the friends comes to a close. This panegyric of wisdom (similar to Paul's panegyric of charity, 1 Cor. xiii.) is the presentation of Job's predominant principle, and as such, is like a song of triumph, with which, without vain-glory, he closes the dialogue in the most appropriate manner. If Job's life has such a basis, it is not possible that his affliction should be the punishment of an ungodly man. And if the fear of God is the wisdom appointed to man, he also teaches himself that, though unable to see through the mystery of his affliction, he must still hold on to the fear of God, and teaches the friends that they must do the same, and not lay themselves open to the charge of injustice and uncharitableness towards him, the suffering one, in order to solve the mystery. Job's conclusion, which is first intended to show that he who does not fear God is overtaken by the merited fate of a fool who rebels against God's moral government, shows at the same time that the afflictive lot of those who fear God must be judged of in an essentially different manner from that of the ungodly.

We may imagine what impression these last words of Job to the friends must have made upon them. Since they were obliged to be silent, they will not have admitted that they are vanquished, although the drying up of their thoughts, and their involuntary silence, is an actual proof of it. But does Job make them feel this oppressively? Now that they are

become so insignificant, does he read them a severe lecture? does he in general act towards them as vanquished? No indeed, but solemnly, and without vaunting himself over his accusers, he affirms his innocence; earnestly, but in a winning manner, he admonishes them, by tempering and modifying what was vehement and extreme in his previous replies. He humbly submits himself to the divine wisdom, by setting the fear of God, as man's true wisdom, before himself and the friends as their common aim. Thus he utters "the loftiest words, which must surprise the opponents as they exhibit him as the not merely mighty, but also wonderfully calm and modest conqueror, who here for the first time wears the crown of true victory, when, in outward victory conquering himself, he struggles on towards a more exalted clearness of perception."

*Job's Monologue.*—Chap. xxix.—xxx.

FIRST PART.—CHAP. XXIX.

*Schema* : 10. 8. 8. 6. 6. 11.

[Then Job continued to take up his proverb, and said:]

- 2 *O that I had months like the times of yore,  
Like the days when Eloah protected me,*
- 3 *When He, when His lamp, shone above my head,  
By His light I went about in the darkness ;*
- 4 *As I was in the days of my vintage,  
When the secret of Eloah was over my tent,*
- 5 *When the Almighty was still with me,  
My children round about me ;*
- 6 *When my steps were bathed in cream,  
And the rock beside me poured forth streams of oil.*

Since the optative יִמְּךָ (comp. on ch. xxiii. 3) is connected with the acc. of the object desired, ch. xiv. 4, xxxi. 31, or of

that respecting which anything is desired, ch. xi. 5, it is in itself possible to explain: who gives (makes) me like the months of yore; but since, when **מִי־יִתֶּנִּי** occurs elsewhere, Isa. xxvii. 4, Jer. ix. 1, the *suff.* is meant as the dative (= **מִי־יִתֶּן לִי**, ch. xxxi. 35), it is also here to be explained: who gives me (= O that one would give me, O that I had) like (*instar*) the months of yore, *i.e.* months like those of the past, and indeed those that lie far back in the past; for **יִרְחֵי־קָדָם** means more than **עָבְרִי** (**אֲשֶׁר**). Job begins to describe the olden times, that he wishes back, with the virtually genitive relative clause: "when Eloah protected me" (Ges. § 116, 3). It is impossible to take **בְּהִלֹּי** as *Hiph.*: when He caused to shine (Targ. **בְּאַנְהִירוּתִיה**); either **בְּהִלֹּי** (Olsh.) or even **בְּהִלֹּי** (Ew. in his *Comm.*) ought to be read then. On the other hand, **הִלֹּי** can be justified as the form for *inf. Kal* of **הִלֵּל** (to shine, *vid.* ch. xxv. 5) with a weakening of the *a* to *i* (Ew. § 255, *a*), and the *suff.* may, according to the syntax, be taken as an anticipatory statement of the object: when it, viz. His light, shone above my head; comp. Ex. ii. 6 (him, the boy), Isa. xvii. 6 (its, the fruit-tree's, branches), also xxix. 23 (he, his children); and Ew. § 309, *c*, also decides in its favour. Nevertheless it commends itself still more to refer the *suff.* of **בְּהִלֹּי** to **אֵלֹהִים** (comp. Isa. lx. 2, Ps. l. 2), and to take **יָרוּ** as a corrective, explanatory permutative: when He, His lamp, shone above my head, as we have translated. One is at any rate reminded of Isa. lx. in connection with ver. 3; for as **בְּהִלֹּי** corresponds to **יָרָה** there, so **לְאֹרִי** corresponds to **לְאֹיֶרֶךְ** in the 3d ver. of the same: by His light I walked in darkness (**חֹשֶׁךְ** locative = **בְּחֹשֶׁךְ**), *i.e.* rejoicing in His light, which preserved me from its dangers (straying and falling).

In ver. 4 **בְּאִשֶּׁר** is not a particle of time, but of comparison, which was obliged here to stand in the place of the **כִּי**, which is usual only as a preposition. And **הָרַפִּי** (to be written thus,

not חֶרְפִּי with an aspirated פ) may not be translated “(in the days) of my spring,” as Symm. *ἐν ἡμέραις νεότητός μου*, Jer. *diebus adolescentiæ meæ*, and Targ. בְּיוֹמֵי חֶרְפּוֹתַי, whether it be that חֶרְפּוֹת here signifies the point, ἀκμή (from חֶרֶף, حرف, *acuere*), or the early time (spring time, from חֶרֶף, خرف, *carpere*). For in reference to agriculture חֶרֶף can certainly signify the early half of the year (on this, *vid. Genesis*, S. 270), inasmuch as sowing and ploughing time in Palestine and Syria is in November and December; wherefore خريف signifies the early rain or autumn rain; and in Talmudic, חֶרֶף, premature (ripe too early), is the opposite of אַחֲרָי, late, but the derivatives of חֶרֶף only obtain this signification *connotative*, for, according to its proper signification, חֶרֶף (חרیف with other forms) is the gathering time, *i.e.* the time of the fruit harvest (syn. אֶצְבִּי), while the Hebr. אֶבֶיב (אֶב) corresponds to the spring in our sense. If Job meant his youth, he would have said אֶבֶיבִי, or something similar; but as ver. 5b shows, he meant his manhood, and this he calls his autumn as the season of maturity, or rather of the abundance of fruits (Schult. : *ætatem virilem suis fructibus factum et exuberantum*),<sup>1</sup> which, according to Olympiodorus, also with ὅτε ἡμῶν ἐπιβρίθων ὁδούς (perhaps καρπούς) of the LXX., is what is intended. Then the blessed fellowship of Eloah (עֹלֹה), familiarity, confiding, unreserved intercourse, Ps. lv. 15, Prov. iii. 32, comp. Ps. xxv. 14) ruled over his tent; the Almighty

<sup>1</sup> The fresh vegetation, indeed, in hotter districts (*e.g.* in the valleys of the Jordan and Euphrates) begins with the arrival of the autumnal rains, but the real spring (comp. Cant. ii. 11-13) only begins about the vernal equinox, and still later on the mountains. On the contrary, the late summer, קַיִץ, which passes over into the autumn, חֶרֶף, is the season for gathering the fruit. The produce of the fields, garden fruit, and grapes ripen before the commencement of the proper autumn; some (when the land can be irrigated) summer fruits, *e.g.* *Dhura* (maize) and melons, in like manner olives and dates, ripen in autumn. Therefore the translation, in the days of my autumn (“of my harvest”), is the only

was still with him (protecting and blessing him), his נְעָרִים were round about him. It certainly does not mean servants (Raschi: משרתי), but children (as ch. i. 19, xxiv. 5); for one expects the mention of the blessing of children first of all (Ps. cxxvii. 3 sqq., cxxviii. 3). His steps (הַלְיָהּ, ἄπ λεγ.) bathed then בְּחֶמֶה = בְּחֶמְאָה, ch. xx. 17 (as שֶׁלֶה = שְׂאֵלָה, 1 Sam. i. 17, and possibly גִּיָּה = גִּנְאוּה), and the rocks poured forth, close by him, streams of oil (a figure which reminds one of Deut. xxxii. 13). A rich blessing surrounded him wherever he tarried or went, and flowed to him wonderfully beyond desire and comprehension.

- 7 *When I went forth to the gate up to the city,  
Prepared my seat in the market,*
- 8 *Then the young men hid themselves as soon as they saw me,  
And the aged rose up, remained standing.*
- 9 *Princes refrained from speaking,  
And laid their hand on their mouth.*
- 10 *The voice of the nobles was hidden,  
And their tongue clave to their palate.*

When he left the bounds of his domain, and came into the city, he was everywhere received with the profoundest respect. From the facts of the case, it is inadmissible to translate *quum egrederer portam* after Gen. xxxiv. 24, comp. *infra*, ch. xxxi. 34, for the district where Job dwelt is to be correct one. If חֲרָפִי were intended here in a sense not used elsewhere, it might signify, according to the Arabic with ح, "(in the days) of my prosperity," or "my power," or even with خ, "(in the days) of my youthful vigour;" for *charâfât* are rash words and deeds, *charfân* one who says or does anything rash from lightness, the feebleness of old age, etc. (according to Wetzst., very common words in Syria); חָרַף or חָרַף, therefore, the thoughtlessness of youth, جَهْل, i.e. the rash desire of doing something great, which חָרַף הַנֶּפֶשׁ לָמוֹת (Judg. v. 18). But it is most secure to go back to חָרַף, خرف, *carpere*, viz. *fructus*.

thought of as being without a gate. True, he did not dwell with his family in tents, *i.e.* pavilions of hair, but in houses; he was not a nomad (a wandering herdsman), or what is the same thing, a Beduin, otherwise his children would not have been slain in a stone house, ch. i. 19. "The daughter of the duck," says an Arabian proverb, "is a swimmer," and the son of a Beduin never dwells in a stone house. He was, however, also, not a citizen, but a *hadari* (הַדָּרִי), *i.e.* a permanent resident, a large landowner and husbandman. Thus therefore שָׁעַר (for which Ew. after the LXX. reads שַׁחַר: "when I went up early in the morning to the city") is locative, for שַׁעֲרָה (comp. צֵא הַשָּׂדֶה, go out into the field, Gen. xxvii. 3): when he went forth to the gate above the city; or even, since it is natural to imagine the city as situated on an eminence: up to the city (so that צֵאתָ includes in itself by implication the notion of עֲלֹות); not, however: to the gate near the city (Stick., Hahn), since the gate of a city is not situated near the city, but is part of the city itself. The gates of cities and large houses in Western Asia are vaulted entrances, with large recesses on either side, where people congregate for business and negotiations.<sup>1</sup> The open space at the gate, which here, as in Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16, is called רֶחֶב, *i.e.* the open space within the gate and by the gate, was the forum (ch. v. 4).

Ver. 8. When Job came hither to the meeting of the tribunal, or the council of the elders of the city, within which he had a seat and a voice, the young men hid themselves, conscious of his presence (which εἰρομένη λέξει, or, is expressed paratactically instead of as a period), *i.e.* they retired into the background, since they feared his look of salutation;<sup>2</sup> and old men (hoary heads) stood up, remained

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Layard, *New Discoveries*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *jer. Schekalim* ii. 5 (in Pinner's *Compendium des Thalmud*, S. 58): "R. Jochanan was walking and leaning upon R. Chiya bar-Abba,



standing (*ἀστυδέτως*, as ch. xx. 19, xxviii. 4). קִיָּם signifies to stand up, עָמַר to advance towards any one and remain standing (comp. vol. i. 357, note 1). They rose in order not to seat themselves until he was seated. שָׂרִים are magnates (*proceres*) of the city. These עָצְרוּ בְּמִלִּים, *cohibebant verba* (עצר with *Beth* of the obj., as ch. iv. 2, xii. 15), and keeping a respectful silence, they laid their hand on their mouth (comp. xxi. 5). All stepped back and desisted from speaking before him: The speech of illustrious men (נְגִידִים from נָגַד, נָגַד, to be visible, pleasant to the sight, comp. *supra*, p. 91) hid itself (not daring to be heard), and the tongue of the same clave (motionless) to their palate. We do not translate: as to the voice illustrious men hid themselves, for it is only the appearance produced by the attractional construction [Ges. § 148, 1] that has led to the rendering of קוֹל־נְגִידִים as an *acc.* of closer definition (Schult., Hahn: *quod ad vocem eminentium, comprimebantur*). The verb is construed with the second member of the genitival expression instead of with the first, as with מִסְפֵּר, ch. xv. 20, xxi. 21, xxxviii. 21, and with רֹאשׁ, ch. xxii. 12; a construction which occurs with קוֹל not merely in such exclamatory sentences as Gen. iv. 10, Isa. lii. 8, but also under other conditions, 1 Kings i. 41, comp. xiv. 6. This may be best called an attraction of the predicate by the second member of the compound subject, like the reverse instance, Isa. ii. 11; and it is sometimes found even where this second member is not logically the more important. Thus Ew. transl.: "the voice of the nobles hides itself;" whereas Olsh., wrongly denying that the *partt.* in passages like Gen. iv. 10, 1 Kings i. 41, are to be taken as predicative, wishes to

R. Eliezer perceived him and hid himself from him (וּמָטַר לֵהּ מִקָּמִי). Then said R. Jochanan: This Babylonian insulted him (R. Chija) by two things; first that he did not salute him, and then that he hid himself. But R. Jakob bar-Idi answered him, it is the custom with them for the less not to salute the greater,—a custom which confirms Job's words: Young men saw me and hid themselves."

read נחבא, which is the more inadmissible, as even the choice of the verb is determined by the attractional construction.

The strophe which follows tells how it came to pass that those in authority among the citizens submitted to him, and that on all sides the people were zealous to show him tokens of respect.

- 11 *For an ear heard, and called me happy ;  
And an eye saw, and bear witness to me :*
- 12 *For I rescued the sufferer who cried for help,  
And the orphan, and him that had no helper.*
- 13 *The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me,  
And I made the widow's heart rejoice.*
- 14 *I put on justice, and it put me on ;  
As a robe and turban was my integrity.*

Thus imposing was the impression of his personal appearance wherever he appeared ; for (נִי *explic.*) the fulness of the blessing of the possession of power and of prosperity which he enjoyed was so extraordinary, that one had only to hear of it to call him happy, and that, especially if any one saw it with his own eyes, he was obliged to bear laudatory testimony to him. The *futt. consec.* affirm what was the inevitable consequence of hearing and seeing ; הָעֵיד, *seq. acc.*, is used like הַזְכִּיר in the signification of laudatory recognition. The expression is not brachylogical for לִי וְהָעֵיד (vid. on ch. xxxi. 18) ; for from 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13, we perceive that הָעֵיד with the *acc.* of the person signifies to make any one the subject of assertion, whether he be lower or higher in rank (comp. the New Testament word, especially in Luke, μαρτυρεῖσθαι). It was, however, not merely the outward manifestation of his unusual prosperity which called forth such admiration, but his active benevolence united with the abundant resources at his command. For where there was a sufferer who cried for help, he relieved him, especially orphans and those who had no

helper. לֹא־עֵזֶר לוֹ is either a new third object, or a closer definition of what precedes: the orphan and (in this state of orphanhood) helpless one. The latter is more probable both here and in the Salomonic primary passage, Ps. lxxii. 12; in the other case לוֹ וְאִשְׁרֵי אֵין־עֵזֶר might be expected.

Ver. 13. The blessing (בְּרִכָּת with closely closed *penult.*) of those who stood on the brink of destruction (אִי־בָר, *interiturus*, as ch. xxxi. 19, Prov. xxxi. 6), and owed their rescue to him, came upon him; and the heart of the widow to whom he gave assistance, compensating for the assistance of her lost husband, he filled with gladness (הִרְנִין causative, as Ps. lxv. 9). For the primary attribute, the fundamental character of his way of thinking and acting, was צָדִיק, a holding fast to the will of God, which before everything else calls for sympathizing love (root צדק, صدق, to be hard, firm, stiff, *e.g.* *rumh-un sadq-un*, according to the *Kamus*: a hard, firm, straight spear), and מִשְׁפָּט, judgment and decision in favour of right and equity against wrong and injustice. Righteousness is here called the garment which he put on (as Ps. cxxxii. 9, comp. Isa. xi. 5, lix. 17), and right is the robe and turban with which he adorns himself (comp. Isa. lxi. 10); as by Arabian poets noble attributes are also called garments, which God puts on any one, or which any one puts on himself (*albasa*).<sup>1</sup> Righteousness is compared to the לְבוּשׁ (corresponding to the *thob*, *i.e.* garment, *indusium*, of the nomads) which is worn on the naked body, justice to the צִנִּיף, a magnificent turban (corresponding to the *kefîje*, consisting of a thick cotton cloth, and fastened with a cord made of camel's hair), and the magnificent robe (corresponding to the second principal article of clothing, the '*abâ*'). The LXX., Jer., Syr., and Arab. wrongly refer

<sup>1</sup> In Beidhâwi, if I remember rightly, this expression occurs once, التدرع بلباس التقوى, *i.e.* "clothing one's self in the armour of the fear of God."

וּלְבָשָׁנִי to מִשְׁפָּטִי of the second half of the verse, while, on the contrary, it is said of צָדִק, *per antanaclasin*, that Job put this on, and this in turn put Job on, *induit*; for וּלְבָשָׁנִי, as the usage of the language, as we have it, elsewhere shows, does not signify: it (righteousness) clothed me well (Umbr.), or: adorned me (Ew., Vaih.), also not: it dressed me out (Schlottom.), but only: it put me on as a garment, *i.e.* it made me so its own, that my whole appearance was the representation of itself, as in Judg. vi. 34 and twice in the Chronicles, of the Spirit of Jehovah it is said that He puts on any one, *induit*, when He makes any one the organ of His own manifestation.

15 *I was eyes to the blind,*

*And feet was I to the lame.*

16 *I was a father to the needy,*

*And the cause of the unknown I found out,*

17 *And broke the teeth of the wicked,*

*And I cast the spoil forth out of his teeth.*

The less it is Job's purpose here to vindicate himself before the friends, the more forcible is the refutation which the accusations of the most hard-hearted uncharitableness raised against him by them, especially by Eliphaz, ch. xxii., find everywhere here. His charity relieved the bodily and spiritual wants of others—eyes to the blind (לְעִיר with *Pathach*), feet to the lame. A father was he to the needy, which is expressed by a beautiful play of words, as if it were: the carer for the care-full ones; or what perhaps corresponds to the primary significations of אָב and אֲבִיָּן:<sup>1</sup> the protector of

<sup>1</sup> There is an old Arabic defective verb, بى, which signifies "to seek an asylum for one's self," *e.g.* *anâ baj*, I come as one seeking protection, a suppliant, in the usual language synon. of دَخَلَ, and thereby indicating its relationship to the Hebr. בָּזָא, perhaps the root of בֵּית (בְּתִים), the *ת* of which would then not be a radical letter, but, as according to Ges.

those needing (seeking) protection. The unknown he did not regard as those who were nothing to him, but went unselfishly and impartially into the ground of their cause. **לֹא־יָרֵעָתִי** is an attributive clause, as ch. xviii. 21, Isa. lv. 5, xli. 3, and freq., with a personal obj. (*eorum*) *quos non noveram*, for the translation *causam quam nesciebam* (Jer.) gives a tame, almost meaningless, thought. With reference to the *suff.* in **אֶחָקְרָתִי**, on the form *ehu* used seldom by *Waw consec.* (ch. xii. 4), and

*Thes.* in **וָיִית**, used only in the forming of the word, and the original meaning would be "a refuge." Traced to a secondary verb, **אָבָה** (properly to take up the fugitive, *qabila-l-bija*) springing from this primitive verb, **אָב** would originally signify a guardian, protector; and from the fact of this name denoting, according to the form **פָּעַל**, properly in general the protecting power, the ideal *femin.* in **אָבוֹת** (Arab. *abawât*) and the Arabic dual *abawain* (properly both guardians), which embraces father and mother, would be explained and justified. Thus the rare phenomenon that the same **אָבָה** signifies in Hebr. "to be willing," and in Arab. "to refuse," would be solved. The notion of taking up the fugitive would have passed over in the Hebrew, taken according to its positive side, into the notion of being willing, *i.e.* of receiving and accepting (**קָבַל**, *qabila*, *e.g.* 1 Kings xx. 8, **לֹא תֵאָבָה** = *la taqbal*); in the Arabic, however, taken according to its negative side, as refusing the fugitive to his pursuer, into that of not being willing; and the usage of the language favours this: *abâhu 'aleihi*, he protected him against (**עָלִי**) the other (refused

him to the other); **أَبَى** = **مَأْبَى**, protected, inaccessible to him who

longs for it; **أَبِيَّة**, the protection, *i.e.* the retention of the milk in the udder. Hence **אֲבִין**, from the Hebrew signif. of the verb, signifies one who desires anything, or a needy person, but originally (inasmuch as

**אָבָה** is connected with **בִּי**) one who needs protection; from the Arabic

signif. of **أَبَى**, one who restrains himself because he is obliged, one to whom what he wants is denied. To the Arab. *ibja* (defence, being hindered) corresponds in form the Hebr. **אֲבָה**, according to which **אֲבִיּוֹת אָבָה**, ch. ix. 26, may be understood of ships, which, with all sails set and in all haste, seek the sheltering harbour before the approaching storm. We leave this suggestion for further research to sift and prove. More on ch. xiv. 36.—WETZST.

\* *Vid.* Addenda, p. 448.

by the *imper.* (ch. xl. 11 sq.), chiefly with a solemn calm tone of speech, *vid.* Ew. § 250, c. Further: He spared not to render wrong-doers harmless, and snatched from them what they had taken from others. The cohortative form of the *fut. consec.*, וַיִּשְׁבֶּרָה, has been discussed already on ch. i. 15, xix. 20. The form מִתְלַעֵוֹת is a transposition of מִלְחָעוֹת, to render it more convenient for pronunciation, for the Arab. طلع, *efferre se*, whence a secondary form, تلح, although used of the appearing of the teeth, furnishes no such appropriate primary signification as the Arab. لذغ, *pungere, mordere*, whence a secondary form, لتغ; the Æthiopic *maltáht*, jaw-bone (*maxilla*), also favours מלחעה as the primary form. He shattered the grinders of the roguish, and with moral indignation against the robber he cast out of his teeth what he had stolen.

18 *Then I thought: With my nest I shall expire,  
And like the phoenix, have a long life.*

19 *My root will be open for water,  
And the dew will lodge in my branches.*

20 *Mine honour will remain ever fresh to me,  
And my bow will become young in my hand.*

In itself, ver. 18*b* might be translated: "and like to the sand I shall live many days" (Targ., Syr., Arab., Saad., Gecat., Luther, and, among moderns, Umbr., Stick., Vaih., Hahn, and others), so that the abundance of days is compared to the multitude of the grains of sand. The calculation of the immense total of grains of sand (atoms) in the world was, as is known, a favourite problem of antiquity; and in the Old Testament Scriptures, the comprehensive knowledge of Solomon is compared to "the sand upon the sea-shore," 1 Kings v. 9,—how much more readily a long life reduced to days! comp. Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. 136-138: *quot haberet corpora pulvis, tot mihi natales contingere vana rogavi.* We would

willingly decide in favour of this rendering, which is admissible in itself, although a closer definition like הָיִם is wanting by כְּהוֹל, if an extensive Jewish tradition did not secure the signification of an immortal bird, or rather one rising ever anew from the dead. The testimony is as follows: (1) *b. Sanhedrin* 108*b*, according to which הוֹל is only another name for the bird אֹרְשִׁינָא,<sup>1</sup> of which the fable is there recorded, that when Noah fed the beasts in the ark, it sat quite still in its compartment, that it might not give more trouble to the patriarch, who had otherwise plenty to do, and that Noah wished it on this account the reward of immortality (יֵהָא רַעוּא דְלֵא חַמּוּת). (2) That this bird הוֹל is none other than the phoenix, is put beyond all doubt by the Midrashim (collected in the *Talkut* on Job, § 517). There it is said that Eve gave all the beasts to eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree, and that only one bird, the הוֹל by name, avoided this death-food: "it lives a thousand years, at the expiration of which time fire springs up in its nest, and burns it up to about the size of an egg;" or even: that of itself it diminishes to that size, from which it then grows up again and continues to live (חֹזֵר וּמִתְנַדֵּל אֵיבְרִים וְחַיָּה). (3) The Masora observes, that כְּהוֹל occurs in two different

<sup>1</sup> The name is a puzzle, and does not accord with any of the mythical birds mentioned in the *Zendavesta* (*vid.* Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, 1863, S. 93). What Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, S. 353, brings forward from the Greek by way of explanation is untenable. The name of the bird, *Vâresha*, in an obscure passage of the *Bundehesch* in Windischmann, *ib.* S. 80, is similar in sound. Probably, however, אֹרְשִׁינָא is one and the same word as *Simurg*, which is composed of *si* (= *sin*) and *murg*, a bird (Pehlvi and Parsi *mru*). This *si* (*sin*) corresponds to the Vedic *çjēna*, a falcon, and in the Zend form, *çaēna* (*çina*), is the name of a miraculous bird; so that consequently *Simurg* = *Sinmurg*, Parsi *Cinamru*, signifies the *Si*- or *Cina*-bird (comp. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, 1859, S. 125). In אֹרְשִׁינָא the two parts of the composition seem to be reversed, and אֹר to be corrupted from מֹר. Moreover, the *Simurg* is like the phoenix only in the length of its life; another mythological bird, *Kuknus*, on the other hand (*vid.* the art. *Phönix* in Ersch u. Gruber), resembles it also in rising out of its own ashes.

significations (בתרי לשני), since in the present passage it does not, as elsewhere, signify sand. (4) Kimchi, in his *Lex.*, says: "in a correct Jerusalem ms. I found the observation: בשורק לנהרדעי ובחלם למערבאי, i.e. וְבַחֹל according to the Nehardean (Babylonian) reading, וְבַחֹל according to the western (Palestine) reading;" according to which, therefore, the Babylonian Masoretic school distinguished וְבַחֹל in the present passage from וְבַחֹל, Gen. xxii. 17, even in the pronunciation. A conclusion respecting the great antiquity of this lexical tradition may be drawn (5) from the LXX., which translates ὥσπερ στέλεχος φοῖνικος, whence the Italic *sicut arbor palmæ*, Jerome *sicut palma*.

If we did not know from the testimonies quoted that חֹל is the name of the phoenix, one might suppose that the LXX. has explained וְבַחֹל according to the Arab. *nachl*, the palm, as Schultens does; but by a comparison of those testimonies, it is more probable that the translation was ὥσπερ φοῖνιξ originally, and that ὥσπερ στέλεχος φοῖνικος is an interpolation, for φοῖνιξ signifies both the immortal miraculous bird and the inexhaustibly youthful palm.<sup>1</sup> We have the reverse case in Tertullian, *de resurrectione carnis*, c. xiii., which explains the passage in Psalms, xcii. 13, δίκαιος ὡς φοῖνιξ ἀνθήσει, according to the translation *justus velut phœnix florebit*, of the *ales orientis* or *avis Arabiæ*, which symbolizes

<sup>1</sup> According to Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 396, the phoenix makes its nest in the palm, and according to Pliny, *h. n.* xiii. 42, it has its name from the palm: *Phœnix putatur ex hujus palmæ argumento nomen accepisse, iterum mori ac renasci ex se ipsa; vid. A. Hahmann, Die Dattelpalme, ihre Namen und ihre Verehrung in der alten Welt, in the periodical Bonplandia, 1859, Nr. 15, 16. Masius, in his studies of nature, has very beautifully described on what ground "the intelligent Greek gave a like name to the fabulous immortal bird that rises again out of its own ashes, and the palm which ever renews its youth."* Also comp. (Heimsdörfer's) *Christliche Kunstsymbolik*, S. 26, and Augusti, *Beiträge zur christl. Kunst-Geschichte und Liturgik*, Bd. i. S. 106-108, but especially Piper, *Mythologie der christl. Kunst* (1847), i. 446f.



man's immortality.<sup>1</sup> Both figures, that of the phoenix and that of the palm, are equally appropriate and pleasing in the mouth of Job; but apart from the fact that the palm everywhere, where it otherwise occurs, is called פִּקֵּר, this would be the only passage where it occurs in the book of Job, which, in spite of its richness in figures taken from plants, nowhere mentions the palm,—a fact which is perhaps not accidental.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, we must immediately welcome a reference to the Arabico-Egyptian myth of the phoenix, that can be proved, in a book which also otherwise thoroughly blends things Egyptian with Arabian, and the more so since (6) even the Egyptian language itself supports חול or חול as a name of the phoenix; for ΑΛΛΩΗ, ΑΛΛΟΗ is explained in the Coptico-Arabic glossaries by *es-semendel* (the Arab. name of the phoenix, or at least a phoenix-like bird, that, like the salamander, *semendar*, cannot be burned), and in Kircher by *avis Indica, species Phœnicis*.<sup>3</sup> חול is Hebraized from this Egyptian name of the

<sup>1</sup> Not without reference to Clemens Romanus, in his *I. Ep. ad Corinth.* c. xxv., according to which the phoenix is an Arabian bird, which lives five hundred years, then dies in a nest which it builds of incense, myrrh, and spices, and leaves behind it the larva of a young bird, which, when grown up, brings the nest with the bones of its father and places it upon the altar of the sun at the Egyptian Heliopolis. The source of this is Herodotus ii. 73 (who, however, has an egg of myrrh instead of a nest of myrrh); and Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 28, gives a similar narrative. Lactantius gives a different version in his poem on the phoenix, according to which this, the only one of its race, "built its nest in a country that remained untouched by the deluge." The Jewish tragedy writer, Ezeikiêlos, agrees more nearly with the statement of Arabia being the home of the phoenix. In his drama 'Εξαγωγή, a spy sent forward before the pilgrim band of Israel, he states that among other things the phoenix was also seen; *vid. my Gesch. der jüd. Poesie*, S. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Without attempting thereby to explain the phenomenon observed above, we nevertheless regard it as worthy of remark, that in general the palm is not a common tree either in Syria or in Palestine. "At present there are not in all Syria five hundred palm-trees; and even in olden times there was no quantity of palms, except in the valley of the Jordan, and on the sea-coast."—WETZST.

<sup>3</sup> *Vid. G. Seyffarth, Die Phœnix-Periode, Deutsche Morgenländ. Zeitschr.*

phœnix; the word signifies rotation (comp. Arab. *haul*, the year; *hauḷa*, round about), and is a suitable designation of the bird that renews its youth periodically after many centuries of life: *quæ reparat seque ipsa reseminat ales* (Ovid), not merely beginning a new life, but also bringing in a new great year: *conversionem anni magni* (Pliny); in the hieroglyphic representations it has the circle of the sun as a crown. In the full enjoyment of the divine favour and blessing, and in the consciousness of having made a right use of his prosperity, Job hoped *φολυκος ἔτη βιοῦν* (Lucian, *Hermot.* 53), to use a Greek expression, and to expire or die *יָפֹדֵם*, as the first half of the verse, now brought into the right light, says. Looking to the form of the myth, according to which Ovid sings:

*Quassa cum fulvâ substravit cinnama myrrhâ,  
Se super imponit finitque in odoribus ævum,*

it might be translated: together with my nest (Umbr., Hirz., Hlgst.); but with the wish that he may not see any of his dear ones die before himself, there is at the same time connected the wish, that none of them should survive him, which is in itself unnatural, and diametrically opposed to the character of an Arab, who in the presence of death cherishes the twofold wish, that he may continue to live in his children (a proverb says: *men chalaf el-weled el-fâlih ma mâṭ*, he who leaves a noble child behind him is not dead), and that he may die in the midst of his family. Expressing this latter wish, *יָפֹדֵם* signifies: with = in my nest, *i.e.* in the bosom of my family, not without reference to the phœnix, which, according to the form of the myth in Herodotus, Pliny, Clement, and others, brings the remains of its father in a

iii. (1849) 63 ff., according to which *alloê* (Hierogl. *koli*) is the name of the false phœnix without head-feathers; *bêne* or *bêni* (Hierogl. *bnno*) is the name of the true phœnix with head-feathers, and the name of the palm also. *Alloê*, which accords with *לֹלֵא*, is quite secured as a name of the phœnix.

nest or egg of myrrh to Heliopolis, into the sacred precincts of the temple of the sun, and thus pays him the last and highest tribute of respect. A different but similar version is given in Horapollo ii. 57, according to which the young bird came forth from the blood of its sire, *σὺν τῷ πατρὶ πορεύεται εἰς τὴν Ἥλίου πόλιν τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὅς καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐκεῖ ἅμα τῇ ἡλίου ἀνατολῇ τελευτᾷ*. The father, therefore, in death receives the highest tribute of filial respect; and it is this to which the hope of being able to die with (in) his nest, expressed by Job, refers.

The following substantival clause, ver. 19*a*, is to be understood as future, like the similar clause, ver. 16*a*, as perfect: my root—so I hoped—will remain open (unclosed) towards the water, *i.e.* it will never be deficient of water in its vicinity, that it may plentifully supply the stem and branches with nourishment, and dew will lodge on my branches, *i.e.* will descend nightly, and remain upon them to nourish them. *יָסַד* (corresponding to the Arab. *ila*, originally *ilai*) occurs only in the book of Job, and here for the fourth and last time (comp. ch. iii. 22, v. 26, xv. 22). *יָצַק* does not signify harvest here, as the ancient expositors render it, but, like ch. xiv. 9, xviii. 16, a branch, or the intertwined branches. The figure of the root and branch, the flow of vitality downwards and upwards, is the counterpart of ch. xviii. 16. In ver. 20 a substantival clause also comes first, as in vers. 19, 16 (for the established reading is *יָסַד*, not *יָצַק*), and a verbal clause follows: his honour—so he hoped—should continue fresh by him, *i.e.* should abide with him in undiminished value and splendour. It is his honour before God and men that is intended, not his soul (Hahn); *דָּבָר*, *dóxa*, certainly is an appellation of the *נַפֶּשׁ* (*Psychol.* p. 119), but *יָסַד* is not appropriate to it as predicate. By the side of honour stands manliness, or the capability of self-defence, whose symbol is the bow: and my bow should become young again in my hand,

*i.e.* gain ever new strength and elasticity. It is unnecessary to supply פָּח (Hirz., Schlottm., and others). The verb חָלַף, خلف, signifies, as the Arab. shows, properly to turn the back, then to go forth, exchange; the *Hiph.* to make progress, to cause something new to come into the place of the old, to grow young again. These hopes introduced with וְאִמָּר were themselves an element of his former happiness. Its description can therefore be continued in connection with the וְאִמָּר without any fresh indication.

- 21 *They hearkened to me and waited,  
And remained silent at my decision.*  
 22 *After my utterance they spake not again,  
And my speech distilled upon them.*  
 23 *And they waited for me as for the rain,  
And they opened their mouth wide for the latter rain.*  
 24 *I smiled to them in their hopelessness,  
And the light of my countenance they cast not down.*  
 25 *I chose the way for them, and sat as chief,  
And dwelt as a king in the army,  
As one that comforteth the mourners.*

Attentive, patient, and ready to be instructed, they hearkened to him (this is the force of שָׁמַע לוֹ), and waited, without interrupting, for what he should say. וַיִּחַלּוּ, the pausal pronunciation with a reduplication of the last radical, as Judg. v. 7, חָרְלוּ (according to correct texts), Ges. § 20, 2, c; the reading of Kimchi, וַיִּחַלּוּ, is the reading of Ben-Naphtali, the former the reading of Ben-Ascher (*vid.* Norzi). If he gave counsel, they waited in strictest silence: this is the meaning of יָדְמוּ (*fut. Kal* of דָּמָם); לָמוּ, poetic for לוֹ, refers the silence to its outward cause (*vid.* on Hab. iii. 16). After his words *non iterabant*, *i.e.* as Jerome explanatorily translates: *addere nihil audebant*, and his speech came down upon them relieving, rejoicing, and enlivening them. The figure indi-

cated in **הִתְחַנֵּן** is expanded in ver. 23 after Deut. xxxii. 2: they waited on his word, which penetrated deeply, even to the heart, as for rain, **מִטָּר**, by which, as ver. 23b, the so-called (autumnal) early rain which moistens the seed is prominently thought of. They open their mouth for the late rain, **מִלְקָשׁ** (*vid.* on ch. xxiv. 6), *i.e.* they thirsted after his words, which were like the March or April rain, which helps to bring to maturity the corn that is soon to be reaped; this rain frequently fails, and is therefore the more longed for. **פָּעַר פֶּה** is to be understood according to Ps. cxix. 131, comp. lxxxi. 11; and one must consider, in connection with it, what raptures the beginning of the periodical rains produces everywhere, where, as *e.g.* in Jerusalem, the people have been obliged for some time to content themselves with cisterns that are almost dried to a marsh, and how the old and young dance for joy at their arrival!

In ver. 24a a thought as suited to the syntax as to the fact is gained if we translate: "I smiled to them—they believed it not," *i.e.* they considered such condescension as scarcely possible (Saad., Raschi, Rosenm., De Wette, Schlottm., and others); **אֶשְׂתַּחֲוֶה** is then *fut. hypotheticum*, as ch. x. 16, xx. 24, xxii. 27 sq., Ew. § 357, b. But it does not succeed in putting ver. 24b in a consistent relation to this thought; for, with Aben-Ezra, to explain: they did not esteem my favour the less on that account, my respect suffered thereby no loss among them, is not possible in connection with the biblical idea of "the light of the countenance;" and with Schlottm. to explain: they let not the light of my countenance, *i.e.* token of my favour, fall away, *i.e.* be in vain, is contrary to the usage of the language, according to which **הִפִּיל פָּנָיו** signifies: to cause the countenance to sink (gloomily, Gen. iv. 5), whether one's own, Jer. iii. 12, or that of another. Instead of **פָּנִי** we have a more pictorial and poetical expression here, **אֹר פָּנִי**: light of my countenance, *i.e.* my cheerfulness (as Prov. xvi. 15). More-

over, the **אִשְׁחַק אֱלֹהִים**, therefore, furnishes the thought that he laughed, and did not allow anything to dispossess him of his easy and contented disposition. Thus, therefore, those to whom Job laughed are to be thought of as in a condition and mood which might easily sadden his cheerfulness, but still did not sadden it; and this their condition is described by **לֹא יֵאֱמִינוּ** (a various reading in Codd. and editions is **לֹא יֵאֱמִין**), a phrase which occurred before (ch. xxiv. 22) in the signification of being without faith or hope, despairing (comp. **הֵאֱמִין**, to gain faith, Ps. cxvi. 10),—a clause which is not to be taken as attributive (Umbr., Vaih.: who had not confidence), but as a neutral or circumstantial subordinate clause (Ew. § 341, a). Therefore translate: I smiled to them, if they believed not, *i.e.* despaired; and however despondent their position appeared, the cheerfulness of my countenance they could not cause to pass away. However gloomy they were, they could not make me gloomy and off my guard. Thus also ver. 25a is now suitably attached to the preceding: I chose their way, *i.e.* I made the way plain, which they should take in order to get out of their hopeless and miserable state, and sat as chief, as a king who is surrounded by an armed host as a defence and as a guard of honour, attentive to the motion of his eye; not, however, as a sovereign ruler, but as one who condescended to the mourners, and comforted them (**נָחַם Piel**, properly to cause to breathe freely). This peaceful figure of a king brings to mind the warlike one, ch. xv. 24. **כִּי־אֶשְׂכַּח** is not a conj. here, but equivalent to **כִּי־אֶשְׂכַּח**, *ut (quis) qui*; consequently not: as one comforts, but: as he who comforts; LXX. correctly: *ὃν τρόπον παθεινὸς παρακαλῶν*. The accentuation (**כִּי־אֶשְׂכַּח Tarcha**, **אֲבִלִים Munach**, **יִנְחֵם Silluk**) is erroneous; **כִּי־אֶשְׂכַּח** should be marked with *Rebia mugrasch*, and **אֲבִלִים** with *Mercha-Zinnorith*.

From the prosperous and happy past, absolutely passed, Job now turns to the present, which contrasts so harshly with it.

## THE SECOND PART OF THE MONOLOGUE.—CHAP. XXX.

*Schema:* 10. 8. 9. 8. 8. 8. 8.

- 1 *And now they who are younger than I have me in derision,  
Those whose fathers I disdained  
To set with the dogs of my flock.*
- 2 *Yea, the strength of their hands, what should it profit me?  
They have lost vigour.*
- 3 *They are benumbed from want and hunger,  
They who gnaw the steppe,  
The darkness of the wilderness and waste;*
- 4 *They who pluck mallows in the thicket,  
And the root of the broom is their bread.*

With עֲפָתָה, which also elsewhere expresses the turning-point from the premises to the conclusion, from accusation to the threat of punishment, and such like, Job here begins to bewail the sad turn which his former prosperity has taken. The first line of the verse, which is marked off by *Mercha-Mahpach*, is intentionally so disproportionately long, to form a deep and long breathed beginning to the lamentation which is now begun. Formerly, as he has related in the first part of the monologue, an object of reverential fear to the respectable youth of the city (ch. xxix. 8), he is now an object of derision (עָלָה לְשַׂחֵק, to laugh at, distinct from לְשַׂחֵק, ch. xxix. 24, to laugh to, smile upon) to the young good-for-nothing vagabonds of a miserable class of men. They are just the same עֲנִי אֶרְרָן, whose sorrowful lot he reckons among the mysteries of divine providence, so difficult of solution (ch. xxiv. 4b-8). The less he belongs to the merciless ones, who take advantage of the calamities of the poor for their own selfish ends, instead of relieving their distress as far as is in their power,

the more unjustifiable is the rude treatment which he now experiences from them, when they who meanly hated him before because he was rich, now rejoice at the destruction of his prosperity. Younger than he in days (לְיָמִים as ch. xxxii. 4, with לְ of closer definition, instead of which the simple *acc.* was inadmissible here, comp. on ch. xi. 9) laugh at him, sons of those fathers who were so useless and abandoned that he scorned (לְמַאֲסָם, comp. מַאֲסָם כֵּן, 1 Sam. xv. 26) to entrust to them even a service so menial as that of the shepherd dogs. Schult., Rosenm., and Schlottm. take נָשִׂיתָ עִם for נָשִׂיתָ עַל, *præficere*, but that ought to be just simply עִם; נָשִׂיתָ עִם signifies to range beside, *i.e.* to place alike, to associate; moreover, the *oversight* of the shepherd dogs is no such menial post, while Job intends to say that he did not once consider them fit to render such a subordinate service as is that of the dogs which help the shepherds. And even the strength of their (these youths') hands (יָדֵיהֶם is referable to the *suff.* of יָדֵיהֶם: even; not: now entirely, completely, as Hahn translates), of what use should it be to him? (לְמַה not *cur*, but *ad quid*, *quorsum*, as Gen. xxv. 32, xxvii. 46.) They are enervated, good-for-nothing fellows: כֹּלָהּ is lost to them (עֲלִימוֹ trebly emphatic: it is placed in a prominent position, has a pathetic *suff.*, and is עַל for לְ, 1 Sam. ix. 3). The signif. *senectus*, which suits ch. v. 26, is here inapplicable, since it is not the aged that are spoken of, but the young; for that "old age is lost to them" would be a forced expression for the thought—which, moreover, does not accord with the connection—that they die off early. One does not here expect the idea of *senectus* or *senectus vegeta*, but *vigor*, as the Syriac (*'ushno*) and Arabic also translate it. May not כֹּלָהּ perhaps be related to כֹּחַ, as שְׁלֵמָה to שְׁמָה, the latter being a mixed form from שְׁמָה and שְׁלֵמָה, the former from כֹּחַ and לֶחֶם, fresh juicy vigour, or as we say: pith and marrow (*Saft and Kraft*)? At all events, if this is somewhat the idea of the word, it may be derived from



כָּלָה = כָּלָה (LXX. *συντέλεια*), or some other way (*vid.* on ch. v. 26): it signifies full strength or maturity.<sup>1</sup>

With ver. 3a begins a new clause. It is כָּלָה, not כָּלָה, because the book of Job does not inflect this Hebræo-Arabic word, which is peculiar to it (besides only Isa. xlix. 21, כָּלָה). It is also in Arab. more a substantive (stone, a mass) than an adj. (hard as stone, massive, *e.g.* *Hist. Tamerlani* in Schultens: *الصخر الجلود*, the hardest rock); and, similar to the Greek *χέρσος* (*vid.* Passow), it denotes the condition or attribute of rigidity, *i.e.* sterility, ch. iii. 7; or stiff as death, ch. xv. 34; or, as here, extreme weakness and incapability of

<sup>1</sup> From the root כל (on its primary notion, *vid.* my review of Bernstein's edition of Kirsch's *Syr. Chrestomathie, Ergänzungsblatt der A.L.Z.*

1843, Nr. 16 and 17) other derivatives, as کَلَب, کَلَت, کَلَّ, etc., develop in general the significations to bring, take, or hold together, enclose, and the like; but کَلَج in particular the signification to draw together, distort violently, *viz.* the muscles of the face in grinning and showing the teeth, or even sardonic laughing, and drawing the lips apart. The general signification of drawing together, شد, resolves itself, however, from that special reference to the muscles of the

face, and is manifest in the IV. form كَالَّ, to show one's self strict and firm (against any one); also more sensuously: to remain firm in one's place; of the moon, which remains as though motionless in one of its twenty-eight halting-places. Hence ذَهْر كَالَّ, a hard season, زمان شديد and كَالَّ (the latter as a kind of *n. propr.* invariably

ending in *i*, and always without the article), a hard year, *i.e.* a year of failure of the crops, and of scarcity and want. If it is possible to apply this to כָּלָה without the hazardous comparison of قَلَج, etc. [so *supra*, i. 103], the primary signification might perhaps be that of hardness, unbroken strength; ch. v. 26, "Thou wilt go to the grave with unbroken strength," *i.e.* full of days indeed, but without having thyself experienced the infirmities and burdens of the *ætas decrepita*, as also a shock brought in "in its season" is at the highest point of ripeness; xxx. 2: "What (should) the strength of their hands profit me? as for them, their vigour is departed."—FL.

working. The subj.: such are *they*, is wanting; it is ranged line upon line in the manner of a mere sketch, participles with the demonstrative article follow the elliptical substantival clause. The *part.* הָעֲרִיִּים is explained by LXX., Targ., Saad. (فَارِين), and most of the old expositors, after عرق, *fut.* يعرق, *fugere, abire*, which, however, gives a tame and—since the desert is to be thought of as the proper habitation of these people, be they the Seir remnant of the displaced Horites, or the Hauran “races of the clefts”—even an inappropriate sense. On the contrary, عرق in Arab. (also *Pael* ‘arreq in Syriac) signifies to gnaw; and this Arabic signification of a word exclusively peculiar to the book of Job (here and ch. xxx. 17) is perfectly suitable. We do not, however, with Jerome, translate: *qui rodebant in solitudine* (which is doubly false), but *qui rodunt solitudinem*, they gnaw the sunburnt parched ground of the steppe, stretched out there more like beasts than men (what Gecatilia also means by his لازمو, *adherent*), and derive from it their scanty food. אֶמֶשׁ שָׁאָה is added as an explanatory, or rather further descriptive, permutative to צִיָּה. The same alliterative union of substantives of the same root occurs in ch. xxxviii. 27, Zeph. i. 15, and a similar one in Nah. ii. 11 (בֹּקֶה וּמְבֹקֶה), Ezek. vi. 14, xxxiii. 29 (שִׁמְמָה וּמִשְׁמָמָה); on this expression of the superlative by heaping up similar words, comp. Ew. § 313, c. The verb שָׁאָה has the primary notion of wild confused din (*e.g.* Isa. xvii. 12 sq.), which does not pass over to the idea of desolation and destruction by means of the intermediate notion of ruins that come together with a crash, but by the transfer of what is confusing to the ear to confusing impressions and conditions of all kinds; the desert is accordingly called also חֲהָה, Deut. xxxii. 10, from חָהָה = שָׁאָה (*vid. Genesis*, S. 93). The noun אֶמֶשׁ signifies elsewhere adverbially, in the past night, yesternight, and in general yesterday, according

to which it is translated: the yesterday of waste and desolation; or, retaining the adverbial form: waste and desolation are of yesterday = long since. It is undeniable that <sup>מֵאֲתָמּוּל</sup> and <sup>אֲתָמּוּל</sup>, Isa. xxx. 33, Mic. ii. 8, are used in the sense *pridem* (not only to-day, but even yesterday); but our poet uses <sup>תָּמּוּל</sup>, ch. viii. 9, in the opposite sense, *non pridem* (not long since, but only of yesterday); and it is more natural to ask whether <sup>אֲמָשׁ</sup> then has not here the substantival signification from which it has become an adverb, in the signification nightly or yesterday. Since it originally signifies yesterday evening or night, then yesterday, it must have the primary signification darkness, as the Arab. <sup>أَمْسٌ</sup> is also traceable to the primary notion of the sinking of the sun towards the horizon; so that, consequently, although the usage of Arabic does not allow this sense,<sup>1</sup> it can be translated (comp. <sup>עֲלֵמֹת</sup>, Jer. ii. 6), "the evening darkness (gloominess) of the waste and wilderness" (<sup>אֲמָשׁ</sup> as *regens*, Ew. § 286, a). The Targ.

<sup>1</sup> <sup>أَمْسٌ</sup> is manifestly connected with <sup>مَسَى</sup>, first by means of the IV. form <sup>أَمَسَى</sup>; it has, however, like this, nothing to do with "darkness." <sup>مُسَاءٌ</sup> is, according to the original sources of information, properly the whole afternoon until sunset; and this time is so called, because in it the sun <sup>تَمَسَّ</sup> or <sup>تَمَسَّى</sup>, touches, i.e. sinks towards the horizon (from the root <sup>مَس</sup> with the primary notion *stringere, terere, tergere, trahere, prehendere, capere*). Just so they say <sup>تَدَلَّكَ الشَّمْسُ</sup>, properly the sun rubs; <sup>تَضَيَّفَ</sup>, connects itself; <sup>تَشَفَّرَ</sup>, goes to the brink (<sup>شَفَرٌ</sup>, <sup>شَفِيرٌ</sup>), all in the same signification. Used as a substantive, <sup>أَمْسٌ</sup> followed by the genitive is *la veille de . . .*, the evening before . . . , and then generally, the day before . . . , the opposite of <sup>غَدٌ</sup> with the same construction, *le lendemain de* —. It is absolutely impossible that it

also translates similarly, but takes אַמֶּשׁ as a special attribute: הַשּׁוֹכָה הֵיךְ רִמְשָׁה, "darkness like the late evening." Olshausen's conjecture of אֶרֶץ makes it easier, but puts a word that affirms nothing in the place of an expressive one.

Ver. 4 tells what the scanty nourishment is which the chill, desolate, and gloomy desert, with its steppes and gorges, furnishes them. מִלֵּיחַ (also Talmudic, Syriac, and Arabic) is the orach, and indeed the tall shrubby orach, the so-called sea-purslain, the buds and young leaves of which are gathered and eaten by the poor. That it is not merely a coast plant, but grows also in the desert, is manifest from the narrative *b. Kidduschin*, 66a: "King Jannai approached כּוּחֵלִית in the desert, and conquered sixty towns there [Ges. translates wrongly, *captis LX talentis*]; and on his return with great joy, he called all the orphans of Israel to him, and said: Our fathers ate מִלֵּיחַ in their time when they were engaged with the building of the temple (according to Raschi: the second temple; according to Aruch: the tabernacle in the wilder-

should refer to a far distant past. On the contrary, it is always used like our "yesterday," in a general sense, for a comparatively near past, or

a past time thought of as near, as غَد is used of a comparatively near future, or a future time thought of as near. Zamachschari in the *Keschâf* on *Sur*. xvii. 25: It is a duty of children to take care of their aged parents, "because they are so aged, and to-day (*el-jauma*) require those who even yesterday (*bi-l-ensi*) were the most dependent on them of all God's creatures." It never means absolutely *evening* or *night*. What Gesenius, *Thes.*, cites as a proof for it from *Vita Timuri*, ii. 428—a sup-

posed <sup>٤٢٨</sup>أمسي, *vesperinus*—is falsely read and explained (as in general Manger's translation of those verses abounds in mistakes);—both line 1 and line 9, أمسي, IV. form of عَمْسَا, is rhetorically and poetically (as "sister of كان") of like signification with the general كان or صار. An Arab would not be able to understand that אֶמֶשׁ שׁוֹמֵה וּמִשְׁמָחָה otherwise than: "on the eve of destruction and ruin," i.e. at the breaking in of destruction and ruin which is just at hand or has actually followed rapidly upon something else.—FL.

ness); we will also eat מלחם in remembrance of our fathers! And מלחם were served up on golden tables, and they ate." The LXX. translates, ἄλιμα (not: ἄλιμα); as in Athenæus, poor Pythagoreans are once called ἄλιμα τρώγοντες καὶ κακὰ τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες.<sup>1</sup> The place where they seek for and find this kind of edible plant is indicated by חֲשִׁי-לֵץ. חֲשִׁי is a shrub in general, but certainly pre-eminently the شج, that perennial, branchy, woody plant of uncultivated ground, about two-thirds of a yard high, and the same in diameter, which is one of the greatest blessings of Syria and of the steppe, since, with the exception of cow and camel's dung, it is often the only fuel of the peasants and nomads,—the principal, and often in a day's journey the only, vegetation of the steppe, in the shade of which, when everything else is parched, a scanty vegetation is still preserved.<sup>2</sup> The poor in search of the purslain surround this شج (shih), and as ver. 4b continues: the broom-root is their bread. Ges. understands חֲשִׁי according to Isa. xlvii. 14, where it is certainly the pausal form for חֲשִׁי ("there is not a coal to warm one's self"), and that because the broom-root is not eatable. But why should broom-root and not broom brushwood be mentioned as fuel? The root of the steppe that serves as fuel, together with the shih, is called gizl (from לץ, to tear out), not retem, which is the broom (and is extraordinarily frequent in the Belka). The Arabs, however, not only call *Genista monosperma* so, but also *Chamærops humilis*, a degenerate kind of which produces a kind of arrow-root which the Indians in Florida use.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Huldreich Zwingli, in the Greek Aldine of 1518 (edited by Andrea of Asola), which he has annotated throughout in the margin, one of the choicest treasures of the Zurich town library, explains ἄλιμα by θαλάσσια, which was natural by the side of the preceding περικυκλῶντες. We shall mention these marginal notes of Zwingli now and again.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Wetzstein in his *Reise in den beiden Trachonen und um das Haurangebirge*.

<sup>3</sup> The description of these eaters of the steppe plants corresponds exactly

מִן הָאֵשׁ in the signification *cibus eorum* is consequently not incomprehensible. LXX. (which throws vers. 4-6 into sad confusion): οἱ καὶ ῥίζας ξύλων ἐμασσώντο.<sup>1</sup> All the ancient versions translate similarly. One is here reminded of what Agatharchides says in Strabo concerning the Egyptio-Ethiopian eaters of the rush root and herb.<sup>2</sup>

to the real? ...ally if that race, bodily so inferior, is contrasted with the agricultural peasant, and some allowance is made for the figure of

speech مبالغة (i.e. a description in colours, strongly brought out), without which poetic diction would be flat and devoid of vividness in the eye of an Oriental. The peasant is large and strong, with a magnificent beard and an expressive countenance, while e.g. the Trachonites of the present day (i.e. the race of the *W'ar*, وعر), both men and women, are a small, unpleasant-looking, weakly race. It is certain that bodily perfection is a plant that only thrives in a comfortable house, and needs good nourishment, viz. bread, which the Trachonite of the present day very rarely obtains, although he levies heavy contributions on the harvest of the villagers. Therefore the roots of plants often serve as food. Two such plants, the *gahh* (גח) and the *rubbe halile* (רִבֵּה חַלִּילָה), are described in my *Reisebericht*. A Beduin once told me that it should be properly called *rubh lile* (רִבֵּה לֵילָה), "the gain of a supper," inasmuch as it often takes the place of this, the chief meal of the day. To the genus *rubbe* belongs also the *holêvâ* (חֹלְבָא); in like manner they eat the bulbous plant, *gotên* (קֹתֵן); of another, the *mesha* (מֶשָׁע), they eat leaves, stem, and root. I often saw the poor villagers (never Beduins) eat the broad thick fleshy leaves of a kind of thistle (the thistle is called شوك, *shôk*), the name of which is 'aqquub (עֶקְוִב); these leaves are a handbreadth and a half in length, and half a handbreadth in width. They gather them before the thorns on the innumerable points of the serrated leaves become strong and woody; they boil them in salt and water, and serve them up with a little butter. Whole tribes of the people of the *Ruwala* live upon the small brown seed (resembling mustard-seed) of the *semh* (שֶׁמַח). The seeds are boiled to a pulp.—WETZST.

<sup>1</sup> Zwingli observes here: Sigma only once. *Codd. Alex. and Sinait.* have the reading ἐμασσώντο, which he prefers.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid.* Meyer, *Botanische Erläuterungen zu Strabons Geographie*, S. 108 ff.

- 5 *They are driven forth from society,  
They cry after them as after a thief.*  
6 *In the most dismal valleys they must dwell,  
In holes of the earth and in rocks.*  
7 *Among the bushes they croak,  
Under nettles are they poured forth,*  
8 *Sons of fools, yea sons of base men :  
They are driven forth out of the land !—*

If, coming forth from their lurking-places, they allow themselves to be seen in the villages of the plain or in the towns, they are driven forth from among men, *e medio pelluntur* (to use a Ciceronian phrase). גַּוּ (Syr. *gau*, Arab. *gaww*, *guww*) is that which is internal, here the circle of social life, the organized human community. This expression also is Hebræo-Arabic; for if one contrasts a house or district with what is outside, he says in Arabic, جَوًّا وَبَرًّا, *guwwâ wa-berrâ*, within and without, or الجَوَّانِي وَالْبَرَّانِي, *el-guwwâni wa'l-berrâni*, the inside and the outside. In ver. 5b, בִּנְיָב, like the thief, is equivalent to, as after the thief, or since this generic *Art.* is not usual with us [Germ. and Engl.]: after a thief; French, *on crie après eux comme après le voleur*. In ver. 6a, לְשֹׁבֵן is, according to Ges. § 132, rem. 1 (comp. on Hab. i. 17), equivalent to הָיוּ לְשֹׁבֵן, “they are to dwell” = they must dwell; it might also signify, according to the still more frequent usage of the language, *habitaturi sunt*; it here, however, signifies *habitandum est eis*, as לְבָלוֹם, Ps. xxxii. 9, *obturanda sunt*. Instead of בְּעֵרִין with *Shurek*, the reading בְּעֵרִין with *Cholem* (after the form סְנוֹר, Hos. xiii. 8) is also found, but it is without support. עֵרִין is either a substantive after the form נִבְוֹל (Ges., as Kimchi), or the construct of עֵרִין = נִעְרֵץ, feared = fearful, so that the connection of the words, which we prefer, is a superlative one: *in horridissima*

*vallium*, in the most terrible valleys, as ch. xli. 22, *acutissimæ testarum* (Ew., according to § 313, c). The further description of the habitation of this race of men: in holes (בְּחִי = חִי) of the earth (עֲרֵץ, earth with respect to its constituent parts) and rocks (LXX. τρωγλαι πετρῶν), may seem to indicate the aborigines of the mountains of the district of Seir, who are called הַחִי, τρωγλοδύται (*vid. Genesis*, S. 507); but why not, which is equally natural, חִי, Ezek. xlvii. 16, 18, the “district of caverns,” the broad country about *Bosra*, with the two Trachônes (τράχωνες), of which the smaller western, the *Legâ*, is the ancient Trachonitis, and with Ituræa (the mountains of the Druses)?<sup>1</sup>

As ch. vi. 5 shows, there underlies ver. 7a a comparison of this people with the wild ass. The פֶּרָא, *ferâ*, goes about in herds under the guidance of a so-called leader (*vid. on ch. xxxix. 5*), with which the poet in ch. xxiv. 5 compares the bands that go forth for forage; here the point of comparison, according to ch. vi. 5, is their bitter want, which urges from them the cry of pain; for יַחֲקִי, although not too strong, would nevertheless be an inadequate expression for their *sermo*

<sup>1</sup> Wetzstein also inclines to refer the description to the Ituræans, who, according to Apuleius, were *frugum pauperes*, and according to others, freebooters, and are perhaps distinguished from the *Arabes Trachonitæ* (if they were not these themselves), as the troglodytes are from the Arabs who dwell in tents (on the troglodytes in Eastern Hauran, *vid. Reisebericht*, S. 44, 126). “The troglodyte was very often able to go without nourishment and the necessaries of life. Their habitations are not unfrequently found where no cultivation of the land was possible, e.g. in *Safa*. They were therefore either rearers of cattle or marauders. The cattle-rearing troglodyte, because he cannot wander about from one pasture to another like the nomads who dwell in tents, often loses his herds by a failure of pasture, heavy falls of snow (which often produce great devastation, e.g. in Hauran), epidemics, etc. Losses may also arise from marauding attacks from the nomads. Still less is this marauding, which is at enmity with all the world, likely to make a race prosperous, which, like the troglodyte, being bound to a fixed habitation, cannot escape the revenge of those whom it has injured.”—WETZST.



*barbarus* (Pineda), in favour of which Schlottmann calls to mind Herodotus' (iv. 183) comparison of the language of the Troglodyte Ethiopians with the screech of the night-owl (*τετρηλασι κατάπερ αἱ νυκτερίδες*). Among bushes (especially the bushes of the *shih*, which affords them some nourishment and shade, and a green resting-place) one hears them, and hears from their words, although he cannot understand them more closely, discontent and lamentation over their desperate condition: there, under nettles (*חֲרִיל*, root *חר*, *حر*, as *urtica* from *urere*), *i.e.* useless weeds of the desert, they are poured forth, *i.e.* spread about in disorder. Thus most moderns take *סָפַח* = *שָׁפַח*, *سَفَحَ*, comp. *סָרַח*, *profusus*, Amos vi. 4, 7, although one might also abide by the usual Hebrew meaning of the verb *סָפַח* (hardened from *סָפַח*), *adjungere, associare* (*vid. Habak. S. 88*), and with Hahn explain: under nettles they are united together, *i.e.* they huddle together. But neither the *fut.* nor the *Pual* (instead of which one would expect the *Niph.* or *Hithpa.*) is favourable to the latter interpretation; wherefore we decide in favour of the former, and find sufficient support for a Hebr.-Arabic *סָפַח* in the signification *effundere* from a comparison of ch. xiv. 19 and the present passage. Ver. 8, by dividing the hitherto latent subject, tells what sort of people they are: sons of fools, profane, insane persons (*vid. on Ps. xiv. 1*); moreover, or of the like kind (*נָם*, not *נָא*), sons of the nameless, *ignobilium* or *infamium*, since *בְּלִי-יָשָׁם* is here an adj. which stands in dependence, not *filiū infamiae* = *infames* (Hirz. and others), by which the second *בְּנֵי* is rendered unlike the first. The assertion ver. 8b may be taken as an attributive clause: who are driven forth . . . ; but the shortness of the line and the prominence of the verb are in favour of the independence of the clause like an exclamation in its abrupt and halting form. *נִפְּחוּ* is *Niph.* of *נָחַח* = *נָחַח* (*נָחַח*), root *נך*, to hew, pierce,

strike.<sup>1</sup> On אֲרָצָה, of arable land in opposition to the steppe, *vid.* on ch. xviii. 17.

- 9 *And now I am become their song,  
And a by-word to them.*  
10 *They avoid me, they flee far from me,  
And spare not my face with spitting.*  
11 *For my cord of life He hath loosed, and afflicted me,  
Therefore they let loose the bridle recklessly.*  
12 *The rabble presses upon my right hand,  
They thrust my feet away,  
And cast up against me their destructive ways.*

The men of whom Job complains in this strophe are none other than those in the preceding strophe, described from the side of their coarse and degenerate behaviour, as ch. xxiv. 4-8 described them from the side of the wrong which was practised against them. This rabble, constitutionally as well as morally degraded, when it comes upon Job's domain in its marauding expeditions, makes sport of the sufferer, whose former earnest admonitions, given from sympathizing anxiety for them, seemed to them as insults for which they now revenge themselves. He is become their song of derision (בְּנִינָתָם to be understood according to the dependent passage, Lam. iii. 14, and Ps. lxix. 13), and is לְמַלְיָהּ to them, their *θύλλαγμα*

<sup>1</sup> The root נָק is developed in Hebr. נָקַח, נָקָה, in Arab. نَكَأ and نَكَّى, first to the idea of outward injury by striking, hewing, etc.; but it is then also transferred to other modes of inflicting injury, and in نَوَكٌ, to being injured in mind. The root shows itself in its most sensuous development in the reduplicated form نَكَّنَكَ, to strike one with repeated blows, fig. for: to press any one hard with claims. According to another phase, the obscene نَاكَ *fut. i.* and the decent نَكَّحَ signify properly to pierce.—FL.

(LXX.), the subject of their foolish talk (מִלֵּה = Arab. *mille*, not = *melle*, according to which Schultens interprets it, *sum iis fastidio*). Avoiding him, and standing at a distance from him, they make their remarks upon him; and if they come up to him, it is only for the sake of showing him still deeper scorn: *a facie ejus non cohibent sputam*. The expositors who explain that, contrary to all decent bearing, they spit in his presence (Eichh., Justi, Hirz., Vaih., Hlgst.), or with Fie! spit out before him (Umbr., Hahn, Schlottm.), overlook the fact of its being מִפְּנֵי, not לְפָנֵי. The expression as it stands can only affirm that they do not spare his face with spitting (Jer. correctly: *conspuere non veruntur*), so that consequently he is become, as he has complained in ch. xvii. 6, a הִפְתָּ, an object of spitting (comp. also the declaration of the servant of Jehovah, Isa. l. 6, which stands in close connection with this declaration of Job, according to previous explanations).

It now becomes a question, Who is the subj. in ver. 11a? The *Chethib* יְהוָה demands an attempt to retain the previous subj. Accordingly, most moderns explain: *solvit unusquisque eorum funem suum, i.e. frenum suum, quo continebatur antea a me* (Rosenm., Umbr., Stick., Vaih., Hlgst., and others), but it is to be doubted whether יְהוָה can mean *frenum*; it signifies a cord, the string of a bow, and of a harp. The reconciliation of the signification *redundantia*, ch. xxii. 20, and *funis*, is, in the idea of the root, to be stretched tight and long.<sup>1</sup> Hirz. therefore imagines the loosing of the cord

<sup>1</sup> The verb <sup>'''</sup>وتر shows its sensuous primary signification in <sup>'''</sup>وتر, <sup>'''</sup>وتر, cord, bow-string, harp-string (Engl. *string*): to stretch tight, to extend, so that the thing continues in one line. Hence then <sup>'''</sup>وتر, <sup>'''</sup>وتر, separate, unequal, *singulus, impar, opp.* شفع <sup>'''</sup>بني, *par*, just as *fard*, single, separate, unequal (*opp. zaug*, a pair, equal number), is derived from *farada*, properly, so to strain or stretch out, that the thing has no bends or folds; Greek ἐξάπλωον (as in the *Shepherd* of Hermas: ἐπάνω λεπτίου ἐξήπλω-

round the body, which served them as a girdle, in order to strike Job with it. But whether one decides in favour of the *Chethib* יתרו or of the *Keri* יתרי, the persons who insult Job cannot in any case be intended. The isolated *sing.* form of the assertion, while the rabble is everywhere spoken of in the *plur.*, is against it; and also the *בִּי*, which introduces it, and after which Job here allows the reason to come in, why he is abandoned without any means of defence to such brutal misconduct. The subj. of ver. 11a is God. If יתרו is read, it may not be interpreted: He hath opened = taken off the covering of His string (= bow) (Ew., Hahn, and similarly even LXX., Jer.), for יתר does not signify the bow, but the string (Arab. *muwattar*, stretched, of a bow); and while פָּתַח, Ezek. xxi. 33 (usually שָׁלַח or הִרְיִק), can certainly be said of drawing a sword from its sheath, עָרָה is the appropriate and usual word (*vid. Hab. S.* 164) for making bare the bow and shield. Used of the bow-string, פָּתַח signifies to loose what is

μένον λίνον καρπάσινον), an original transitive signification still retained in low Arabic (*vid. Boethor* under *Étendre* and *Déployer*). Then from *وتر* spring the secondary roots *تتر* and *تری*, which proceed from the VIII. form (*ittatara*). The former (*tatara*) appears only in the adverb *تترا* and *تتری*, *sigillatim*, *alii post alios*, singly one after another, so that several persons or things form a row interrupted by intervals of space or time; the latter (*tara*) and its IV. form (*atra*) are equivalent to *wâtara*, to be active at intervals, with pauses between, as the Arabs explain:

“We say *اترى* of a man when he so performs several acts which do not directly follow one another, that there is always a *فترّة*, *intermissio*, between two acts.” Hence also *תַּרְתִּין*, *תַּרְתִּין*, duals of an assumed *sing.* *תר*, *singulus* (*um*), *תַּרְתִּין* *singula*, therefore prop. *duo singuli* (*a*), *duæ singulæ*, altogether parallel to the like meaning *thinâni* (*ithnâni*), *thinaini* (*ithnaini*), *שְׁנַיִם*; fem. *thintâni* (*ithnatâni*), *thintaini* (*ithnatâni*), *שְׁנַיִם* instead of *שְׁנַתַּיִם*, from an assumed *sing.* *thin-un* (*ithn-un*), *thint-un*

strained, by sending the arrow swiftly forth from it, according to which, *e.g.* Elizabeth Smith translates: Because He hath let go His bow-string and afflicted me. One cannot, however, avoid feeling that יִעַנִי is not a right description of the effect of shooting with arrows, whereas an idea is easily gained from the *Keri* יָתַר, to which the description of the effect corresponds. It has been interpreted: He has loosed my rein or bridle, by means of which I hitherto bound them and held them in check; but יָתַר in the signification rein or bridle is, as already observed, not practicable. Better Capellus: *metaphora ducta est ab exarmato milite, cujus arcus solvitur nervus sicque inermis redditur*; but it is more secure, and still more appropriate to the יִעַנִי which follows, when it is interpreted according to ch. iv. 21: He has untied (loosened) my cord of life, *i.e.* the cord which stretched out and held up my tent (the body) (Targ. similarly: my chain and the threads of my cord, *i.e.* surely: my outward and inward stay of life), and

(*ithnat-un*), from תָּנִי, תִּנָּה, like *bin* (*ibn*), *bint* (*ibnat*), בֵּן, בַּת (= בִּנְיָת, hence בְּתִי) from בָּנָה, בָּנִי.

The significations of *watara* which Freytag arranges under 1, 2, 3, 4, proceed from the transitive application of יָתַר, as the Italian *soperchiare*, *soverchiare*, from *supra*, to offend, insult; *oltraggiare*, *outrager*, from *ultra*; ὑβρίζειν from ὑπέρ. Similarly, استطال عليه and تطاول عليه (form VI. and X. from طال), to act haughtily towards any one, to make him feel one's superiority, properly to stretch one's self out over or against any one.

But in another direction the signif. to be stretched out goes into: overhanging, surpassing, projecting, to be superfluous, and to be left over, περιστῶν εἶναι, to exceed a number or bulk, *superare* (comp. Italian *soperchiare* as intrans.), περιεῖναι, ὑπερεῖναι; to prove, as result, gain, etc., περιεῖναι, etc. Similar is the development of the meaning of فَضِّل and of طَال, gain, use, from طال, to be stretched out. In like manner, the German *reich*, *reichlich* [rich, abundant], comes from the root *reichen*, *recken* [to stretch, extend].—FL.

bowed me down, *i.e.* deprived me of strength (comp. Ps. cii. 24); or also: humbled me. Even in this his feebleness he is the butt of unbridled arrogance: and they let go the bridle before me (not לִפְנֵי, in my presence, but מִפְּנֵי, before me, before whom previously they had respect; מִפְּנֵי the same as Lev. xix. 32), they cast or shake it off (שָׁלַח as ch. xxxix. 3, synon. of הִשְׁלִיךְ; comp. 1 Kings ix. 7 with 2 Chron. vii. 20).

Is it now possible that in this connection פְּרָחָה can denote any else but the rabble of these good-for-nothing fellows? Ewald nevertheless understands by it Job's sufferings, which as a rank evil swarm rise up out of the ground to seize upon him; Hahn follows Ew., and makes these sufferings the subj., as even in ver. 11b. But if we consider how Ew. translates: "they hung a bridle from my head;" and Hahn: "they have cast a bit before my face," this might make us tired of all taste for this allegorical mode of interpretation. The stump over which they must stumble is ver. 13c, where all climax must be abandoned in order to make the words לֹא עוֹר לָמוּ intelligible in this allegorical connection. No indeed; פְּרָחָה (instead of which פָּרוּחַ might be expected, as *supra*, ch. iii. 5, כְּמִרְיִי for כְּמִרְיִי) is the offspring or rabble of those fathers devoid of morals and honour, those צַעֲרִים of ver. 1, whose laughing-stock Job is now, as the children of priests are called in Talmudic בְּהֵנָה פְּרָחִי, and in Arabic فَرَحٌ denotes not only the young of animals, but also a rascal or vagabond. This young rabble rises עַל-יָמִין, on Job's right hand, which is the place of an accuser (Ps. cix. 6), and generally one who follows him up closely and oppresses him; and they press him continually further and further, contending one foot's-breadth after another with him: רָגְלֵי שִׁלְחוּ, my feet they thrust forth, *protrudunt* (שָׁלַח the same as ch. xiv. 20). By this pressing from one place to another, a way is prepared for the description of their hostile conduct, which begins in ver. 12c under

the figure of a siege. The *fut. consec.* וַיִּסְלֹו, ver. 12c, is not meant retrospectively like וַיַּעֲנֵי, but places present with present in the connection of cause and effect (comp. Ew. 343, a). We must not be misled by the fact that וַיִּסְלֹו, ch. xix. 12 (which see), was said of the host of sufferings which come against Job; here it is those young people who cast up the ramparts of misfortune or burdensome suffering (רָאִי) against Job, which they wish to make him feel. The tradition, supported by the LXX., that Job had his seat outside his domain ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας, i.e. upon the *mezbele*, is excellently suited to this and the following figures. Before each village in Hauran there is a place where the households heap up the sweepings of their stalls, and it gradually reaches a great circumference, and a height which rises above the highest buildings of the village.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding, everything is intelligible without this thoroughly Hauranitish conception of the scene of the history. Bereft of the protection of his children and servants, become an object of disgust to his wife, and an abhorrence to his brethren, forsaken by every attention of true affection, ch. xix. 13-19, Job lies out of doors; and in this condition, shelterless and defenceless, he is aban-

<sup>1</sup> One ought to have a correct idea of a Hauranitish *mezbele*. The dung which is heaped up there is not mixed with straw, because in warm, dry countries no litter is required for the cattle, and comes mostly from single-hoofed animals, since small cattle and oxen often pass the nights on the pastures. It is brought in a dry state in baskets to the place before the village, and is generally burnt once every month. Moreover, they choose days on which the wind is favourable, i.e. does not cast the smoke over the village. The ashes remain. The fertile volcanic ground does not need manure, for it would make the seed in rainy years too luxuriant at the expense of the grain, and when rain fails, burn it up. If a village has been inhabited for a century, the *mezbele* reaches a height which far surpasses it. The winter rains make the ash-heaps into a compact mass, and gradually change the *mezbele* into a firm mound of earth, in the interior of which those remarkable granaries, *biâr el-ghalle*, are laid out, in which the wheat can be completely preserved against heat and mice, garnered up for years. The *mezbele* serves the inhabitants

doned to the hideous malignant joy of those gipsy hordes which wander hither and thither.

- 13 *They tear down my path,  
They minister to my overthrow,  
They who themselves are helpless.*  
14 *As through a wide breach they approach,  
Under the crash they roll onwards.*  
15 *Terrors are turned against me,  
They pursue my nobility like the wind,  
And like a cloud my prosperity passed away.—*

They make all freedom of motion and any escape impossible to him, by pulling down, *diruunt*, the way which he might go. Thus is נָהַס (cogn. form of נָחַץ, נָחַע, נָחַש) to be translated, not: they tear open (*proscindunt*), which is contrary to the primary signification and the usage of the language. They, who have no helper, who themselves are so miserable and despised, and yet so feelingless and overbearing, contribute to his ruin. הוֹעִיל, to be useful, to do any good, to furnish anything effective (e.g. Isa. xlvii. 12), is here united with לְ of the purpose; comp. לְ עֹזֵר, to help towards anything, Zech. i. 15.

of the district as a watch-tower, and on close oppressive evenings as a place of assembly, because there is a current of air on the height. There the children play about the whole day long; there the forsaken one lies, who, having been seized by some horrible malady, is not allowed to enter the dwellings of men, by day asking alms of the passers-by, and at night hiding himself among the ashes which the sun has warmed. There the dogs of the village lie, perhaps gnawing at a decaying carcase that is frequently thrown there. Many a village of Hauran has lost its original name, and is called *umm el-mezâbil* from the greatness and number of these mounds, which always indicate a primitive and extensive cultivation for the villages. And many a more modern village is built upon an ancient *mezbele*, because there is then a stronger current of air, which renders the position more healthy. The Arabic signification of the root נָבַל seems to be similarly related to the Hebrew as that of the old Beduin *seken* (שֶׁכֶּן), "ashes," to the Hebrew and Arabic מִשְׁכָּן, "a dwelling."—WETZST.



הָיָה (for which the *Keri* substitutes the primary form הָיָה), as was already said on ch. vi. 2, is prop. *hiatus*, and then *barathrum*, *perniciēs*, like הָיָה in the signification *cupiditas*, prop. *inhitatio*. The verb הָיָה, הָיָה, also signifies *delabi*, whence it may be extended (*vid.* on ch. xxxvii. 6) in like manner to the signification abyss (rapid downfall); but a suitable medium for the two significations, strong passion (Arab. *hawā*) and abyss (Arab. *hāwīje*, *huwwe*, *mahwa*), is offered only by the signification of the root *flare* (whence *hawā*, air). לֹא עֹזֵר לָמוֹ is a genuine Arabic description of these Idumæan or Hauranite pariahs. Schultens compares a passage of the *Hamāsa*: “We behold you ignoble, poor, *laisa lakum min sāir-in-nāsi nasirun*, i.e. without a helper among the rest of men.” The interpretations of those who take לָמוֹ for לוֹ, and this again for לִי (Eichh., Justi), condemn themselves. It might more readily be explained, with Stick.: without any one helping them, i.e. with their own strong hand; but the thought thus obtained is not only aimless and tame, but also halting and even untrue (*vid.* ch. xix. 13 sq.).

Ver. 14. The figure of a siege, which is begun with ver. 12c and continued in ver. 13, leaves us in no doubt concerning פָּרֵץ רָחֵב and שֹׁאָה. The Targ. translates: like the force of the far-extending waves of the sea, not as though פָּרֵץ could in itself signify a stream of water, but taking it as = פָּרֵץ מַיִם, 2 Sam. v. 20 (as it were *diffusio aquarum*). Hitzig's translation:<sup>1</sup> “like a broad forest stream they come, like a rapid brook they roll on,” gives unheard-of significations to the doubtful words. In ch. xvi. 14 we heard Job complain: He (Eloah) brake through me על־פְּנֵי-פָרֵץ, breach upon breach,—by the divine decrees of sufferings, which are completed in this ill-treatment which he receives from good-for-nothing fellows, he is become as a wall with a wide-gaping breach, through

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. Deutsche Morgenländ. Zeitschr.* ix. (1855), S. 741, and *Proverbs*, S. 11.

which they rush in upon him (*instar rupturæ*, a concise mode of comparison instead of *tanquam per rupt.*), in order to get him entirely into their power as a plaything for their coarse passions. שָׁאָה is the crash of the wall with the wide breaches, and תַּחַת שָׁאָה signifies *sub fragore* in a local sense: through the wall which is broken through and crashes above the assailants. There is no ground in ver. 15a for dividing, with Umbreit, thus: He hath turned against me! Terrors drove away, etc., although this would not be impossible according to the syntax (comp. Gen. xlix. 22, בָּנוֹת צַעֲדָה). It is translated: terrors are turned against me; so that the predicate stands first in the most natural, but still indefinite, personal form, Ges. § 147, a, although בָּלָהוֹת might also be taken as the accus. of the object after a passive, Ges. § 143, 1. The subj. of ver. 15b remains the same: they (these terrors) drive away my dignity like the wind; the construction is like ch. xxvii. 20, xiv. 19; on the matter, comp. ch. xviii. 11. Hirz. makes בָּרוּחַ the subj.: *quasi ventus aufert nobilitatem meam*, in which case the subj. would be not so much *ventus* as *similitudo venti*, as when one says in Arabic, 'gāani kazeidin, there came to me one of Zeid's equals, for in the Semitic languages בָּ has the manner of an indeclinable noun in the signification *instar*. But the reference to בָּלָהוֹת is more natural; and Hahn's objection, that calamity does not first, if it is there, drive away prosperity, but takes the place of that which is driven away, is sophisticated and inadequate, since the object of the driving away here is not Job's prosperity, but Job's גִּדְיוֹ, appearance and dignity, by which he hitherto commanded the respect of others (Targ. רַבְּנוּתִי). The storms of suffering which pass over him take this nobility away to the last fragment, and his salvation—or rather, since this word in the mouth of an extra-Israelitish hero has not the meaning it usually otherwise has, his prosperous condition (from <sup>וְ</sup>וָשַׁע,

*amplum esse*)—is as a cloud, so rapidly and without trace (ch. vii. 9; Isa. xlv. 22), passed away and vanished. Observe the music of the expression עָבַר עָבָרָה, which cannot be reproduced in translation.

- 16 *And now my soul is poured out within me,  
Days of suffering hold me fast.*  
17 *The night rendeth my bones from me,  
And my gnawers sleep not.*  
18 *By great force my garment is distorted,  
As the collar of my shirt it encompasseth me.*  
19 *He hath cast me into the mire,  
And I am in appearance as dust and ashes.*

With this third וַעֲתָה (vers. 1, 9) the elegiac lament over the harsh contrast between the present and the past begins for the third time. The dash after our translation of the second and fourth strophes will indicate that a division of the elegy ends there, after which it begins as it were anew. The soul is poured out within a man (עָלַי as ch. x. 1, *Psychol.* p. 180), when, “yielding itself without resistance to sadness, it is dejected to the very bottom, and all its organization flows together, and it is dissolved in the one condition of sorrow”—a figure which is not, however, come about by water being regarded as the symbol of the soul (thus Hitzig on Ps. xlii. 5), but rather by the intimate resemblance of the representation of a flood of tears (Lam. ii. 19): the life of the soul flows in the blood, and the anguish of the soul in tears and lamentations; and since the outward man is as it were dissolved in the gently flowing tears (Isa. xv. 3), his soul flows away as it were in itself, for the outward incident is but the manifestation and result of an inward action. יָמֵי עָנִי we have translated *days of suffering*, for עָנִי, with its verb and the rest of its derivatives, is the proper word for suffering, and especially the passion of the Servant of Jehovah. *Days of suffering*

—Job complains—hold him fast ;  $\text{אָהַרְוֵהוּ}$  unites in itself, like  $\text{הַחֲזִיק$ , the significations *prehendere* and *prehensum tenere*. In ver. 17a we must not, with Arnh. and others, translate : by night it (affliction) pierces . . . , for  $\text{עַיִן}$  does not stand sufficiently in the foreground to be the subject of what follows ; it might sooner be rendered : by night it is pierced through (Targ., Rosenm., Hahn) ; but why is not  $\text{לַיְלָה}$  to be the subject, and  $\text{נִקְר}$  consequently *Piel* (not *Niph.*) ? The night has been personified already, ch. iii. 2 ; and in general, as Herder once said, Job is the brother of Ossian for personifications : Night (the restless night, ch. vii. 3 sq., in which every malady, or at least the painful feeling of it, increases) pierces his bones from him, *i.e.* roots out his limbs (synon.  $\text{בָּרִים}$ , ch. xviii. 13) so inwardly and completely. The *lepra Arabica* ( $\text{البرص}$ , *el-baras*) terminates, like syphilis, with an eating away of the limbs, and the disease has its name  $\text{جذام}$  from  $\text{جذم}$ , *truncate, mutilare* : it feeds on the bones, and destroys the body in such a manner that single limbs are completely detached.

In ver. 17b, LXX. (*νεῦρα*), Parchon, Kimchi, and others translate  $\text{עֲרָבִי}$  according to the Targum.  $\text{עֲרָבִין}$  (=  $\text{פִּירִים}$ ), and the Arab.  $\text{عروق}$ , veins, after which Blumenf. : my veins are in constant motion. But  $\text{עֲרָבִי}$  in the sense of ch. xxx. 3 : my gnawers (Jer. *qui me comedunt*, Targ.  $\text{דִּמְעֵפִין יְתִי}$ , *qui me conculcant, conterunt*), is far more in accordance with the predicate and the parallelism, whether it be gnawing pains that are thought of—pains are unnatural to man, they come upon him against his will, he separates them from himself as wild beasts—or, which we prefer, those worms ( $\text{רָמָה}$ , ch. vii. 5) which were formed in Job's ulcers (comp. Aruch,  $\text{עֲרָקָא}$ , a leech, *plur.*  $\text{עֲרָקָתָא}$ , worms, *e.g.* in the liver), and which in the extra-biblical tradition of Job's decease are such a standing feature, that the pilgrims to Job's monastery even now-a-days take

away with them thence these supposedly petrified worms of Job.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 18a would be closely and naturally connected with what precedes if לְבוֹשׁ could be understood of the skin and explained: By omnipotence (viz. divine, as ch. xxiii. 6, Ew. § 270a) the covering of my body is distorted, as even Raschi: מִשְׁתַּנָּה גִּלְדִּי אַחֵר גִּלְדִּי, it is changed, by one skin or crust being formed after another. But even Schultens rightly thinks it remarkable that לְבוֹשׁ, ver. 18a, is not meant to signify the proper upper garment but the covering of the skin, but בְּתִנָּה, ver. 18b, the under garment in a proper sense. The astonishment is increased by the fact that הִתְחַפֵּשׂ signifies to disguise one's self, and thereby render one's self unrecognisable, which leads to the proper idea of לְבוֹשׁ, to a clothing which looks like a disguise. It cannot be cited in favour of this unusual meaning that לְבוֹשׁ is used in ch. xli. 5 of the scaly skin of the crocodile: an animal has no other לְבוֹשׁ but its skin. Therefore, with Ew., Hirz., and Hlgst., we take לְבוֹשׁ strictly: "by (divine) omnipotence my garment is distorted (becomes unlike itself), like the collar of my shirt it fits close to me." It is unnecessary to take כְּפִי as a compound *præp.*: according to

<sup>1</sup> In Mugir ed-dîu's large history of Jerusalem and Hebron (*kitâb el-ins el-gelil*), in an article on Job, we read: God had so visited him in his body, that he got the disease that devours the limbs (*tegedhdhem*), and worms were produced (*dawwad*) in the wounds, while he lay on a dunghill (*mezbele*), and except his wife, who tended him, no one ventured to come too near him. In a beautiful Kurdic ballad "on the basket dealer" (*zembilfrosh*), which I have obtained from the Kurds in Salihije, are these words: *Veki Gergis beshara veri | Jusuf veki abdan kerî | bikesr' Ejub kurman deri | toh anin ser sultaneti | to men chalaski 'j zahmeti.*

"When they divided Gergis with a saw  
And sold Joseph like a slave,  
When worms fed themselves in Job's body,  
Then Thon didst guide them by a sure way:  
Thou wilt also deliver me from need."

More concerning these worms of Job in the description of the monastery of Job.—WETZST.

(comp. Zech. ii. 4, Mal. ii. 9: "according as"), in the sense of כְּמֹ, as ch. xxxiii. 6, since פִּי בְּחִנֵּת is, according to the nature of the thing mentioned, a designation of the upper opening, by means of which the shirt, otherwise only provided with arm-holes (distinct from the Beduin shirt *thōb*, which has wide and long sleeves), is put on. Also, Ps. cxxxiii. 2, פִּי מִדֹּתָיו signifies not the lower edge, but the opening at the head (פִּי הָרֹאשׁ, Ex. xxviii. 32) or the collar of the high priest's vestment (*vid.* the passage cited). Thus even LXX. ὥσπερ τὸ περιστόμιον τοῦ χιτῶνός μου, and Jer.: *velut capitio tunicæ meæ*. True, Schlottm. observes against this rendering of ver. 18, that it is unnatural according to substance, since on a wasted body it is not the outer garment that assumes the appearance of a narrow under one, but on the contrary the under garment assumes the appearance of a wide outer one. But this objection is not to the point. If the body is wasted away to a skeleton, there is an end to the rich appearance and beautiful flow which the outer garment gains by the full and rounded forms of the limbs: it falls down straight and in perpendicular folds upon the wasted body, and contributes in no small degree to make him whom one formerly saw in all the fulness of health still less recognisable than he otherwise is. יִאֲרָנִי, *cingit me*, is not merely the falling together of the outer garment which was formerly filled out by the members of the body, but its appearance when the sick man wraps himself in it: then it girds him, fits close to him like his shirt-collar, lying round about the shrivelled figure like the other about a thin neck. On the terrible wasting away which is combined with hypertrophical formations in elephantiasis, *vid.* ch. vii. 15, and especially xix. 20. The subject of ver. 19 is God, whom ver. 18 also describes as efficient cause: He has cast me into, or daubed<sup>1</sup> me with, mud, and I am become as (פֶּן instead of the *dat.*, Ew. § 221, a) dust and ashes. This is also intended

<sup>1</sup> The reading wavers between הִרְנִי and הִרְנִי, for the latter form of

pathologically: the skin of the sufferer with elephantiasis becomes first an intense red, then assumes a black colour; scales like fishes' scales are formed upon it, and the brittle, dark-coloured surface of the body is like a lump of earth.

- 20 *I cry to Thee for help, and Thou answerest not;  
I stand there, and Thou lookest fixedly at me.*
- 21 *Thou changest Thyself to a cruel being towards me,  
With the strength of Thy hand Thou makest war upon me.*
- 22 *Thou raisest me upon the stormy wind, Thou causest me  
to drive along  
And vanish in the roaring of the storm.*
- 23 *For I know: Thou wilt bring me back to death,  
Into the house of assembly for all living.*

If he cries for help, his cry remains unanswered; if he stands there looking up reverentially to God (perhaps עֹמֵד, with כְּשֵׁנִי to be supplied, has the sense of desisting or restraining, as Gen. xxix. 35, xxx. 9), the troubling, fixed look of God, who looks fixedly and hostilely upon him, anything but ready to help (comp. ch. vii. 20, xvi. 9), meets his upturned eye. הִתְהַבֵּן, to look consideringly upon anything, is elsewhere joined with אֶל, עַל, עֵר, or even with the *acc.*; here, where a motionless fixed look is intended, with אֶּ (= אֵל). It is impossible to draw the אֶל, ver. 20a, over to הִתְהַבֵּן (Jer., Saad., Umbr., Welte, and others), not so much on account of the *Waw consec.* as on account of the separation by the new antecedent עֲמִידָתִי (Ew. § 351a). On the reading of two Codd. וַתִּתְּנֵנִי ("Thou settest Thyself against me"), which Houbigant and Ew. prefer, Rosenm. has correctly pronounced judgment: *est potius pro mendo habenda*. Instead of consolingly answering his prayer, and instead of showing Himself willing to help, God, who was formerly so kind towards him, changes writing is sometimes found even out of pause by conjunctive accents, e.g. 1 Sam. xxviii. 15, Ps. cxviii. 5.

towards him, His creature, into a cruel being, *sævum* (אַכְזָר in the book of Job only here and ch. xli. 2, where it signifies "foolhardy;" comp. לְאֹיֵב in the dependent passage, Isa. lxiii. 10), and makes war upon him (שָׁמַם as ch. xvi. 9) by causing him to feel the strength of His omnipotent hand (יָד עֲצֻמָּה as Deut. viii. 17, synonym. חֲזָקָה).

It is not necessary in ver. 22a to forsake the accentuation, and to translate: Thou raisest me up, Thou causest me go in the wind (Ew., Hirz., and others); the accentuation of רוּחַ is indeed not a disjunctive *Dechi*, but a conjunctive *Tarcha*, but preceded by *Munach*, which, according to the rule, *Psalter* ii. 500, § 5, here, where two conjunctives come together, has a smaller conjunctive value. Therefore: *elevas me in ventum, equitare facis me*, viz. *super ventum* (Dachsel), for one does not only say עָלַי הִרְבֵּיתָ, 1 Chron. xiii. 7, or לִי, Ps. lxvi. 12, but also אֶל, 2 Sam. vi. 3; and accordingly תִּשְׂאֵנִי אֶל-רוּחַ is also not to be translated: Thou snatchest me into the wind or storm (Hahn, Schlottm.), but: Thou raisest me up to the wind or storm, as upon an animal for riding (Umbr., Olsh.). According to Oriental tradition, Solomon rode upon the east wind, and in Arabic they say of one who hurries rapidly by, *racab al-ghenāhai er-rih*, he rides upon the wings of the wind; in the present passage, the point of comparison is the being absolutely passively hurried forth from the enjoyment of a healthy and happy life to a dizzy height, whence a sudden overthrow threatens him who is unwillingly removed (comp. Ps. cii. 11, Thou hast lifted me up and hurled me forth).

The lot which threatens him from this painful suspense Job expresses (ver. 22b) in the puzzling words: וְתִמְנִנִי תִשְׂיָה. Thus the *Keri*, after which LXX. transl. (if it has not read תִּשְׂיָה), καὶ ἀπέρριψάς με ἀπὸ σωτηρίας. The modern expositors who follow the *Keri*, by taking תִּמְנִנִי for לִי (according to Ges. § 121, 4), translate: Thou causest counsel and understanding (Welte), happiness (Blumenf.), and the



like, to vanish from me; continuance, existence, duration would be better (*vid.* ch. vi. 13, and especially on ch. xxvi. 3). The thought is appropriate, but the expression is halting. Jerome, who translates *valide*, points to the correct thing, and Buxtorf (*Lex.* col. 2342 sq.) by interpreting the not less puzzling Targum translation *in fundamento* = *funditus* or *in essentia* = *essentialiter*, has, without intending it, hit upon the idea of the Hebr. *Keri*; תִּשָּׁיָה is intended as a closer defining, or adverbial, accusative: Thou causest me to vanish as to existence, *ita ut tota essentia pereat h.e. totaliter et omnino*. Perhaps this was really the meaning of the poet: most completely, most thoroughly, altogether, like the Arab. حَقًّا. But it is un-

favourable to this *Keri*, that תִּשָּׁיָה (from the verb תִּשָּׂי), as might be expected, is always written *plene* elsewhere; the correction of the תִּשָּׁה is violent, and moreover this form, correctly read, gives a sense far more consistent with the figure, ver. 22a. Ges., Umbr., and Carey falsely read תִּשָּׁנָה, *terres me*; this verb is unknown in Hebr., and even in Chaldee is only used in *Ithpeal*, אִתְּשָׁנָה (= Hebr. הִרָר); for a similar reason Böttcher's תִּשָּׁה (which is intended to mean: in despair) is also not to be used. Even Stuhlmann perceived that תִּשָּׁה is equivalent to תִּשָּׁנָה; it is, with Ew. and Olsh., to be read תִּשָּׁנָה (not with Pareau and Hirz. תִּשָּׁה without the *Dag.*), and this form signifies, as תִּשָּׁנָה, ch. xxxvi. 29, from שׁוֹא = שָׁאָה, from which it is derived by change of consonants, the crash of thunder, or even the rumbling or roar as of a storm or a falling in (*procellæ sive ruinæ*). The meaning is hardly, that he who rides away upon the stormy wind melts and trickles down like drops of rain among the pealing of the thunder, when the thunder-storm, whose harbinger is the stormy wind, gathers; but that in the storm itself, which increases in fury to the howling of a tempest, he dissolves away. תִּשָּׁה for בְּתִשָּׁה, comp. Ps. cvii. 26: their soul melted

away (dissolved) בִּרְעָה. The compulsory journey in the air, therefore, passes into nothing or nearly nothing, as Job is well aware, ver. 23: "for I know: (without יָדַי, as ch. xix. 25, Ps. ix. 21) Thou wilt bring me back to death" (*acc.* of the goal, or locative without any sign). If הָשִׁיבֵנִי is taken in its most natural signification *reduces*, death is represented as essentially one with the dust of death (comp. ch. i. 21 with Gen. iii. 19), or even with non-existence, out of which man is come into being; nevertheless הָשִׁיב can also, by obliterating the notion of return, like *redigere*, have only the signification of the turn of destiny and change of condition that is effected. The assertion that שׁוּב always includes an "again," and retains it inexorably (*vid.* Köhler on Zech. xiii. 7, S. 239), is untenable. In post-biblical Hebrew, at least, it is certain that שׁוּב signifies not only "to become again," but also "to become," as עָא is used as synon. of جَاءَ, *devenir*.<sup>1</sup> With מָוֶת, the designation of the condition, is coupled the designation of the place: Hades (under the notion of which that of the grave is included) is the great involuntary rendezvous of all who live in this world.

- 24 *Doth one not, however, stretch out the hand in falling,  
Doth he not raise a cry for help on that account in his ruin?*  
25 *Or have I not wept for him that was in trouble,  
Hath not my soul grieved for the needy?—*  
26 *For I hoped for good, then evil came;  
If I waited for light, darkness came.*  
27 *My bowels boiled without ceasing,  
Days of misery met me.*

Most of the ancient versions indulge themselves in strange fancies respecting ver. 24 to make a translatable text, or find their fancies in the text before them. The translation of the

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* my *Anekdoten der mittelalterlichen Scholastik unter Juden und Moslemen*, S. 347.

Targum follows the fancies of the Midrash, and places itself beyond the range of criticism. The LXX. reads **בִּי** instead of **בְּעִי**, and finds in ver. 24 a longing for suicide, or death by the hand of another. The Syriac likewise reads **בִּי**, although it avoids this absurdity. Jerome makes an address of the assertion, and, moreover, also moulds the text under the influence of the Midrash. Aq., Symm., and Theod. strive after a better rendering than the LXX., but (to judge from the fragments in the *Hexapla*) without success. Saadia and Gecatilia wring a sense out of ver. 24a, but at the expense of the syntax, and by dragging ver. 24b after it, contrary to the tenor of the words. The old expositors also advance nothing available. They mostly interpret it as though it were not **לָהֶן**, but **לָהֶם** (a reading which has been forced into the Midrash texts and some Codd. instead of the reading of the text that is handed down to us). Even Rosenm. thinks **לָהֶן** might, like the Aram. **לָהֶן**, be equivalent to **לָהֶם**; and Carey explains the *enallage generis* from the perhaps existing secondary idea of womanly fear, as 2 Sam. iv. 6, **הַנָּפִיז** instead of **הַנָּפִיזָה** is used of the two assassins to describe them as cowards. But the Hebr. **לָהֶן** is *fem.*; and often as the *enallage masc. pro fem.* occurs, the *enallage fem. pro masc.* is unknown; **הַנָּפִיזָה**, 2 Sam. iv. 6, is an adv. of place (*vid.*, moreover, Thenius *in loc.*). It is just as absolutely inadmissible when the old expositors combine **שׁוֹנֵעַ** with **יִשְׁעַע** (**יִשְׁעַע**), or as *e.g.* Raschi with **שְׂעָנִישַׁע**, and translate, “welfare” or “exhilaration” (refreshing). The signif. “wealth” would be more readily admissible, so that **שׁוֹנֵעַ**, as Aben-Ezra observes, would be the subst. to **שׁוֹנֵעַ**, ch. xxxiv. 19; but in ch. xxxvi. 19 (which see), **שׁוֹנֵעַ** (as **שׁוֹנֵעַ** Isa. xxii. 5) signifies a cry of distress (= **שְׁוֹנֵעַ**), and an attempt must be made here with this meaning before every other.

On the other hand comes the question whether **בְּעִי** is not perhaps to be referred to the verb **בָּעָה**, whether it be as subst. after the form **מְרִי** (Rabag after the Targ.) or as *part.*

*pass.* (Saad. *غير أنه ليس المبتغى*, "only that it is not desired"). The verb does not, indeed, occur elsewhere in the book of Job, but is very consistent with its style, which so abounds in Aramaisms, and is at the same time so coloured with Arabic that we should almost say, its Hauranitish style.<sup>1</sup> Thus taking *בעי* as one word, Ralbag transl.: prayer stretches not forth the hand, which is intended to mean: is not able to do anything, cannot cause the will of God to miscarry. This meaning is only obtained by great violence; but when Renan (together with Böckel and Carey, after Rosenm.) translates: *Vaines prières! . . . il étend sa main; à quoi bon protester contre ses coups?* the one may be measured with the other. If *בעי* is to be derived from *בעה*, it must be translated either: shall He, however, without prayer (*sine imploratione*), or: shall He, however, unimplored (*non imploratus*), stretch out His hand? The thought remains the same by both renderings of *בעי*, and suits as a vindication of the cry for help in the context. But *בעה*, in the specific signification *implorare, deprecari*, is indeed the usage of the Targum, although strange to the Hebr., which is here so rich in synonyms; then, in the former case, *לע* for *לע* is harsh, and in the other, *בעי* as *part. pass.* is too strong an Aramaism. We must therefore consider whether *בעי* as *עי* with the *præp.* *ב* gives a suitable sense. Since *נָשַׁלַח יָד בְּ*, e.g. ch. xxviii. 9 and elsewhere, most commonly means "to lay the hand on anything, stretch out the hand to anything," it is most natural to take *בעי* in de-

<sup>1</sup> The verb *בגא* is still extensively used in Syria, and that in two forms: *בגא יבגיא* and *בגא יבגיי*. In Damascus the *fut. i* is alone used; whereas in Hauran and the steppe I have only found *fut. a*. Thus e.g. the Hauranite poet *Kâsim el-Chinn* says: "The gracious God encompass thee with His favour and whatever thy soul desires (*wa-l-nefsu ma tebhâ*), it must obtain its desire" (*tanûlu munâhâ*, in connection with which it is to be observed that *נאל fut. u* is used here in the signification *adipisci*, comp. Fleischer on ch. xv. 29 [*supra* i. 270, note]).—WETZST.

pendence upon יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ, and we really gain an impressive thought, if we translate: Only may He not stretch out His hand (to continue His work of destruction) to a heap of rubbish (which I am already become); but by this translation of ver. 24a, ver. 24b remains a glaring puzzle, insoluble in itself and in respect of the further course of the thought, for Schlottmann's interpretation, "Only one does not touch ruins, or the ruin of one is the salvation of another," which is itself puzzling, is no solution. The reproach against the friends which is said to lie in ver. 24a is contrary to the character of this monologue, which is turned away from his human opponents; then שׁוּב does not signify salvation, and there is no "one" and "another" to be found in the text. We must therefore, against our inclination, give up this dependent relation of בְּעִי, so that עִי signifies either, upon a heap of rubbish, or, since this ought to be עַל-עִי: by the falling in; עִי (from עָוָה = 'iwj) can mean both: a falling in or overthrow (*bouleversement*) as an event, and ruins or rubbish as its result. Accordingly Hirz. translates: Only upon the ruins (more correctly at least: upon ruins) one will not stretch out his hand, and Ew.: Only—does not one stretch out one's hand by one's overthrow? But this "only" is awkward. Hahn is of opinion that לֹא אֵין may be taken in the signification not once, and translates: may one not for once raise one's hand by one's downfall; but even this is lame, because then all connection with what precedes is wanting; besides, לֹא אֵין does not signify *ne quidem*. The originally affirmative אֵין has certainly for the most part a restrictive signification, which, as we observed on ch. xviii. 21, is blended with the affirmative in Hebr., but it is also, as more frequently לוֹא, used adversatively, e.g. ch. xvi. 7, and in the combination לֹא אֵין this adversative signification coincides with the restrictive, for this double particle signifies everywhere else: only not, however not, Gen. xx. 12, 1 Kings xi. 39, 2 Kings xii. 14, xiii. 6, xxiii. 9, 26. It would be more

natural to translate, as we have stated above: only may he not, etc., but ver. 24*b* puts in its veto against this. If, as Hirz., Ew., and Hahn also suppose, לָלֵךְ, ver. 24*a*, is equivalent to לָלֵךְ, so that the sentence is to be spoken with an interrogative accent, we must translate לָלֵךְ as Jer. has done, by *verumtamen*. He knows that he is being hurried forth to meet death; he knows it, and has also already made himself so familiar with this thought, that the sooner he sees an end put to this his sorrowful life the better—nevertheless does one not stretch out one's hand when one is falling? This involuntary reaction against destruction is the inevitable result of man's instinct of self-preservation. It needs no proof that יָשַׁלַח can signify "to stretch out one's hand for help;" יָשַׁלַח is used with a general subj.: one stretches out, as ch. xvii. 5, xxi. 22. With this determination of the idea of ver. 24*a*, 24*b* is now also naturally connected with what precedes. It is not, however, to be translated, as Ew. and Hirz.: if one is in distress, is not a cry for help heard on account of it? If אָמַן were intended hypothetically, a continuation of the power of the interrogative לָלֵךְ from ver. 24*a* would be altogether impossible. Hahn and Loch-Reischl rightly take אָמַן in the sense of *an*. It introduces another turn of the question: Does one, however, not stretch out one's hand to hasten the fall, or in his downfall (raise) a cry for help, or a wail, on that account? Döderlein's conjecture, לָלֵךְ for לָלֵךְ (praying "for favour"), deserves respectful mention, but it is not needed: לָלֵךְ signifies neutrally: in (under) such circumstances (comp. אָמַן, ch. xxii. 21, Isa. lxiv. 4), or is directly equivalent to לָלֵךְ, which (Ruth i. 13) signifies *propterea*, and even in biblical Chaldee, beside the Chaldee signif. *sed, nisi*, retains this Hebrew signif. (Dan. ii. 6, 9, iv. 24). אָמַן, which signifies dying and destruction (Talmud. in the peculiar signif.: that which is hewn or pecked open), synon. of אָמַן, has been already discussed on ch. xii. 5.

Ver. 25. The further progress of the thoughts seems to be well carried out only by our rendering of ver. 24. The manifestation of feeling—Job means to say—which he himself felt at the misfortune of others, will be still permitted to him in his own misfortune, the seeking of compassion from the sympathising: or have I not wept for the hard of day? *i.e.*

him whose lot in life is hard (comp. <sup>فَسَى</sup>, *durus, miser*); did not my soul grieve for the needy? Here, also, <sup>לִי</sup> from ver. 25a continues its effect (comp. ch. iii. 10, xxviii. 17); <sup>עָנָה</sup> is *ἀπ. γεγρ.*, of like signification with <sup>עָנָה</sup>, whence <sup>עָנָה</sup> Isa. xix. 10, <sup>עָנָה</sup> (sadness) *b. Moēd katan 14b*, Arab. *agima*, to feel disgust. If the relation of ver. 25 to ver. 24 is confirmatory, ver. 26 and what follows refers directly to ver. 24: he who felt sympathy with the sufferings of others will nevertheless dare in his own affliction to stretch out his hand for help in the face of certain ruin, and pour forth his pain in lamentation; for his affliction is in reality inexpressibly great: he hoped for good (for the future from his prosperous condition, in which he rejoiced),<sup>1</sup> then came evil; and if I waited for light, deep darkness came. Ewald (§ 232, *h*) regards <sup>אֶתְחַלֵּה</sup> as contracted from <sup>אֶתְחַלֵּה</sup>, but this shortening of the vowel is a pure impossibility. The former signifies rather *καὶ ἡλπίζον* or *ἐβουλόμην ἐλπίζειν*, the latter *καὶ ἡλπισα*, and that cohortative *fut.* logically forms a hypothetical antecedent, exactly like ch. xix. 18, if I desire to rise (<sup>אֶקוּמָה</sup>), they speak against me (*vid.* Ew. § 357, *b*). In feverish heat and anxiety his bowels were set boiling (<sup>רָחַף</sup> as ch. xli. 23, comp. Talmud. <sup>רָחַף</sup>, a hot-headed fellow), and rested not (from this boiling). The accentuation *Tarcha*, *Mercha*, and *Athnach* is here incorrect; instead of *Athnach*, *Rebia mugrasch* is required. Days of affliction came upon him (<sup>יָמָיו</sup> as Ps. xviii. 6), viz.

<sup>1</sup> LXX. *Aldina*: ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν ἀγαθοῖς, which Zwingli rightly corrects ἐπ' ἐχθρῶν (*Codd. Vat., Alex., and Sinait.*).

as a hostile power cutting off the previous way of his prosperity.

- 28 *I wandered about in mourning without the sun ;  
I rose in the assembly, I gave free course to my complaint.*  
29 *I am become a brother of the jackals  
And a companion of ostriches.*  
30 *My skin having become black, peels off from me,  
And my bones are parched with dryness.*  
31 *My harp was turned to mourning,  
And my pipe to tones of sorrow.*

Several expositors (Umbr., Vaih., Hlgst.) understand קָרַר of the dirty-black skin of the leper, but contrary to the usage of the language, according to which, in similar utterances (Ps. xxxv. 14, xxxviii. 7, xlii. 10, xliii. 2, comp. *supra*, ch. v. 11), it rather denotes the dirty-black dress of mourners (comp. קָדַר, *conspurare vestem*); to understand it of the dirty-black skin as *quasi sordida veste* (Welte) is inadmissible, since this distortion of the skin which Job bewails in ver. 30 would hardly be spoken of thus tautologically. קָרַר therefore means in the black of the שֵׂשׁ, or mourning-linen, ch. xvi. 15, by which, however, also the interpretation of בִּלְאֵי הַמָּוֶה, “without sunburn” (Ew., Hirz.), which has gained ground since Raschi’s day (לֹא שִׁשּׁוּפַחְנִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ), is disposed of; for “one can perhaps say of the blackness of the skin that it does not proceed from the sun, but not of the blackness of mourning attire” (Hahn). קָרַר also refutes the reading בִּלְאֵי הַמָּוֶה in LXX. *Complut.* (*ἀνευ θυμῶς*),<sup>1</sup> Syr., Jer. (*sine furore*), which ought to be understood of the deposition of the gall-pigment on the skin, and therefore of jaundice, which turns it (especially in tropical regions) not merely yellow, but a dark-brown. Hahn and a few others

<sup>1</sup> Whereas *Codd. Alex., Vat., and Sinait.*, ἀνευ θυμῶς, which is correctly explained by *κημῶς* in Zwingli’s *Aldine*, but gives no sense.



render בלא חמה correctly in the sense of בחשך, “without the sun having shone on him.” Bereft of all his possessions, and finally also of his children, he wanders about in mourning (הִלָּךְ as ch. xxiv. 10, Ps. xxxviii. 7), and even the sun had clothed itself in black to him (which is what קָרַר הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ means, Joel ii. 10 and freq.); the celestial light, which otherwise brightened his path, ch. xxix. 3, was become invisible. We must not forget that Job here reviews the whole chain of afflictions which have come upon him, so that by ver. 28a we have not to think exclusively, and also not prominently, of the leprosy, since הִלָּכְתִּי indeed represents him as still able to move about freely. In ver. 28b the accentuation wavers between *Dechî*, *Munach*, *Silluk*, according to which אָשִׁיעַ בְּקֹהֶל belong together, which is favoured by the *Dagesh* in the *Beth*, and *Tarcha*, *Munach*, *Silluk*, according to which (because *Munach*, according to *Psalter* ii. 503, § 2, is a transformation of *Rebia mugrasch*) בְּקֹהֶל קָמָתִי belong together. The latter mode of accentuation, according to which בְּקֹהֶל must be written without the *Dag.* instead of בְּקֹהֶל (*vid.* Norzi), is the only correct one (because *Dechî* cannot come in the last member of the sentence before *Silluk*), and is also more pleasing as to matter: I rose (and stood) in the assembly, crying for help, or more generally: wailing. The assembly is not to be thought of as an assembly of the people, or even tribunal (Ew.: “before the tribunal seeking a judge, with lamentations”), but as the public; for the thought that Job sought help against his unmerited sufferings before a human tribunal is absurd; and, moreover, the thought that he cried for help before an assembly of the people called together to take counsel and pronounce decisions is equally absurd. Welte, however, who interprets: I was as one who, before an assembled tribunal, etc., introduces a *quasi* of which there is no trace in the text. בְּקֹהֶל must therefore, without pressing it further, be taken in the sense of *publice*, before all the world (Hirz.: comp. בְּקֹהֶל, ע

φανερώ, Prov. xxvi. 26); אֲשֶׁנִּי, however, is a circumstantial clause declaring the purpose (Ew. § 337, *b*; comp. De Sacy, *Gramm. Arabe* ii. § 357), as is frequently the case after קִים, ch. xvi. 8, Ps. lxxxviii. 11, cii. 14: *surrexi in publico ut lamentarer*, or *lamentaturus*, or *lamentando*. In this lament, extorted by the most intense pain, which he cannot hold back, however many may surround him, he is become a brother of those אֲשֶׁנִּי, jackals (*canes aurei*), whose dolorous howling produces dejection and shuddering in all who hear it, and a companion of בְּנוֹת יַעֲנָה, whose shrill cry is varied by wailing tones of deep melancholy.<sup>1</sup> The point of comparison is not the insensibility of the hearers (*Sforno*), but the fellowship of wailing and howling together with the accompanying idea of the desert in which it is heard, which is connected with the idea itself (comp. Mic. i. 8).

Ver. 30. Now for the first time he speaks of his disfigurement by leprosy in particular: my skin (עוֹרִי, *masc.*, as it is also used in ch. xix. 26, only apparently as *fem.*) is become black (*nigrui*) from me, *i.e.* being become black, has peeled from me, and my bones (עֲצָמִי, construed as *fem.* like ch. xix. 20, Ps. cii. 6) are consumed, or put in a glow (הָרָה, *Milel*,

<sup>1</sup> It is worth while to cite a passage from Shaw's *Travels in Barbary*, ii. 348 (transl.), here: "When the ostriches are running and fighting, they sometimes make a wild, hideous, hissing noise with their throats distended and beaks open; at another time, if they meet with a slight opposition, they have a glucking or cackling voice like our domestic fowls: they seem to rejoice and laugh at the terror of their adversary. During the loneliness of the night however, as if their voice had a totally different tone, they often set up a dolorous, hideous moan, which at one time resembles the roar of the lion, and at another is more like the hoarser voice of other quadrupeds, especially the bull and cow. I have often heard them groan as if they were in the greatest agonies." In General Doumas' book on the *Horse of the Sahara*, I have read that the male ostrich (*delim*), when it is killed, especially if its young ones are near, sends forth a dolorous note, while the female (*remda*), on the other hand, does not utter a sound; and so, when the ostrich digs out its nest, one hears a languishing and dolorous tone all day long, and when it has laid its egg, its usual cry is again heard, only about three o'clock in the afternoon.

from קָרַר, as Ezek. xxiv. 11) by a parching heat. Thus, then, his harp became mournful, and his pipe (יָעִנֵּן with *raphatum*) the cry of the weepers; the cheerful music (comp. ch. xxi. 12) has been turned into gloomy weeping and sobbing (comp. Lam. v. 15). Thus the second part of the monologue closes. It is somewhat lengthened and tedious; it is Job's last sorrowful lament before the catastrophe. What a delicate touch of the poet is it that he makes this lament, ver. 31, die away so melodiously! One hears the prolonged vibration of its elegiac strains. The festive and joyous music is hushed; the only tones are tones of sadness and lament, *mesto, flebile*.

THE THIRD PART OF THE MONOLOGUE.—CHAP. XXXI.

*Schema:* 8. 9. 8. 6. 6. 10. 10. 4. 4. 5. 7. 6.

- 1 *I have made a covenant with mine eyes,  
And how should I fix my gaze upon a maiden!*
- 2 *What then would be the dispensation of Eloah from above,  
And the inheritance of the Almighty from the heights—*
- 3 *Doth not calamity overtake the wicked,  
And misfortune the workers of evil?*
- 4 *Doth He not see my ways  
And count all my steps?*

After Job has described and bewailed the harsh contrast between the former days and the present, he gives us a picture of his moral life and endeavour, in connection with the character of which the explanation of his present affliction as a divinely decreed punishment becomes impossible, and the sudden overthrow of his prosperity into this abyss of suffering becomes to him, for the same reason, the most painful mystery. Job is not an Israelite, he is without the pale of the positive, Sinaitic revelation; his religion is the old patriarchal religion, which even in the present day is called *dîn Ibrâhîm* (the religion of Abraham), or *dîn el-bedu* (the

religion of the steppe) as the religion of those Arabs who are not Moslem, or at least influenced by the penetrating Islamism, and is called by Mejânîshî *el-hanîfîje* (*vid. supra*, i. p. 216, note) as the patriarchally orthodox religion.<sup>1</sup> As little as this religion, even in the present day, is acquainted with the specific Mohammedan commandments, so little knew Job of the specifically Israelitish. On the contrary, his confession, which he lays down in this third monologue, coincides remarkably with the ten commandments of piety (*el-felâh*) peculiar to the *dîn Ibrâhîm*, although it differs in this respect, that it does not give the prominence to submission to the dispensations of God, that *teslîm* which, as the whole of this didactic poem teaches by its issue, is the duty of the perfectly pious; also bravery in defence of holy property and rights is wanting, which among the wandering tribes is accounted as an essential part of the *hebbet er-rîh* (inspiration of the Divine Being), *i.e.* active piety, and to which it is similarly related, as to the binding notion of "honour" which was coined by the western chivalry of the middle ages.

Job begins with the duty of chastity. Consistently with the prologue, which the drama itself nowhere belies, he is living in monogamy, as at the present day the orthodox Arabs, averse to Islamism, are not addicted to Moslem polygamy. With the

<sup>1</sup> Also in the *Merg* district east of Damascus, which is peopled by an ancient unmixed race, because the fever which prevails there kills strangers, remnants of the *dîn Ibrâhîm* have been preserved despite the penetrating Islamism. There the *mulaqqîn* (Souffleur), who says the creed into the grave as a farewell to the buried one, adds the following words: "The *muslim* is my brother, the *muslima* my sister, Abraham is my father (*abî*), his religion (*dînuh*) is mine, and his confession (*medh-hebuh*) mine." It is indisputable that the words *muslim* (one who is submissive to God) and *islâm* (submission to God) have originally belonged to the *dîn Ibrâhîm*. It is also remarkable that the Moslem salutation *selâm* occurs only as a sign in war among the wandering tribes, and that the guest parts from his host with the words: *dâimâ besât el-Chalîl, lâ maqtû' walâ memnû'*, *i.e.* mayest thou always have Abraham's table, and plenty of provisions and guests.—WETZST.

confession of having maintained this marriage (although, to infer from the prologue, it was not an over-happy, deeply sympathetic one) sacred, and restrained himself not only from every adulterous act, but also from adulterous desires, his confessions begin. Here, in the middle of the Old Testament, without the pale of the Old Testament νόμος, we meet just that moral strictness and depth with which the Preacher on the mount, Matt. v. 27 sq., opposes the spirit to the letter of the seventh commandment. It is לְעֵינַי, not עִם-עֵינַי (comp. ch. xl. 28), designedly; כרת ברית עם or את is the usual phrase where two equals are concerned; on the contrary, כרת ברית לְ where the superior—Jehovah, or a king, or conqueror—binds himself to another under prescribed conditions, or the covenant is made not so much by a mutual advance as by the one taking the initiative. In this latter case, the secondary notions of a promise given (e.g. Isa. lv. 3), or even, as here, of a law prescribed, are combined with כרת ברית: “as lord of my senses I prescribed this law for my eyes” (Ew.). The eyes, says a Talmudic proverb, are the procuresses of sin (גִּידוֹרֵי רָחֻמָּה נִינְהוּ); “to close his eyes, that they may not feast on evil,” is, in Isa. xxxiii. 15, a clearly defined line in the picture of him on whom the everlasting burnings can have no hold. The exclamation, ver. 1b, is spoken with self-conscious indignation: Why should I . . . (comp. Joseph’s exclamation, Gen. xxxix. 9); Schultens correctly: *est indignatio repellens vehementissime et negans tale quicquam committi par esse*; the transition of the כֹּה, לְ, to the expression of negation, which is complete in Arabic, is here in its incipient state, Ew. § 325, b. הַתְּבוֹנֵן עַל is intended to express a fixed and inspecting (comp. אָל, 1 Kings iii. 21) gaze upon an object, combined with a lascivious imagination (comp. Sir. ix. 5, παρθένον μὴ καταμάνθανε, and ix. 8, ἀπόστρεψον ὀφθαλμόν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς εὐμόρφου καὶ μὴ καταμάνθανε κάλλος ἀλλότριον), a βλέπειν which issues in ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν, Matt. v. 28. *Adulterium*

*reale*, and in fact two-sided, is first spoken of in the third strophe, here it is *adulterium mentale* and one-sided; the object named is not any maiden whatever, but any בְּתוּלָה, because virginity is ever to be revered, a most sacred thing, the holy purity of which Job acknowledges himself to have guarded against profanation from any lascivious gaze by keeping a strict watch over his eyes. The *Waw* of וַיִּקַּח is, as in ver. 14, copulative: and if I had done it, what punishment might I have looked for?

The question, ver. 2, is proposed in order that it may be answered in ver. 3 again in the form of a question: in consideration of the just punishment which the injurer of female innocence meets, Job disavows every unchaste look. On חֵלֶק and נִחֵלָה used of allotted, adjudged punishment, comp. ch. xx. 29, xxvii. 13; on נֶכֶד, which alternates with אֵיִר (burden of suffering, misfortune), comp. Obad. ver. 12, where in its stead נֶכֶד occurs, as Arab. *nukr*, properly *id quod patienti paradoxum, insuetum, intolerabile videtur, omne ingratum* (Reiske). Conscious of the just punishment of the unchaste, and, as he adds in ver. 4, of the omniscience of the heavenly Judge, Job has made dominion over sin, even in its first beginnings and motions, his principle.

The הוּא, which gives prominence to the subject, means Him who punishes the unchaste. By Him who observes his walk on every side, and counts (יִסְפּוֹר, *plene*, according to Ew. § 138, *a*, on account of the pause, but *vid.* the similar form of writing, ch. xxxix. 2, xviii. 15) all his steps, Job has been kept back from sin, and to Him Job can appeal as a witness.

- 5 *If I had intercourse with falsehood,*  
*And my foot hastened after deceit:*
- 6 *Let Him weigh me in the balances of justice,*  
*And let Eloah know my innocence.*

- 7 *If my steps turned aside from the way,  
And my heart followed mine eyes,  
And any spot hath cleaved to my hands :*  
8 *May I sow and another eat,  
And let my shoots be rooted out.*

We have translated שָׁוָא (on the form *vid.* on ch. xv. 31, and the idea on ch. xi. 11) falsehood, for it signifies desolateness and hollowness under a concealing mask, therefore the contradiction between what is without and within, lying and deceit, parall. מְרִמָּה, deceit, delusion, imposition. The phrase הִלֵּךְ עִם-שָׁוָא is based on the personification of deceit, or on thinking of it in connection with the מַחֲשָׁבָה (ch. xi. 11). The form וַתִּהְיֶה cannot be derived from הָיָה, from which it ought to be וַתִּהְיֶה, like וַיִּסָּר Judg. iv. 18 and freq., וַיִּשָּׁר (*serravit*) 1 Chron. xx. 3, וַיִּעַט (*increpavit*) 1 Sam. xxv. 14. Many grammarians (Ges. § 72, rem. 9; Olsh. 257, g) explain the *Pathach* instead of *Kametz* as arising from the virtual doubling of the guttural (*Dagesh forte implicitum*), for which, however, no ground exists here; Ewald (§ 232, b) explains it by "the hastening of the tone towards the beginning," which explains nothing, since the retreat of the tone has not this effect anywhere else. We must content ourselves with the supposition that וַתִּהְיֶה is formed from הִשָּׁה having a similar meaning to הָיָה (הִישָׁה), as also וַיִּעַט, 1 Sam. xv. 19, comp. xiv. 32, is from a עָטָה of similar signification with עָיַט. The hypothetical antecedent, ver. 5, is followed by the conclusion, ver. 6: If he have done this, may God not spare him. He has, however, not done it; and if God puts him to an impartial trial, He will learn his תְּהִמָּה, *integritas*, purity of character. The "balance of justice" is the balance of the final judgment, which the Arabs call ميزان الأعمال, "the balance of actions (works)."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The manual of ethics by Ghazzâlî is entitled *mizân el-a'mâl* in the

Ver. 7 also begins hypothetically: if my steps (אֲשִׁירִי from אָשַׁר, which is used alternately with אֲשִׁירִי without distinction, contrary to Ew. § 260, *b*) swerve (תִּפְּסֶה, the predicate to the *plur.* which follows, designating a thing, according to Ges. § 146, 3) from the way (*i.e.* the one right way), and my heart went after my eyes, *i.e.* if it followed the drawing of the lust of the eye, viz. to obtain by deceit or extortion the property of another, and if a spot (מַאֲדָּה, *macula*, as Dan. i. 4, = מוֹמָה, ch. xi. 15; according to Ew., equivalent to מְחִימָה, what is blackened and blackens, then a blemish, and according to Olsh., in מְחִימָה . . . לֹא, like the French *ne . . . point*) clave to my hands: I will sow, and let another eat, and let my shoots be rooted out. The poet uses צִמְצִימִים elsewhere of offspring of the body or posterity, ch. v. 25, xxi. 8, xxvii. 14; here, however, as in Isaiah, with whom he has this word in common, ch. xxxiv. 2, xlii. 5, the produce of the ground is meant. Ver. 8*a* is, according to John iv. 37, a λόγος, proverb. In so far as he may have acted thus, Job calls down upon himself the curse of Dent. xxviii. 30 sq.: what he sows, let strangers reap and eat; and even when that which is sown does not fall into the hands of strangers, let it be uprooted.

- 9 *If my heart has been befooled about a woman,  
And if I lay in wait at my neighbour's door :*  
10 *Let my wife grind unto another,  
And let others bow down over her.*  
11 *For this is an infamous act,  
And this is a crime [to be brought before] judges ;*  
12 *Yea, it is a fire that consumeth to the abyss,  
And should root out all my increase.*

As he has guarded himself against defiling virgin innocence

original, מֵאֲזוּנֵי צֶדֶק in Bar-Chisdai's translation, *vid.* Gosche on Ghazzâlî's life and works, S. 261 of the volume of the *Berliner Akademie d. Wissensch.* for 1858.



by lascivious glances, so is he also conscious of having made no attempt to trespass upon the marriage relationship of his neighbour (עָלַּ as in the Decalogue, Ex. xx. 17) : his heart was not persuaded, or he did not allow his heart to be persuaded (נִפְתָּה like *πείθεσθαι*), i.e. misled, on account of a woman (נִפְתָּה as נִפְתָּה לְאִשָּׁה, in post-bibl. usage, of another's wife), and he lay not in wait (according to the manner of adulterous lovers described at ch. xxiv. 15, which see) at his neighbour's door. We may here, with Wetzstein, compare the like-minded confession in a poem of Muhâdi ibn-Muhammel :

مَا نَبَّ كَلْبُ الْجَارِ مِنَّا وَلَا عَوَى

never barked (נָב, Beduin equivalent to נָבַח in the Syrian towns and villages) on our account (because we had gone by night with an evil design to his tent), and it never howled (being beaten by us, to make it cease its barking lest it should betray us)." In ver. 10 follows the punishment which he wishes might overtake him in case he had acted thus : "may my wife grind to another," i.e. may she become his "maid behind the mill," Ex. xi. 5, comp. Isa. xlvii. 2, who must allow herself to be used for everything ; ἀλετρίς and a common low woman (comp. Plutarch, *non posse suav. viv.* c. 21, καὶ παχυσκελὴς ἀλετρίς πρὸς μύλῳ κινουμένη) are almost one and the same. On the other hand, the Targ. (*coeat cum alio*), LXX. (euphemistically ἀρέσσαι ἐτέρῳ, not, as the Syr. Hexapl. shows, ἀλέσαι), and Jer. (*scortum sit alterius*), and in like manner Saad., Gecat., understand מִתְּחַן directly of carnal surrender ; and, in fact, according to the traditional opinion, b. Sota 10a : לֹא לְשֵׁן עֲבִירָה, i.e. "אין מִתְּחַן אל לא לשון עבירה," i.e. "אין everywhere in Scripture is intended of (carnal) trespass." With reference to Judg. xvi. 21 and Lam. v. 13 (where מִתְּחַן, like طاحون, signifies the upper mill-stone, or in gen. the mill), this is certainly incorrect ; the parallel, as well as Deut.

xxviii. 30, favours this rendering of the word in the obscene sense of *μύλλειν*, *molere*, in this passage, which also is seen under the Arab. synon. of grinding, *دَهَكَ* (*trudere*); according to which it would have to be interpreted: let her grind to another, *i.e.* serve him as it were as a nether mill-stone. The verb *מָלַח*, used elsewhere (in Talmud.) of the man, would here be transferred to the woman, like as it is used of the mill itself as that which grinds. This rendering is therefore not refuted by its being *מָלַח* and not *מָלַחָהּ*. Moreover, the word thus understood is not unworthy of the poet, since he designedly makes Job seize the strongest expressions. Among moderns, *מָלַח* is thus tropically explained by Ew., Umbr., Hahn, and a few others, but most expositors prefer the proper sense, in connection with which *molat* certainly, especially with respect to ver. 9*b*, is also equivalent to *fiat pellex*. It is hard to decide; nevertheless the preponderance of reasons seems to us to be on the side of the traditional tropical rendering, by the side of which ver. 10*b* is not attached in progressive, but in synonymous parallelism: *et super ea incurvent se alii*, *פָּרַע* of the man, as in the phrase *كرعت المرأة الى الرجل* (*curvat se mulier ad virum*) of the acquiescence of the woman; *אֶחָרָיו* is a poetical Aramaism, Ew. § 177, *a*. The sin of adultery, in case he had committed it, ought to be punished by another taking possession of his own wife, for that (*הוא* a neutral *masc.*, *Keri* *היא* in accordance with the *fem.* of the following predicate, comp. Lev. xviii. 17) is an infamous act, and that (*היא* referring back to *זָמָה*, *Keri* *הוא* in accordance with the *masc.* of the following predicate) is a crime for the judges. On this wavering between *הוא* and *היא* *vid.* Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 1863, s. v. *הוא*, S. 225. *זָמָה* is the usual Thora-word for the shameless subtle encroachments of sensual desires (*vid.* Saalschütz, *Mosaisches Recht*, S. 791 f.), and *עֵין פְּלִילִים* (not *עֵין*), according to the usual view equivalent to *crimen et*

*crimen quidem iudicium* (however, on the form of connection intentionally avoided here, where the genitival relation might easily give an erroneous sense, *vid.* Ges. § 116, *reim.*), signifies a crime which falls within the province of the penal code, for which in ver. 28 it is less harshly עֲוֹן פְּלִילִי: a judicial, *i.e.* criminal offence. פְּלִילִים is, moreover, not the *plur.* of פְּלִילִי (Kimchi), but of פֶּלֶל, an arbitrator (root פֶּלַל, *findere, dirimere*).

The confirmatory clause, ver. 12, is co-ordinate with the preceding: for it (this criminal, adulterous enterprise) is a fire, a fire consuming him who allows the sparks of sinful desire to rise up within him (Prov. vi. 27 sq.; Sir. ix. 8), which devours even to the bottom of the abyss, not resting before it has dragged him whom it has seized down with it into the deepest depth of ruin, and as it were melted him away, and which ought to root out all my produce (all the fruit of my labour).<sup>1</sup> The function of בְּ is questionable. Ew. (§ 217, *f*) explains it as local: in my whole revenue, *i.e.* throughout my whole domain. But it can also be *Beth objecti*, whether it be that the obj. is conceived as the means of the action (*vid.* on ch. xvi. 4, 5, 10, xx. 20), or that, “corresponding to the Greek genitive, it does not express an entire full coincidence, but an action about and upon the object” (Ew. § 217, S. 557). We take it as *Beth obj.* in the latter sense, after the analogy of the so-called pleonastic Arab. ب (e.g. *qaraa bi-suwari*, he has practised the act of reading upon the Suras of the Koran): and which ought to undertake the act of outrooting upon my whole produce.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is something characteristically Semitic to express the notion of destruction by the figure of burning up with fire [*vid. supra*, i. 377, note], and it is so much used in the present day as a natural inalienable form of thought, that in curses and imprecations everything, without distinction of the object, is to be burned; e.g. *juhrik*, may (God) burn up, or *juhrak*, ought to burn, *bilâduh*, his native country, *bedenuh*, his body, *‘ênuh*, his eye, *shawâribuh*, his moustache (*i.e.* his honour), *nefesuh*, his breath, *omruh*, his life, etc.—WETZST.

<sup>2</sup> On this pleonastic *Beth obj.* (*el-Bâ el-mezûde*) *vid.* Samachschari's

- 13 *If I despised the cause of my servant and my maid,  
When they contended with me :*  
14 *What should I do, if God should rise up,  
And if He should make search, what should I answer Him?*  
15 *Hath not He who formed me in the womb formed him also,  
And hath not One fashioned us in the belly?*

It might happen, as ver. 13 assumes, that his servant or his maid (<sup>ש'פָּה</sup>אִמָּה, denotes a maid who is not necessarily a slave, 'abde, as ch. xix. 15, whereas שְׁפָהָה does not occur in the book) contended with him, and in fact so that they on their part began the dispute (for, as the Talmud correctly points out, it is not עָמָם בְּרִיבִי, but עָמָרִי בְּרִיבָם), but he did not then treat them as a despot; they were not accounted as *res* but *personæ* by him, he allowed them to maintain their personal right in opposition to him. Christopher Scultetus observes here: *Gentiles quidem non concedebant jus servo contra dominum, cui etiam vitæ necisque potestas in ipsum erat; sed Iob amore justitiæ libere se demisit, ut vel per alios iudices aut arbitros litem talem curaret decidi vel sibi ipsi sit moderatus, ut juste pronuntiaret.* If he were one who despised (אִמָּאֵם, not מִאֲסָתִי) his servants' cause: what should he do if God arose and entered into judgment; and if He should appoint an examination (thus Hahn correctly, for the conclusion shows that פָּקַד is here a synon. of בָּחַן Ps. xvii. 3, and חָקַר Ps. xlv. 22, نَقَدَ, V., VIII., *accurate inspicere*), what should he answer?

*Mufassal, ed. Broch*, pp. 125, 132 (according to which it serves "to give intensity and speciality"), and Beidhâwi's observation on *Sur. ii. 191.* The most usual example for it is *alqa bi-jedeihi ila et-tahlike*, he has plunged his hands, i.e. himself, into ruin. The *Bâ el-megâz* (the metaphorical *Beth obj.*) is similar; it is used where the verb has not its most natural signification but a metaphorical one, e.g. *ashada bidhikrihi*, he has strengthened his memory: comp. De Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, i. 397.

Ver. 15. The same manner of birth, by the same divine creative power and the same human agency, makes both master and servant substantially brethren with equal claims: Has not He who brought me forth in my mother's womb (also) brought forth him (this my servant or my maid), and has not One fashioned us in our mother's belly? אֶחָד, *unus*, viz. God, is the subj., as Mal. ii. 10, אֶחָד (אֶחָד) אֱלֹהִים (for the thought comp. Eph. vi. 9), as it is also translated by the Targ., Jer., Saad., and Gecat.; whereas the LXX. (ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κοιλίᾳ), Syr., Symm. (as it appears from his translation ἐν ὁμοίῳ τρόπῳ), construe אָחָד as the adj. to בְּרָחֶם, which is also the idea of the accentuation (*Rebia mugrasch*, *Mercha*, *Silluk*). On the other hand, it has been observed (also Norzi) that it ought to be אָחָדָה according to this meaning; but it was not absolutely necessary, *vid.* Ges. § 111, 2, *b*. אָחָד also would not be unsuitable in this combination; it would, as *e.g.* in אָחָד אֶחָד, not affirm identity of number, but of character. But אָחָד is far more significant, and as the final word of the strophe more expressive, when referred to God. The form יִכְוֹנֵנִי is to be judged of just like וַתִּכְוֶנֶנִי, Isa. lxiv. 6; either they are forms of an exceptionally transitive (as שׁוֹב, Ps. lxxxv. 5, and in יָשׁוּב זְבוּחַ) use of the *Kal* of these verbs (*vid.* *e.g.* Parchon and Kimchi), or they are syncopated forms of the *Pilel* for וַיִּכְוֶנֶנִי, וַתִּכְוֶנֶנִי, syncopated on account of the same letters coming together, especially in וִיכְוֶנֶנִי (Ew. § 81, *a*, and most others); but this coincidence is sought elsewhere (*e.g.* Ps. l. 23, Prov. i. 28), and not avoided in this manner (*e.g.* Ps. cxix. 73). Beside this syncope יִכְוֶנֶנִי might also be expected, while according to express testimony the first *Nun* is *rapphatum*: we therefore prefer to derive these forms from *Kal*, without regarding them, with Olsh., as errors in writing. The *suff.* is rightly taken by LXX., Targ., Abulwalid, and almost all expositors,<sup>1</sup> not as singular (*ennu* = *ēhu*), but as plural (*ennu*

<sup>1</sup> Also in the Jerusalem Talmud, where R. Johanan, eating nothing

= *enu*); the Babylonian school pointed *נִכְנַנִּי*, like *מִמֶּנִּי* where it signifies *a nobis*, *מִמֶּנִּי* (*Psalter* ii. 459, and further information in Pinsker's works, *Zur Geschichte des Karaismus*, and *Ueber das sogen. assyrische Punktationssystem*). Therefore: One, *i.e.* one and the same God, has fashioned us in the womb without our co-operation, in an equally animal way, which smites down all pride, in like absolute conditionedness.

16 *If I held back the poor from what they desired,  
And caused the eyes of the widow to languish,*

17 *And ate my morsel alone  
Without letting the fatherless eat thereof:—*

18 *No indeed, from my youth he grew up to me as to a father,  
And from my mother's womb I guided her—*

The whole strophe is the hypothetical antecedent of the imprecative conclusion, ver. 22 sq., which closes the following strophe. Since *מָנַע דָּבָר מִמֶּנִּי*, *cohibere aliquid ab aliquo* (ch. xxii. 7), is said as much in accordance with the usage of the language as *מָנַעוּ מִדָּבָר*, *cohibere aliquem ab aliquo* (Num. xxiv. 11, Eccl. ii. 10), in the sense of *denegare alicui aliquid*, there is no reason for taking *וְהָיָה* together as a genitival clause (*a voto tenuium*), as the accentuation requires it. On *וְהָיָה*, *vid.* on ch. xxi. 21; it signifies solicitude (what is ardently desired) and business, here the former: what is ever the interest and want of the poor (the reduced or those without means). From such like things he does not keep the poor back, *i.e.* does not refuse them; and the eyes of the widow

which he did not also share with his slave, refers to these words of Job. Comp. also the story from the Midrash in Guiseppe Levi's *Parabeln Legenden und Ged. aus Thalmud und Midrasch*, S. 141 (Germ. transl. 1863): The wife of R. Jose began a dispute with her maid. Her husband came up and asked the cause, and when he saw that his wife was in the wrong, told her so in the presence of the maid. The wife said in a rage: Thou sayest I am wrong in the presence of my maid? The Rabbi answered: I do as Job did.

he did not cause or allow to languish (בָּלָה, to bring to an end, *i.e.* cause to languish, of the eyes, as Lev. xxvi. 16, 1 Sam. ii. 33); he let not their longing for assistance be consumed of itself, let not the fountain of their tears become dry without effect. If he had done the opposite, if he had eaten his bread (פַּת לֶחֶם = פַּת) alone, and not allowed the orphan to eat of it with him—but no, he had not acted thus; on the contrary (בִּי as Ps. cxxx. 4 and frequently), he (the parentless one) grew up to him (גָּדַל לִי = גָּדַל, Ges. § 121, 4, according to Ew. § 315, *b*, “by the interweaving of the dialects of the people into the ancient form of the declining language;” perhaps it is more correct to say it is by virtue of a poetically forced, and rare brevity of expression) as to a father (= פָּמֹ לֵאב), and from his mother’s womb he guided her, the helpless and defenceless widow, like a faithful child leading its sick or aged mother. The hyperbolical expression מִמֶּטֶן אִמִּי dates this sympathizing and active charity back to the very beginning of Job’s life. He means to say that it is in-born to him, and he has exercised it ever since he was first able to do so. The brevity of the form גָּדַלְתִּי, brief to incorrectness, might be removed by the pointing גָּדַלְתִּי (Olsh.): from my youth up he (the fatherless one) honoured me as a father; and גָּדַלְתִּי instead of בְּבִרְתִּי would be explained by the consideration, that a veneration is meant that attributed a dignity which exceeds his age to the נַעַר who was not yet old enough to be a father. But גָּדַל signifies “to cause to grow” in such a connection elsewhere (parall. רוּמָם, to raise), wherefore LXX. translates ἐξέτρεφον (גָּדַלְתִּי); and גָּדַלְתִּי has similar examples of the construction of intransitives with the *acc.* instead of the *dat.* (especially Zech. vii. 5) in its favour: they became me great, *i.e.* became great in respect of me. Other ways of getting over the difficulty are hardly worth mentioning: the Syriac version reads בָּאַב (pain) and אֲנָחוֹת; Raschi makes ver. 18*a*, the idea of benevolence, the subj.,

and ver. 18*b* (as מִדָּה, attribute) the obj. The *suff.* of אֲנִיחָנָה Schlottm. refers to the female orphan; but Job refers again to the orphan in the following strophe, and the reference to the widow, more natural here on account of the gender, has nothing against it. The choice of the verb (comp. ch. xxxviii. 32) also corresponds to such a reference, since the *Hiph.* has an intensified *Kal*-signification here<sup>1</sup> From earliest youth, so far back as he can remember, he was wont to behave like a father to the orphan, and like a child to the widow.

- 19 *If I saw one perishing without clothing,  
And that the needy had no covering ;*  
20 *If his loins blessed me not,  
And he did not warm himself from the hide of my lambs ;*  
21 *If I have lifted up my hand over the orphan,  
Because I saw my help in the gate :*  
22 *Let my shoulder fall out of its shoulder-blade,  
And mine arm be broken from its bone ;*  
23 *For terror would come upon me, the destruction of God,  
And before His majesty I should not be able to stand.*

On אֹיֵבֵךְ comp. on ch. iv. 11, xxix. 13; he who is come down from his right place and is perishing (root בר, to separate, still perfectly visible through the Arab. *bāda*, *ba'ida*, to perish), or also he who is already perished, *periens* and *perditus*. The clause, ver. 19*b*, forms the second obj. to אִם אֲרָאָהָ, which otherwise can signify *si video*, but here, in accordance

<sup>1</sup> זָכַר and הִזְכִּיר, to remember; זָרַע and הִזְרִיעַ, to sow, to cover with seed; חָרַשׁ and הִחְרִישׁ, both in the signification *silere* and *fabricari*; לָעַן and הִלְעִין, to mock, ch. xxi. 3; מָשַׁל and הִמְשִׁיל, *dominari*, ch. xxv. 2; נָמַה and הִמָּה, to extend, to bow; קָנָה and הִקְנָה (to obtain by purchase); קָצַר and הִקְצִיר, to reap, ch. xxiv. 6, are all similar. In Arab. the *Kal nahaituhu* signifies I put him aside by going on one side (*nahw* or *nāhije*), the *Hiph. anhaituhu*, I put him aside by bringing him to the side (comp. יָנַחַם, ch. xii. 23).



with the connection, signifies *si videbam*. The blessing of the thankful (ch. xxix. 13) is transferred from the person to the limbs in ver. 20a, which need and are benefited by the warmth imparted. אֶם-לֹא here is not an expression of an affirmative asseveration, but a negative turn to the continuation of the hypothetical antecedents. The shaking, הִנֵּי, of the hand, ver. 21a, is intended, like Isa. xi. 15, xix. 16 (comp. the *Pilel*, ch. x. 32), Zech. ii. 13, as a preparation for a crushing stroke. Job refrained himself from such designs upon the defenceless orphan, even when he saw his help in the gate, *i.e.* before the tribunal (ch. xxix. 7), *i.e.* even when he had a certain prospect of powerful assistance there. If he has acted otherwise, his בְּרָחַי, *i.e.* his upper arm together with the shoulder, must fall out from its שִׁבְכָם, *i.e.* the back which bears it together with the shoulder-blades, and his אֶזְרָאֵל, upper and lower arm, which is considered here according to its outward flesh, must be broken out of its קֶנֶה, tube, *i.e.* the reed-like hollow bone which gives support to it, *i.e.* be broken asunder from its basis (Syr. *a radice sua*), this sinning arm, which did not compassionate the naked, and mercilessly threatened the defenceless and helpless. The *n raphatum* which follows in both cases, and the express testimony of the Masora, show that מִשְׁכַּמָּה and מִקְנָה have no *Mappik*. The *He quiescens*, however, is in both instances softened from the *He mappic*. of the *suff.*, Ew. § 21, *f.* פָּחַד in ver. 23 is taken by most expositors as predicate: for terror is (was) to me evil as God, the righteous judge, decrees it. But אֵל is not favourable to this. It establishes the particular thing which he imprecates upon himself, and that consequently which, according to his own conviction and perception, ought justly to overtake him out of the general mass, *viz.* that terror ought to come upon him, a divinely decreed weight of affliction. אֵל אִיר is a permutative of פָּחַד = אֵלֵהֶם, and אֵלִי with *Dechî* equivalent to אֵלִי (יְבֹא), יִהְיֶה, comp. Jer. ii. 19 (where it is to be interpreted: and that thou lettest no fear before me

come over thee). Thus also ver. 23b is suitably connected with the preceding : and I should not overcome His majesty, *i.e.* I should succumb to it. The  $\text{נָּ}$  corresponds to the *præ* in *prævalerem*;  $\text{חָשָׁן}$  (LXX. falsely, *λήμματα*, judgment, decision =  $\text{מִשָּׁן}$ , Jer. *pondus*) is not intended otherwise than ch. xiii. 11 (parall.  $\text{פָּחַד}$  as here).

- 24 *If I made gold my confidence,  
And said to the fine gold: O my trust;*  
25 *If I rejoiced that my wealth was great,  
And that my hand had gained much;—*  
26 *If I saw the sunlight when it shone,  
And the moon walking in splendour,*  
27 *And my heart was secretly enticed,  
And I threw them a kiss by my hand:*  
28 *This also would be a punishable crime,  
For I should have played the hypocrite to God above.*

Not only from covetous extortion of another's goods was he conscious of being clear, but also from an excessive delight in earthly possessions. He has not made gold his  $\text{בְּסֵל}$ , confidence (*vid.* on  $\text{בְּסֵלְךָ}$ , ch. iv. 6); he has not said to  $\text{בָּתָּם}$ , fine gold (pure, ch. xxviii. 19, of Ophir, xxviii. 16),  $\text{מִבְטָחִי}$  (with *Dag. forte implicitum* as ch. viii. 14, xviii. 14): object (ground) of my trust! He has not rejoiced that his wealth is great ( $\text{רַב}$ , adj.), and that his hand has attained  $\text{בְּפִיר}$ , something great (neutral *masc.* *EW.* § 172, b). His joy was the fear of God, which ennobles man, not earthly things, which are not worthy to be accounted as man's highest good. He indeed avoided *πλεονεξία* as *ειλωλολατρεία* (Col. iii. 5), how much more the heathenish deification of the stars!  $\text{אֹר}$  is here, as ch. xxxvii. 21 and *φάος* in Homer, the sun as the great light of the earth.  $\text{יָרֵךְ}$  is the moon as a wanderer (from  $\text{רָחָ}$  = *אָרַח*), *i.e.* night-wanderer (*noctivaga*), as the Arab. *tārik* in a like sense is the name of the morning-star. The two words

יָקָר הַלֵּל describe with exceeding beauty the solemn majestic wandering of the moon; יָקָר is *acc.* of closer definition, like תָּמִיד, Ps. xv. 2, and this “brilliantly rolling on” is the *acc.* of the predicate to אֲרָאָה, corresponding to the פִּי יָהּ, “that (or how) it shoots forth rays” (*Hiph.* of הָלַל, distinct from יָהּ Isa. xiii. 20), or even: that it shot forth rays (*fut.* in signif. of an imperf. as Gen. xlviii. 17).

Ver. 27 proceeds with *futt. consec.* in order to express the effect which this imposing spectacle of the luminaries of the day and of the night might have produced on him, but has not. The *Kal* יִפְתָּה is to be understood as in Deut. xi. 16 (comp. *ib.* iv. 19, נָתַתָּה): it was enticed, gave way to the seducing influence. Kissing is called נָשַׁק as being a joining of lip to lip. Accordingly the kiss by hand can be described by נִשְׁקָה יָד לִפָּה; the kiss which the mouth gives the hand is to a certain extent also a kiss which the hand gives the mouth, since the hand joins itself to the mouth. Thus to kiss the hand in the direction of the object of veneration, or also to turn to it the kissed hand and at the same time the kiss which fastens on it (as compensation for the direct kiss, 1 Kings xix. 18, Hos. xiii. 2), is the proper gesture of the *προσκύνησις* and *adoratio*, hence so named; comp. Pliny, *h. n.* xxviii. 2, 5: *Inter adorandum dexteram ad osculum referimus et totum corpus circumagimus.* Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 24, says that in Syria they salute the rising sun; and that this was done by kissing the hand (τὴν χεῖρα κύσαντες) in Western Asia as in Greece, is to be inferred from Lucian's *Περὶ ὀρχήσεως*, c. xvii.<sup>1</sup> In the passage before us Ew. finds an indication of the spread of the Zoroaster doctrine in the beginning of the seventh century B.C., at which period he is of opinion the book of Job was composed, but without any ground. The ancient Persian

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Freund's *Lat. Wörterbuch s. v. adorare*, and K. Fr. Hermann's *Gottesdienstliche Alterth. der Griechen*, c. xxi. 16, but especially *Excursus* 123 in Doughtæus' *Analecta*.

worship has no knowledge of the act of adoration by throwing a kiss; and the Avesta recognises in the sun and moon exalted genii, but created by Ahuramazda, and consequently not such as are to be worshipped as gods. On the other hand, star-worship is everywhere the oldest and also comparatively the purest form of heathenism. That the ancient Arabs, especially the Himjarites, adored the sun, שמש, and the moon, שֵׁן (סֵן, whence סֵינִי, the mountain dedicated to the moon), as divine, we know from the ancient testimonies,<sup>1</sup> and many inscriptions<sup>2</sup> which confirm and supplement them; and the general result of Chwolsohn's<sup>3</sup> researches is unimpeachable, that the so-called Sabians (صابئون with or without *Hamza* of the *Jé*), of whom a section bore the name of worshippers of the sun, *shemsije*, were the remnant of the ancient heathenism of Western Asia, which lasted into the middle ages. This heathenism, which consisted, according to its basis, in the worship of the stars, was also spread over Syria, and its name, usually combined with צֶבַח הַשָּׁמַיִם (Deut. iv. 19), perhaps is not wholly devoid of connection with the name of a district of Syria, אֶרֶם צוֹבָה; certainly our poet found it already there, where he heard the tradition about Job, and in his hero presents to us a true adherent of the patriarchal religion, who had kept himself free from the influence of the worship of the stars, which was even in his time forcing its way among the tribes.

It is questionable whether ver. 28 is to be regarded as a conclusion, with Umbr. and others, or as a parenthesis, with Ew., Hahn, Schlottm., and others. We take it as a conclusion, against which there is no objection according to the syntax,

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* the collection in Lud. Krehl's *Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid.* Osiander in the *Deutsche Morgenl. Zeitschr.* xvii. (1863) 795.

<sup>3</sup> In his great work, *Ueber die Ssabier und den Ssabismus*, 2 Bdd. Petersburg, 1856.

although strictly it is only a confirmation (*vid.* vers. 11, 23) of an implied imprecatory conclusion: therefore it is (would be) also a judicial misdeed, *i.e.* one to be severely punished, for I should have played the hypocrite to God above (לְאֵלֵי מִצְרַיִם, recalling the universal Arabic expression *allah ta'āla*, God, the Exalted One) by making gold and silver, the sun and moon my idols. By לְאֵלֵי both the sins belonging to the judgment-seat of God, as in *ἐνοχος τῷ συνεδρίῳ*, Matt. v. 22, are not referred to a human tribunal, but only described *κατ' ἀνθρώπων* as punishable transgressions of the highest grade. לְאֵלֵי signifies to play the hypocrite to any one, whereas to disown any one is expressed by בָּשָׂה. His worship of God would have been hypocrisy, if he had disowned in secret the God whom he acknowledged openly and outwardly.

Now follow strophes to which the conclusion is wanting. The single imprecatory conclusion which yet follows (ver. 40), is not so worded that it might avail for all the preceding hypothetical antecedents. There are therefore in these strophes no conclusions that correspond to the other clauses. The inward emotion of the confessor, which constantly increases in fervour the more he feels himself superior to his accusers in the exemplariness of his life hitherto, struggles against this rounding off of the periods. A “yea then —!” is easily supplied in thought to these strophes which *per aposiopesis* are devoid of conclusions.

29 *If I rejoiced over the destruction of him who hated me,  
And became excited when evil came upon him—*

30 *Yet I did not allow my palate to sin  
By calling down a curse upon his life.*

The aposiopesis is here manifest, for ver. 29 is evidently equal to a solemn denial, to which ver. 30 is then attached as a simple negative. He did not rejoice at the destruction

(פִּיר, Arab. <sup>فد</sup>فيد, *fêd*,<sup>1</sup> as ch. xii. 5, xxx. 24) of his enemy who was full of hatred towards him (פִּיִּנְאִי, elsewhere also שִׁנְאִי), and was not excited with delight (הִתְעַרַּר, to excite one's self, a description of emotion, whether it be pleasure, or as ch. xvii. 8, displeasure, as a not merely passive but moral incident) if calamity came upon him, and he did not allow his palate (פִּי as the instrument of speech, like ch. vi. 30) to sin by asking God that he might die as a curse. Love towards an enemy is enjoined by the Thora, Ex. xxiii. 4, but it is more or less with a national limitation, Lev. xix. 18, because the Thora is the law of a people shut out from the rest of the world, and in a state of war against it (according to which Matt. v. 43 is to be understood); the books of the Chokma, however (comp. Prov. xxiv. 17, xxv. 21), remove every limit from the love of enemies, and recognise no difference, but enjoin love towards man as man. With ver. 30 this strophe closes. Among modern expositors, only Arnh. takes in ver. 31 as belonging to it: "Would not the people of my tent then have said: Would that we had of his flesh?! we have not had enough of it," i.e. we would eat him up both skin and hair. Of course it does not mean after the manner of cannibals, but figuratively, as ch. xix. 22; but in a figurative sense "to eat any one's flesh" in Semitic is equivalent to *lacerare, vellicare, obtrectare* (vid. on ch. xix. 22, and comp. also *Sur.* xlix. 12 of the Koran, and Schultens' *Erpenius*, pp. 592 sq.), which is not suitable here, as in general this drawing of ver. 31 to ver. 29 sq. is in every respect, and especially

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius derives the noun פִּיר from the verb פִּיר, but the Arabic, which is the test here, has not only the verb *fâda* as *med. u* and as *med. i* in the signification to die, but also in connection with *el-feid* (*fêd*) the substantival form *el-fîd* (= *el-môt*), which (= *fiwd*, comp. p. 26, note) is referable to *fâda*, *med. u*. Thus *Neshwân*, who in his *Lexicon* (vol. ii. fol. 119) even only knows *fâda*, *med. u*, in the signif. to die (comp. *infra* on ch. xxxix. 18, note).

that of the syntax, inadmissible. It is the duty of beneficence, which Job acknowledges having practised, in ver. 31 sq.

31 *If the people of my tent were not obliged to say:*

*Where would there be one who has not been satisfied with his flesh? !—*

32 *The stranger did not lodge out of doors,*

*I opened my door towards the street.*

Instead of אֲמָרִי, it might also be יֹאמְרִי (*dicebant*); the *perf.*, however, better denotes not merely what happens in a general way, but what must come to pass. The “people of the tent” are all who belong to it, like the Arab. *ahl* (tent, metonym. dwellers in the tent), here pre-eminently the servants, but without the expression in itself excluding wife, children, and relations. The optative מִי־יֵיטֵן, so often spoken of already, is here, as in ver. 35, ch. xiv. 4, xxix. 2, followed by the *acc. objecti*, for נִשְׂבָּע is *part.*<sup>1</sup> with the long accented *ā* (*quis exhibebit* or *exhibeat non saturatum*), and מִבְּשָׂרוֹ is not meant of the flesh of the person (as even the LXX. in bad taste renders: that his maids would have willingly eaten him, their kind master, up from love to him), but of the flesh of the cattle of the host. Our translation follows the accentuation, which, however, perhaps proceeds from an interpretation like that of Arnheim given above. His constant and ready hospitality is connected with the mention of his abundant care and provision for his own household. It is unnecessary to take אֶרֶח, with the ancient versions, for אֶרֶח, or so to read it; אֶרֶחָ לִי signifies towards the street, where travellers are to be expected, comp. *Pirke aboth* i. 5: “Let thy house be open into the broad place (לְרֹחֶה), and let the poor be thy guests.” The Arabs pride themselves on the exercise of hospitality. “To open a guest-chamber” is the same as to establish one’s own household in Arabic. Stories of judgments by which the

<sup>1</sup> With לֹא for בְּלֹאִי, as, e.g., Isa. lxii. 12.

want of hospitality has been visited, form an important element of the popular traditions of the Arabs.<sup>1</sup>

33 *If I have hidden my sins like Adam,  
Concealing my guilt in my bosom,*

34 *Because I feared the great multitude  
And the contempt of families affrighted me,  
So that I acted secretly, went not out of the door.—*

Most expositors translate כְּאָדָם: after the manner of men; but appropriate as this meaning of the expression is in Ps. lxxxii. 7, in accordance with the antithesis and the parallelism (which see), it would be as tame here, and altogether expressionless in the parallel passage Hos. vi. 7<sup>2</sup>—the passage which comes mainly under consideration here—since the force of the prophetic utterance: “they have כָּאָדָם transgressed the covenant,” consists in this, “that Israel is accused of a trans-

<sup>1</sup> In the spring of 1860—relates Wetzstein—as I came out of the forest of *Gólan*, I saw the water of *Râm* lying before us, that beautiful round crater in which a brook that runs both summer and winter forms a clear but fishless lake, the outflow of which underground is recognised as the fountain of the Jordan, which breaks forth below in the valley out of the crater *Tell el-Kadi*; and I remarked to my companion, the physician *Regeb*, the unusual form of the crater, when my Beduins, full of astonishment, turned upon me with the question, “What have you Franks heard of the origin of this lake?” On being asked what they knew about it, they related how that many centuries ago a flourishing village once stood here; the fields of which were the plain lying between the water and the village of *Megdel Shems*. One evening a poor traveller came while the men were sitting together in the open place in the middle of the village, and begged for a supper and a resting-place for the night, which they refused him. When he assured them that he had eaten nothing since the day before, an old woman amidst general laughter reached out a *gelle* (a cake of dried cow-dung, which is used for fuel), and drove him out of the village. Thereupon the man went to the village of *Nimra* (still standing, south of the lake), where he related his misfortune, and was taken in by them. The next morning, when the inhabitants of *Nimra* woke, they found a lake where the neighbouring village had stood.

<sup>2</sup> Pusey also (*The Minor Prophets with Commentary*, P. i. 1861) improves “like men” by translating “like Adam.”



gression which is only to be compared to that of the first man created: here, as there, a like transgression of the expressed will of God" (von Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 412f.); as also, according to Rom. v. 14, Israel's transgression is that fact in the historical development of redemption which stands by the side of Adam's transgression. And the mention of Adam in Hosea cannot surprise one, since he also shows himself in other respects to be familiar with the contents of Genesis, and to refer back to it (*vid. Genesis*, S. 11-13). Still much less surprising is such a reference to primeval history in a book that belongs to the literature of the Chokma (*vid. Introduction*, § 2). The descent of the human race from a single pair, and the fall of those first created, are, moreover, elements in all the ancient traditions; and it is questionable whether the designation of men by *beni Adama* (children of Adam), among the Moslems, first sprang from contact with Judaism and Christianity, or whether it was not rather an old Arabic expression. Therefore we translate with Targ., Schult., Bouillier, Rosenm., Hitz., Kurtz, and von Hofm.: if I have hidden (disowned) like Adam my transgressions. The point of comparison is only the sinner's dread of the light, which became prominent as the prototype for every succeeding age in Adam's hiding himself. The לִבְטֹחַ which follows is meant not so much as indicating the aim, as gerundive (*abscondendo*); on this use of the *inf. constr.* with לִבְטֹחַ, *vid. Ew.* § 280, *d.* חָב, bosom, is ἀπ. γειγρ.; Ges. connects it with the Arab. *habba*, to love; it is, however, to be derived from the root חָב, *occulere*, whence *chabîbe*, that which is deep within, a deep valley (comp. חָבָא *chabaa*, with their derivatives); in Aramaic it is the common word for the Hebr. חָב.

Ver. 34a. With יֵי follows the motive which Job might have had for hiding himself with his sin: he has been neither an open sinner, nor from fear of men and a feeling of honour a secret sinner. He cherished within him no secret accursed

thing, and had no need for playing the hypocrite, because he dreaded (פָּרַח only here with the *acc.* of the obj. feared) the great multitude of the people (רַב־יָמִין not adv. but adj.; רַב־יָמִין with *Mercha-Zinnorith*, consequently *fem.*, as עַם sometimes, Ew. § 174, *b*), and consequently the moral judgment of the people; and because he feared the stigma of the families, and therefore the loss of honour in the higher circles of society, so that as a consequence he should have kept himself quiet and retired, without going out of the door. One might think of that abhorrence of voluptuousness, with which, in the consciousness of its condemnatory nature, a man shuts himself up in deep darkness; but according to ver. 33 it is in general deeds that are intended, which Job would have ground for studiously concealing, because if they had become known he would have appeared a person to be scouted and despised: he could frankly and freely meet any person's gaze, and had no occasion to fear the judgment of men, because he feared sin. He did nothing which he should have cause for carefully keeping from the light of publicity. And yet his affliction is to be accounted as the punishment of hidden sin! as proof that he has committed punishable sin, which, however, he will not confess!

35 *O that I had one who would hear me!*

*Behold my signature—may the Almighty answer me—  
And the writing which my opponent hath written!*

36 *Truly I will carry it upon my shoulder,*

*I will wind it about me as a crown.*

37 *The number of my steps I will recount to Him,*

*As a prince will I draw near to Him.*

The wish that he might find a ready willing hearer is put forth in a general way, but, as is clear in itself, and as it becomes manifest from what follows, refers to Him who, because it treats of a contradiction between the outward

appearance and the true but veiled fact, as searcher of the heart, is the only competent judge. It may not be translated: *et libellum* (the indictment, or even: the reply to Job's self-defence) *scribat meus adversarius* (Dachselt, Rosenm., Welte)—the accentuation seems to proceed from this rendering, but it ought to be וְכָתַב כָּפָר; if וְכָתַב governed by יַעֲנֵנִי were intended to be equivalent to וְכָתַב, and referred to God, the longing would be, as it runs, an unworthy and foolish one—nor: (O that I had one who would hear me . . .) and had the indictment, which my adversary has written (Ew., Hirz., Schlottm.)—for וּסְפָר is too much separated from כִּי יִשָּׁן by what intervenes—in addition to which comes the consideration that the wish, as it is expressed, cannot be referred to God, but only to the human opponent, whose accusations Job has no occasion to wish to hear, since he has already heard amply sufficient even in detail. Therefore הֵן (instead of הֵן with a conjunctive accent, as otherwise with *Makkeph*) will point not merely to הֵן, but also to *liber quem scripsit adversarius meus* as now lying before them, and the parenthetical שִׁדְי יַעֲנֵנִי will express a desire for the divine decision in the cause now formally prepared for trial, ripe for discussion. By הֵן, my sign, *i.e.* my signature (comp. Ezek. ix. 4, and Arab. *tiwa*, a branded sign in the form of a cross), Job intends the last word to his defence which he has just spoken, ch. xxxi.; it is related to all his former confessions as a confirmatory mark set below them; it is his ultimatum, as it were, the letter and seal to all that he has hitherto said about his innocence in opposition to the friends and God. Moreover, he also has the indictment of the triumvirate which has come forward as his opponent in his hands. Their so frequently repeated verbal accusations are fixed as if written; both—their accusation and his defence—lie before him, as it were, in the documentary form of legal writings. Thus, then, he wishes an observant impartial hearer for this his defence; or more

exactly: he wishes that the Almighty may answer, *i.e.* decide. Hahn interprets just as much according to the syntax, but understanding by חוֹי the witness which Job carries in his breast, and by סֵפֶר וגו' the testimony to his innocence written by God in his own consciousness; which is inadmissible, because, as we have often remarked already, אֵישׁ רִיבִי (comp. ch. xvi. 21) cannot be God himself.

In ver. 36 Job now says how he will appear before Him with this indictment of his opponent, if God will only condescend to speak the decisive word. He will wear it upon his shoulder as a mark of his dignity (comp. Isa. xxii. 22, ix. 5), and wind it about him as a magnificent crown of diadems intertwined and heaped up one above another (Apoc. xix. 12, comp. Köhler on Zech. vi. 11)—confident of his victory at the outset; for he will give Him, the heart-searcher, an account of all his steps, and in the exalted consciousness of his innocence, he will approach Him as a prince (מֶלֶךְ intensive of *Kal*). How totally different from Adam, who was obliged to be drawn out of his hiding-place, and tremblingly, because conscious of guilt, underwent the examination of the omniscient God! Job is not conscious of cowardly and slyly hidden sins; no secret accursed thing is cherished in the inmost recesses of his heart and home.

- 38 *If my field cry out against me,  
And all together its furrows weep;*  
39 *If I have devoured its strength without payment,  
And caused the soul of its possessor to expire:*  
40 *May thistles spring up instead of wheat,  
And darnel instead of barley.*

The field which he tills has no reason to cry out on account of violent treatment, nor its furrows to weep over wrong done to them by their lord.<sup>1</sup> אֲדָמָה, according to its radical signifi-

<sup>1</sup> In a similar figure a Rabbinic proverb says (with reference to Mal.

cation, is the covering of earth which fits close upon the body of the earth as its skin, and is drawn flat over it, and therefore especially the arable land; עֲלֵמָה (Arab. *telem*, not however directly referable to an Arab. root, but as also other words used in agriculture, probably borrowed from the North Semitic, first of all the Aramaic or Nabataic), according to the explanation of the Turkish Kamus, the "ditch-like crack which the iron of the ploughman tears in the field," not the ridge thrown up between every two furrows (*vid.* on Ps. lxx. 11). He has not unlawfully used (which would be the reason of the crying and weeping) the usufruct of the field (מִן meton., as Gen. iv. 12, of the produce, proportioned to its capability of production) without having paid its value, by causing the life to expire from the rightful owner, whether slowly or all at once (Jer. xv. 9). The wish in ver. 40 is still stronger than in vers. 8, 12: there the loss and rooting out of the produce of the field is desired, here the change of the nature of the land itself; the curse shall and must come upon it, if its present possessor has been guilty of the sin of unmerciful covetousness, which Eliphaz lays to his charge in ch. xxii. 6-9.

According to the view of the Capuchin Bolducius (1637), this last strophe, vers. 38-40, stood originally after ver. 8, according to Kennicott and Eichhorn after ver. 25, according to Stuhlmann after ver. 34. The modern expositors retain it in its present position. Hirzel maintains the counter arguments: (1) that none of the texts preserved to us favour the change of position; (2) that it lay in the plan of the poet not to allow the speeches of Job to be rounded off, as would be the case by vers. 35-37 being the concluding strophe, but to break off suddenly without a rhetorical conclusion. If now we imagine the speeches of Elihu as removed, God interrupts ii. 13), that the altar of God weeps over him who separates himself from the wife of his youth.

Job, and he must cease without having come to an end with what he had to say. But these counter arguments are an insufficient defence: for (1) there is a number of admitted misplacements in the Old Testament which exceed the Masora (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xiii. 1, Jer. xxvii. 1), and also the LXX. (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xvii. 12, בְּאַנְשִׁים, LXX. ἐν ἀνδράσιν, instead of בְּשָׂנִים); (2) Job's speech would gain a rhetorical conclusion by vers. 38-40, if, as Hirzel in contradiction of himself supposes, vers. 35-37 ought to be considered as a parenthesis, and ver. 40 as a grammatical conclusion to the hypothetical clauses from ver. 24 onwards. But if this strange view is abandoned, it must be supposed that with ver. 38 Job intends to begin the assertion of his innocence anew, and is interrupted in this course of thought now begun, by Jehovah. But it is improbable that one has to imagine this in the mind of such a careful poet. Also the first word of Jehovah, "Who is this that darkeneth counsel with words without knowledge?" ch. xxxviii. 2, is much more appropriate to follow directly on ch. xxxi. 37 than ch. xxxi. 40; for a new course of thought, which Jehovah's appearing interrupts, begins with ver. 35; and the rash utterance, ver. 37, is really a "darkening of the divine decree." For by declaring he will give an account to God, his judge, concerning each of his steps, and approach Him like a prince, Job does not merely express the injustice of the accusations raised by his human opponents, but he casts a reflection of injustice upon the divine decree itself, inasmuch as it appears to him to be a *de facto* accusation of God.

Nevertheless, whether Elihu's speeches are to be put aside as not forming an original portion of the book, or not, the impression that vers. 38-40 follow as stragglers, and that vers. 35-37 would form a more appropriate close, and a more appropriate connection for the remonstrance that follows, whether it be Jehovah's or Elihu's, remains. For the assertion in vers. 38-40 cannot in itself be considered to be a justifiable

boldness; but in vers. 35-37 the whole condition of Job's inner nature is once more mirrored forth: his longing after God, by which Satan's prediction is destroyed; and his overstepping the bounds of humility, on account of which his affliction, so far as it is of a tentative character, cannot end before it is also become a refining fire to him. Therefore we cannot refrain from the supposition that it is with vers. 38-40 just as with Isa. xxxviii. 21 sq. The LXX. also found these two verses in this position; they belong, however, after Isa. xxxviii. 6, as is clear in itself, and as is evident from 2 Kings xx. 7 sq. There they are accidentally omitted, and are now added at the close of the narration as a supplement. If the change of position, which is there an oversight, is considered as too hazardous here, vers. 35-37 must be put in the special and close relation to the preceding strophe indicated by us in the exposition, and vers. 38-40 must be regarded as a final rounding off (not as the beginning of a fresh course of thought); for instead of the previous aposiopeses, this concluding strophe dies away, and with it the whole confession, in a particularly vigorous, imprecative conclusion.

Let us once more take a review of the contents of the three sharply-defined monologues. After Job, in ch. xxvii. xxviii., has closed the controversy with the friends, in the first part of this trilogy, ch. xxix., he wishes himself back in the months of the past, and describes the prosperity, the activity, for the good of his fellow-men, and the respect in which he at that time rejoiced, when God was with him. It is to be observed here, how, among all the good things of the past which he longs to have back, Job gives the pre-eminence to the fellowship and blessing of God as the highest good, the spring and fountain of every other. Five times at the beginning of ch. xxix. in diversified expressions he describes the former days as a time when God was with him. Look still further from the beginning of the monologue to its close, to the likewise very

expressive באשר אבלים ינחם. The activity which won every heart to Job, and toward which he now looks back so longingly, consisted of works of that charity which weeps with them that weep, and rejoices not in injustice, ch. xxix. 12-17. The righteousness of life with which Job was enamoured, and which manifested itself in him, was therefore charity arising from faith (*Liebe aus Glauben*). He knew and felt himself to be in fellowship with God; and from the fulness of this state of being apprehended of God, he practised charity. He, however, is blessed who knows himself to be in favour with God, and in return loves his fellow-men, especially the poor and needy, with the love with which he himself is loved of God. Therefore does Job wish himself back in that past; for now God has withdrawn from him, and the prosperity, the power, and the important position which were to him the means for the exercise of his charity, are taken from him.

This contrast of the past and present is described in ch. xxx., which begins with ועתה. Men who have become completely animalized, rough hordes driven into the mountains, with whom he sympathized, but without being able to help them as he had wished, on account of their degeneracy, —these mock at him by their words and acts. Now scorn and persecution for the sake of God is the greatest honour of which a man can be accounted worthy; but, apart from the consideration that this idea could not yet attain its rightful expression in connection with the present, temporal character of the Old Testament, it was not further from any one than from him who in the midst of his sufferings for God's sake regards himself, as Job does now, as rejected of God. That scorn and his painful and loathsome disease are to him a decree of divine wrath; God has, according to his idea, changed to a tyrant; He will not hear his cry for help. Accordingly, Job can say that his welfare as a cloud is passed away. He is conscious of having had pity on those who needed help, and



yet he himself finds no pity now, when he implores pity like one who, seated upon a heap of rubbish, involuntarily stretches forth his hand for deliverance. In this gloomy picture of the present there is not even a single gleam of light; for the mysterious darkness of his affliction has not been in the slightest degree lighted up for Job by the treatment the friends have adopted. Also he is as little able as the friends to think of suffering and sin as unconnected, for which very reason his affliction appears to him as the effect of divine wrath; and the sting of his affliction is, that he cannot consider this wrath just. From the demand made by his faith, which here and there breaks through his conflict, that God cannot allow him to die the death of a sinner without testifying to his innocence, Job nowhere attains the conscious conclusion that the motive of his affliction is love, and not wrath.

In the third part of the speech (ch. xxxi.), which begins with the words, "I had made a covenant," etc., without everywhere going into the detail of the visible conjunction of the thought, Job asserts his earnest struggle after sanctification, by delivering himself up to just divine punishment in case his conduct had been the opposite. The poet allows us to gain a clear insight into that state of his hero's heart, and also of his house, which was well-pleasing to God. Not merely outward adultery, even the adulterous look; not merely the unjust acquisition of property and goods, but even the confidence of the heart in such things; not merely the share in an open adoration of idols, but even the side-glance of the heart after them, is accounted by him as condemnatory. He has not merely guarded himself from using sinful curses against his enemies, but he has also not rejoiced when misfortune overtook them. As to his servants, even when he has had a dispute with any of them, he has not forgotten that master and servant, without distinction of birth, are creatures of one God. Towards orphans, from early

youth onwards, he has practised such tender love as if he were their father; towards widows, as if he were their son. With the hungry he has shared his bread, with the naked his clothes; his subordinates had no reason to complain of niggardly sustenance; his house always stood open hospitably to the stranger; and, as the two final strophes affirm: he has not hedged in any secret sin, anxious only not to appear as a sinner openly, and has not drawn forth wailings and tears from the ground which he cultivated by avarice and oppressive injustice. Who does not here recognise a righteousness of life and endeavour, the final aim of which is purity of heart, and which, in its relation to man, flows forth in that love which is the fulfilling of the law? The righteousness of which Job (ch. xxix. 14) says, he has put it on like a garment, and it has put him on, is essentially the same as that which the New Testament Preacher on the mount enjoins. As the work of an Israelitish poet, ch. xxxi. is a most important evidence in favour of the assertion, that a life well-pleasing to God is not, even in the Old Testament, absolutely limited to the Israelitish nation, and that it enjoins a love which includes man as man within itself, and knows of no distinction.

If, now, Job can lay down the triumphant testimony of such a genuine righteousness of life concerning himself, in opposition to men's misconstruction, the contrast of his past and present becomes for the first time truly mysterious; but we are also standing upon the extreme boundary where the knot that has been tied must be untied. The injustice done to Job in the accusations which the friends bring against him must be laid bare by the appearance of accusation on the part of God, which his affliction casts upon him, being destroyed. With the highest confidence in a triumphant issue, even before the trial of his cause, Job longs, in the concluding words, vers. 35-37, for the judicial decision of God. As

a prince he will go before the Judge, and bind his indictment like a costly diadem upon his brow. For he is certain that he has not merited his affliction, that neither human nor divine accusation can do anything against him, and that he will remain conqueror—as over men, so over God Himself.

Thus has the poet, in this threefold monologue of Job, prepared the way for the *catastrophe*, the unravelment of the knot of the drama. But will God enter into a controversy respecting His cause with Job? This is contrary to the honour of God; and that Job desires it, is contrary to the lowliness which becomes him towards God. On this very account God will not at once acknowledge Job as His servant: Job will require first of all to be freed from the sinful presumption concerning God with which he has handled the problem of his sufferings. But he has proved himself to be a servant of God, in spite of the folly into which he has fallen; the design of Satan to tear him away from God is completely frustrated. Thus, therefore, after he has purified himself from his sin into which, both in word and thought, he has allowed himself to be drawn by the conflict of temptation, Job must be proved to be the servant of God in opposition to the friends.

But before God Himself appears in order to bring about the unravelment, there follow still four speeches, ch. xxxii.—xxxvii., of a speaker, for whose appearance the former part of the drama has in no way prepared us. It is also remarkable that they are marked off from the book of Job, as far as we have hitherto read, by the formula *תַּמּוּ דְּבַרֵּי יוֹב*, *are ended the words of Job*. Carey is of the opinion that these three words may possibly be Job's own closing *diavi*. According to Hahn, the poet means to imply by them that Job has now said all that he intended to say, so that it would now have been the friends' turn to speak. These views involve a perplexity like that of those who think that Ps. lxxii. 20 must be regarded as a constituent part of the Psalm. As in that posi-

tion the words, "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are finished," are as a memorial-stone between the original collection and its later extensions, so this תָּמוּ דָּבָרֵי אֵיִיב, which is transferred by the LXX. (*καὶ ἐπαύσατο Ἰωβ ῥήμασιν*) to the historical introduction of the Elihu section, seems to be an important hint in reference to the origin of the book of Job in its present form. Since Job has come to an end with his speeches, and is silent at the four speeches of a new speaker, although they strongly enough provoke him to reply; according to the idea of the poet, Elihu's appearance is to be regarded as belonging to the catastrophe itself. And since a hasty glance at the speeches of Jehovah shows that they do not say anything concerning the motive and object of Job's affliction, these speeches of Elihu, in so far as they seem to be an integral part of the whole, as they cast light upon this dark point, will therefore prove in the midst of the action of the drama, what we know already from the prologue, that Job's affliction has not the wrath of God as its motive power, nor the punishment of Job as ungodly for its object. If the four speeches really furnish this, it is still not absolutely decisive in favour of their forming originally a part of the book. For it would be even possible that a second poet might have added a part, in harmony with its idea, to the work of the first. What we expect, moreover, is the mark of the same high poetic genius which we have hitherto regarded with amazement. But since we are now passing on to the exposition of these speeches, it must be with the assumption that they have a like origin with the whole, and that they also really belong to this whole with which they are embodied, in the place where they now stand. We shall only be able to form a conclusive judgment concerning the character of their form, the solution of their problem, and the manner of their composition, after the exposition is completed, by then taking a comprehensive and critical review of the impressions produced, and our observations.

## FOURTH PART.—THE UNRAVELMENT.

## CHAP. XXXII.—XLII.

THE SPEECHES OF ELIHU WHICH PREPARE THE WAY FOR  
THE UNRAVELMENT.—CHAP. XXXII.—XXXVII.

*Historical Introduction to the Section.*—Chap. xxxii. 1–6a.

A short introduction in historical prose, which introduces the speaker and justifies his appearance, opens the section. It is not, like the prologue and epilogue, accented as prose; but, like the introductions to the speeches and the clause, ch. xxxi. 40 *extra*, is taken up in the network of the poetical mode of accentuation, because a change of the mode of accentuation in the middle of the book, and especially in a piece of such small compass, appeared awkward. The opposition of the three has exhausted itself, so that in that respect Job seems to have come forth out of the controversy as conqueror.

Vers. 1–3. *So these three men ceased to answer Job, because he was righteous in his own eyes. And the wrath of Elihu, the son of Barachel the Buzite, of the family of Ram, was kindled: against Job was his wrath kindled, because he justified himself at the expense of God. And against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they found no answer, and condemned Job.*

The name of the speaker is אֱלִיָּהוּ (with *Mahpach*), son of בְּרַכְיָאֵל (with *Munach*) the בִּזְיָ (with *Zarka*). The name *Elihu* signifies “my God is He,” and occurs also as an Israelitish name, although it is not specifically Israelitish, like *Elijah* (my God is Jehovah). *Bârach’el* (for which the mode of writing בִּרְכִּיאֵל with *Dag. implic.* is also found) signifies “may

God bless!" (Olsh. § 277, S. 618); for proper names, as the Arabian grammarians observe, can be formed both into the form of assertory clauses (*ichbār*), and also into the form of modal (*inshā*); the name בְּרַכָּאֵל is in this respect distinguished from the specifically Israelitish name בְּרַכְיָה (Jehovah blesseth). The accompanying national name defines the scene; for on the one side בְּנֵי נָחֹר and עֵרֶן, according to Gen. xxii. 21, are the sons of Nahor, Abraham's brother, who removed with him (though not at the same time) from Ur Casdim to Haran, therefore by family Aramæans; on the other side, בְּנֵי אֲרָם, Jer. xxv. 23, appears as an Arab race, belonging to the קְצִיצֵי פִתּוֹחַ (comp. Jer. ix. 25, xlix. 32), i.e. to the Arabs proper, who cut the hair of their heads short all round (περιτρόχαλα, Herodotus iii. 8), because wearing it long was accounted as disgraceful (*vid.* Tebrîzi on the *Hamâsa*, p. 109, l. 10 sqq.). Within the Buzite race, Elihu sprang from the family of אֲרָם. Since אֲרָם is the name of the family, not the race, it cannot be equivalent to אֲרָמִים (like אֲרָמִים, 2 Chron. xxii. 5, = אֲרָמִים), and it is therefore useless to derive the Aramaic colouring of Elihu's speeches from design on the part of the poet. But by making him a Buzite, he certainly appears to make him an Aramæan Arab, as Aristeas in Euseb. *præp.* ix. 25 calls him Ἑλισοῦν τὸν Βαραχγῆλ τὸν Ζωβίτην (from אֲרָם צוֹבָה). It is remarkable that Elihu's origin is given so exactly, while the three are described only according to their country, without any statement of father or family. It would indeed be possible, as Lightfoot and Rosenm. suppose, for the poet to conceal his own name in that of Elihu, or to make allusion to it; but an instance of this later custom of Oriental poets is found nowhere else in Old Testament literature.

The three friends are silenced, because all their attempts to move Job to a penitent confession that his affliction is the punishment of his sins, have rebounded against this fact, that he was righteous in his own eyes, i.e. that he imagined him-

self righteous; and because they now (שָׁבַת of persons, in distinction from חַרַל, has the secondary notion of involuntariness) know of nothing more to say. Then Elihu's indignation breaks forth in two directions. First, concerning Job, that he justified himself מֵאֵלֶּיךָ, *i.e.* not *a Deo* (so that He would be obliged to account him righteous, as ch. iv. 17), but *præ Deo*. Elihu rightly does not find it censurable in Job, that as a more commonly self-righteous man he in general does not consider himself a sinner, which the three insinuate of him (ch. xv. 14, xxv. 4), but that, declaring himself to be righteous, he brings upon God the appearance of injustice, or, as Jehovah also says further on, ch. xl. 8, that he condemns God in order that he may be able to maintain his own righteousness. Secondly, concerning the three, that they have found no answer by which they might have been able to disarm Job in his maintenance of his own righteousness at the expense of the divine justice, and that in consequence of this they have condemned Job. Hahn translates: so that they should have represented Job as guilty; but that they have not succeeded in stamping the servant of God as a רִשָּׁע, would wrongly excite Elihu's displeasure. And Ewald translates: and that they had nevertheless condemned him (§ 345, *a*); but even this was not the real main defect of their opposition. The *fut. consec.* describes the condemnation as the result of their inability to hit upon the right answer; it was a miserable expedient to which they had recourse. According to the Jewish view, וַיִּרְשָׁעוּ אֶת־אֱלֹהִים is one of the eighteen סופרים חקוני (correctiones scribarum), since it should be וירשעו את־האלהים. But it is not the friends who have been guilty of this sin of הִרְשָׁע against God, but Job, ch. xl. 8, to whom Elihu opposes the sentence אֵל לֹא־יִרְשָׁע, ch. xxxiv. 12. Our judgment of another such *tiqqûn*, ch. vii. 20, was more favourable. That Elihu, notwithstanding the inward conviction to the contrary by which he is followed during the

course of the controversial dialogue, now speaks for the first time, is explained by what follows.

Vers. 4-6. *And Elihu had waited for Job with words, for they were older than he in days. And Elihu saw that there was no answer in the mouth of the three men, then his wrath was kindled. And Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite began, and said.*

He had waited (*perf.* in the sense of the *plusquamperf.*, Ew. § 135, a) for Job with words (בְּדִבְרֵי as elsewhere בְּמַלִּים, בְּמַלְּיָן), i.e. until Job should have spoken his last word in the controversial dialogue. Thus he considered it becoming on his part, for they (הֵם, *illi*, whereas אֵלֶּה according to the usage of the language is *hi*) were older (*seniores*) than he in days (לְיָמִים as ver. 6, less harsh here, instead of the *acc.* of closer definition, ch. xv. 10, comp. xi. 9). As it now became manifest that the friends made no reply to Job's last speeches for want of the right solution of problem, and therefore also Job had nothing further to say, he believes that he may venture, without any seeming want of courtesy, to give utterance to his long-restrained indignation; and Elihu (with *Mahpach*) the son of Barach'el (*Mercha*) the Buzite (with *Rebia parvum*) began and spoke (וַיֹּאמֶר not with *Silluk*, but *Mercha mahpach.*, and in fact with *Mercha* on the accented *penult.*, as ch. iii. 2, and further).

*Elihu's First Speech.*—Chap. xxxii. 6b-xxxiii.

*Schema:* 5. 6. 10. 6. 10. | 6. 8. 10. 13. 8. 6. 10. 10.

Ch. xxxii. 6b *I am young in days, and ye are hoary,  
Therefore I stood back and was afraid  
To show you my knowledge.*

7 *I thought: Let age speak,  
And the multitude of years teach wisdom.*



It becomes manifest even here that the Elihu section has in part a peculiar usage of the language. **זָחַל** in the signification of **زحل**, cogn. with **זָחַל**, **זָחַל**, to frighten back;<sup>1</sup> and **יָעַ** for **יָעַת** (here and vers. 10, 17, ch. xxxvi. 3, xxxvii. 16) occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament; **עַלְיָו** (comp. **עַלְיָו**, ch. xlii. 3) is used only by Elihu within the book of Job. **יָמִים**, days = fulness of days, is equivalent to advanced age, old age with its rich experience. **רַב** with its plural genitive is followed (as **כָּל** usually is) by the predicate in the *plur.*; it is the attraction already described by **מִסְפָּר**, ch. xv. 10, xxi. 21, Ges. § 148, 1.

8 *Still the spirit, it is in mortal man,  
And the breath of the Almighty, that giveth them understanding.*

9 *Not the great in years are wise,  
And the aged do not understand what is right.*

10 *Therefore I say: O hearken to me,  
I will declare my knowledge, even I.*

The originally affirmative and then (like **אֵלִים**) adversative **אֲנִי** also does not occur elsewhere in the book of Job. In contradiction to biblical psychology, Rosenm. and others take ver. 8 as antithetical: Certainly there is spirit in man, but . . .

<sup>1</sup> The lexicographers explain the Arab. **زحل** by **zâla** (**זָלָה**), to stand away from, back, to retreat, or *tanahha*, to step aside; *Piel*, *Hiph.*, to push any one aside, place anything back; *Hithpa.*, to keep one's self on one side; adj. **זָחַל**, **זָחִיל**, **זָחִיל**, etc., standing back. Thus the town of *Zahla* in the plain of the Lebanon takes its name from the fact that it does not stand out in the plain, but is built close at the foot of the mountain in a corner, and consequently retreats. And *zuhale* (according to the *Kamus*) is an animal that creeps backwards into its hole, *e.g.* the scorpion; and hence, improperly, a man who, as we say with a similar figure, never comes out of his hole, always keeps in his hole, *i.e.* never leaves his dwelling, as *zuhal* in general signifies a man who retires or keeps far from active life; in connection with which also the planet Saturn is called *Zuhal*, the retreating one, on account of its great distance

The two halves of the verse are, on the contrary, a synonymous ("the spirit, it is in man, viz. that is and acts") or progressive parallelism (thus according to the accents: "the spirit, even that which is in man, and . . ."). It is the Spirit of God to which man owes his life as a living being, according to ch. xxxiii. 4; the spirit of man is the principle of life creatively wrought, and indeed breathed into him, by the Spirit of God; so that with regard to the author it can be just as much God's רִיחַ or נְשָׁמָה, ch. xxxiv. 14, as in respect of the possessor: man's רוּחַ or נְשָׁמָה. All man's life, his thinking as well as his bodily life, is effected by this inwrought principle of life which he bears within him, and all true understanding, without being confined to any special age of life, comes solely from this divinely originated and divinely living spirit, so far as he acts according to his divine origin and basis of life. רַבִּים are here (as the opposite of צעירים, Gen. xxv. 23) *grandes* = *grandævi* (LXX. πολυχρόνιοι). לֵא governs both members of the verse, as ch. iii. 10, xxviii. 17, xxx. 24 sq. Understanding or ability to form a judgment is not limited to old age, but only by our allowing the πνεῦμα to rule in us in its connection with the divine. Elihu begs a favourable hearing for that of which he is conscious. וְעַל, and the Hebr.-Aramaic חֲתִיבָה, which likewise belongs to his favourite words, recur here.

from the rest. Slippery (of ground) is זָחֵלָה, because it draws the foot backwards (*muzhil*) by its smoothness, and thus causes the walker to fall. A further formation is זָחֵלֶק, to be slippery, and to slip in a slippery place; beside which, זָחֵק, a word of similar meaning, is no longer used in Syria.

According to this Arabic primary notion of زحل, it appears זָחֵלִי אֶרֶץ, Mic. vii. 17, is intended to describe the serpents not as creeping upon the earth, but as creeping into the earth (comp. the name of the serpent, *achbi* at *el-ard*, those that hide themselves in the earth); but in Talmud. and Aram. זָחֵל used of animals has the general signification to creep, and of water, to glide (flow gently down). The primary notion, to *glide* (to slip, creep, flow gently, *labi*), is combined both in the derivatives of the root זָחַ and in those of the root זָחַ with the notion of a departing and retreating motion.—WETZST. and FL.

- 11 *Behold, I waited upon your words,  
Hearkened to your perceptions,  
While ye searched out replies.*
- 12 *And I attended closely to you,  
Yet behold: there was no one who refuted Job,  
Who answered his sentences, from you.*
- 13 *Lest ye should say: "We found wisdom,  
God is able to smite him, not man!"*
- 14 *Now he hath not arranged his words against me,  
And with your sentences I will not reply to him.*

He has waited for their words, viz. that they might give utterance to such words as should tend to refute and silence Job. In what follows, עַר still more emphatically than הִשְׁמַע refers this aim to that to which Elihu had paid great attention: I hearkened to your understandings, i.e. explanations of the matter, that, or whether, they came forth, (I hearkened) to see if you searched or found out words, i.e. appropriate words. Such abbreviated forms as שָׁמַעְתִּי = שָׁמַעְתִּי (comp. שָׁמַעְתִּי = שָׁמַעְתִּי for שָׁמַעְתִּי, Prov. xvii. 4, Ges. § 68, rem. 1, if it does not signify *nutriens*, from שָׁמַע) we shall frequently meet with in this Elihu section. In ver. 12, 12a evidently is related as an antecedent to what follows: and I paid attention to you (עָרַפְתִּי contrary to the analogy of the cognate *præp.* instead of עָרַפְתִּי, moreover for עָרַפְתִּי, with the accompanying notion: intently, or, according to Aben-Duran: thoroughly, without allowing a word to escape me), and behold, intently as I paid attention: no one came forward to refute Job; there was no one from or among you who answered (met successfully) his assertions. Every unbiassed reader will have an impression of the remarkable expressions and constructions here, similar to that which one has in passing from the book of the Kings to the characteristic sections of the Chronicles. The three, Elihu goes on to say, shall not indeed think that in Job a

wisdom has opposed them—a false wisdom, indeed—which only God and not any man can drive out of the field (נִרְדַּף, نَدَف, *discutere, dispellere*, as the wind drives away chaff or dry leaves); while he has not, however (אֵל) followed directly by a *v. fin.* forming a subordinate clause, as ch. xlii. 3, Ps. xliv. 18, and freq., Ew. § 341, *a*), arrayed (אָרָץ in a military sense, ch. xxxiii. 5; or forensic, xxiii. 4; or even as ch. xxxvii. 19, in the general sense of *proponere*) words against him (Elihu), *i.e.* utterances before which he would be compelled to confess himself affected and overcome. He will not then also answer him with such opinions as those so frequently repeated by them, *i.e.* he will take a totally different course from theirs in order to refute him.

- 15 *They are amazed, they answer no more,  
Words have fled from them.*  
16 *And I waited, for they spake not,  
For they stand still, they answer no more.*  
17 *Therefore I also will answer for my part,  
I will declare my knowledge, even I.*

In order to give a more rapid movement and an emotional force to the speech, the figure asyndeton is introduced in ver. 15, as perhaps in Jer. xv. 7, Ew. § 349, *a*. Most expositors render הֶעֱתִיקָם passively, according to the sense: they have removed from them, *i.e.* are removed from them; but why may הֶעֱתִיק not signify, like Gen. xii. 8, xxvi. 22, to move away, *viz.* the tent = to wander on (Schlottm.)? The figure: words are moved away (as it were according to an encampment broken up) from them, *i.e.* as we say: they have left them, is quite in accordance with the figurative style of this section. It is unnecessary to take הוֹחִלְתִּי, ver. 16*a*, with Ew. (§ 342, *c*) and Hirz. as *perf. consec.* and interrogative: and should I wait, because they speak no more? Certainly the interrog. part. sometimes disappears

after the *Waw* of consequence, *e.g.* Ezek. xviii. 13, 24 (and will he live?); but by what would *והחלתי* be distinguished as *perf. consec.* here? Hahn's interpretation: I have waited, until they do not speak, for they stand . . ., also does not commend itself; the poet would have expressed this by *עד ירבו* *לא ירבו*, while the two *בי*, especially with the poet's predilection for repetition, appear to be co-ordinate. Elihu means to say that he has waited a long time, surprised that the three did not speak further, and that they stand still without speaking again. Therefore he thinks the time is come for him also to answer Job. *אענה* cannot be *fut. Kal*, since where the 1 *fut. Kal* and *Hiph.* cannot be distinguished by the vowel within the word (as in the *Ayin Waw* and double *Ayin* verbs), the former has an inalienable *Segol*; it is therefore 1 *fut. Hiph.*, but not as in Eccl. v. 19 in the signification to employ labour upon anything (LXX. *περισπᾶν*), but in an intensive *Kal* signification (as *הַיְעִיף* for *עָפָה*, ch. xxxv. 9, comp. on ch. xxxi. 18): to answer, to give any one an answer when called upon. Ewald's supposedly proverbial: I also plough my field! (§ 192, c, Anm. 2) does unnecessary violence to the usage of the language, which is unacquainted with this *הַעֲנֵה*, to plough. It is perfectly consistent with Elihu's diction, that *הַלֵּקִי* beside *אֲנִי* as permutative signifies, "I, my part," although it might also be an *acc.* of closer definition (as *pro parte mea*, for my part), or even—which is, however, less probable—*acc.* of the obj. (my part). Elihu speaks more in the scholastic tone of controversy than the three.

- 18 *For I am full of words,  
The spirit of my inner nature constraineth me.*
- 19 *Behold, my interior is like wine which is not opened,  
Like new bottles it is ready to burst.*
- 20 *I will speak, that I may gain air,  
I will open my lips and reply.*

- 21 *No, indeed, I will accept no man's person,  
And I will flatter no man.*
- 22 *For I understand not how to flatter ;  
My Maker would easily snatch me away.*

The young speaker continues still further his declaration, promising so much. He has a rich store of מְלִים, words, *i.e.* for replying. מְלִי defective for מְלִאֲתִי, like יִצְחָק for יִצְחָאֲתִי, ch. i. 21 ; whereas מְלִי, Ezek. xxviii. 6, is not only written defectively, but is also conjugated after the manner of a *Lamed He* verb, Ges. §§ 23, 3, 74, rem. 4, 75, 21, *c.* The spirit of his inner nature constrains him, since, on account of its intensity and the fulness of this interior, it struggles to break through as through a space that is too narrow for it. בֶּטֶן, as ch. xv. 2, 35, not from the curved appearance of the belly, but from the interior of the body with its organs, which serve the spirit life as the strings of a harp; comp. Arab. *batn*, the middle or interior; *bātin*, inwardly (opposite of *zāhir*, outwardly). His interior is like wine לֹא יִפְתָּח, which, or (as an adverbial dependent clause) when it is not opened, *i.e.* is kept closed, so that the accumulated gas has no vent, LXX. δεδεμένος (bound up), Jer. *absque spiraculo* ; it will burst like new bottles. יִבְקַע is not a relative clause referring distributively to each single one of these bottles (Hirz. and others), and not an adverbial subordinate clause (Hahn : when it will explode), but predicate to בֶּטֶן : his interior is near bursting like new bottles (נִבְרָא *masc.* like נִבְרָאוֹת, Josh. ix. 13), *i.e.* not such as are themselves new (ἀσκοὶ καινοί, Matt. ix. 17, for these do not burst so easily), but like bottles of new wine, which has to undergo the action of fermentation, LXX. ὥσπερ φυσητήρ (*Cod. Sinait.*<sup>1</sup> φυσητης) χαλλέως, *i.e.* חֲרָשִׁים (whence it is evident that a bottle and also a pair of bellows were called נֶאֱבָ). Since he will now yield to his irresistible impulse, in order that he may obtain air or free space, *i.e.*

disburdening and ease (וַיִּרְחַץ לִי), he intends to accept no man's person, *i.e.* to show partiality to no one (*vid.* on ch. xiii. 8), and he will flatter no one. בָּנָה signifies in all three dialects to call any one by an honourable name, to give a surname, here with אֵל, to speak fine words to any one, to flatter him. This Elihu is determined he will not do; for לֹא בָנָה יִדְעָמִי אֲכַנָּה, I know not how to flatter (French, *je ne sais point flatter*), for בָּנָה or לְבָנָה; comp. the similar constructions, ch. xxiii. 3 (as Esth. viii. 6), x. 16, 1 Sam. ii. 3, Isa. xlii. 21, lii. 1, Ges. 142, 3, *c*; also in Arabic similar verbs, as "to be able" and "to prepare one's self," are thus connected with the *fut.* without a particle between (*e.g.* *anshaa jef'alu*, he began to act). Without partiality he will speak, flattery is not his forte. If by flattery he should deny the truth, his Maker would quickly carry him off. כִּי־עַתָּה followed by subjunct. *fut.*: for a little (with disjunctive accent, because equivalent to *haud multum abest quin*), *i.e.* very soon indeed, or easily would or might . . . ; יִשְׁאַלְתִּי (as ch. xxvii. 21) seems designedly to harmonize with עֲשֵׂיתִי.

Ch. xxxiii. 1 *But nevertheless, O Job, hear my speeches,  
And hearken to all my words.*

2 *Behold now, I have opened my mouth,  
My tongue speaketh in my palate.*

3 *Sincere as my heart are my utterances,  
And knowledge that is pure my lips declare.*

The issue of the impartial discussion which Elihu designs to effect, is subject to this one condition, that Job listens to it, and observes not merely this or that, but the whole of its connected contents; and in this sense וְאֵלֶיךָ, which is used just as in ch. i. 11, xi. 5, xii. 7, xiii. 4, xiv. 18, xvii. 10, in the signification *verumtamen*, stands at the head of this new turn in his speech. Elihu addresses Job, as none of the previous speakers have done, by name. With הִנֵּה־נָא (as ch. xiii. 18),

he directs Job's observation to that which he is about to say: he has already opened his mouth, his tongue is already in motion,—circumstantial statements, which solemnly inaugurate what follows with a consciousness of its importance. Job has felt the absence of אֶמְרֵי יֵשׁׁר, ch. vi. 25, in the speeches of the three; but Elihu can at the outset ensure his word being “the sincerity of his heart,” i.e. altogether heartily well meant: and—thus it would be to be translated according to the accentuation—the knowledge of my lips, they (my lips) utter purely. But “the knowledge of the lips” is a notion that seems strange with this translation, and בָּרַר is hardly intended thus adverbially. רָעַת, contrary to the accentuation, is either taken as the accusative of the obj., and בָּרַר as the acc. of the predicate (*masc.* as Prov. ii. 10, xiv. 6): knowledge my lips utter pure; or interpreted, if one is not willing to depart from the accentuation, with Seb. Schmid: *scientiam labiorum meorum quod attinet* (the knowledge proceeding from my lips), *puram loquentur sc. labia mea*. The notions of purity and choice coincide in בָּרַר (comp. Arab. *ibtarra*, to separate one's self; *asfa*, to prove one's self pure, and to select). The *perff.*, vers. 2 sq., describe what is begun, and so, as relatively past, extending into the present.

- 4 *The Spirit of God hath made me,  
And the breath of the Almighty hath given me life.*
- 5 *If thou canst, answer me,  
Prepare in my presence, take thy stand!*
- 6 *Behold, I am like thyself, of God,  
Formed out of clay am I also.*
- 7 *Behold, my terror shall not affright thee,  
And my pressure shall not be heavy upon thee.*

He has both in common with Job: the spirituality as well as the earthliness of man's nature; but by virtue of the former he does not, indeed, feel himself exalted above Job's



person, but above the present standpoint taken up by Job ; and in consideration of this, Job need not fear any unequal contest, nor as before God, ch. ix. 34, xiii. 21, in order that he may be able to defend himself against Him, make it a stipulation that His majesty may not terrify him. It is man's twofold origin which Elihu, vers. 4, 6, gives utterance to in harmony with Gen. ii. 7 : the mode of man's origin, which is exalted above that of all other earthly beings that have life ; for the life of the animal is only the individualizing of the breath of the Divine Spirit already existing in matter. The spirit of man, on the contrary (for which the language has reserved the name *נִשְׁמָה*), is an inspiration directly coming forth from God the personal being, transferred into the bodily frame, and therefore forming a person.<sup>1</sup> In the exalted consciousness of having been originated by the Spirit of God, and being endowed with life from the inbreathed breath of the Almighty, Elihu stands invincible before Job : if thou canst, refute me (*יָשִׁיב* with *acc.* of the person, as ch. xxxiii. 32) ; array thyself (*עָרַבָה* for *עָרְבָה*, according to Ges. 63, rem. 1) before me (here with the additional thought of *מִלְחָמָה*, as ch. xxiii. 4, in a forensic sense with *מִשְׁפָּט*), place thyself in position, or take thy post (*imper. Hithpa.* with the *ah* less frequent by longer forms, Ew. § 228, a).

On the other side, he also, like Job, belongs to God, *i.e.* is dependent and conditioned. *יְהוָה־אֱלֹהֵי* is to be written with *Segol* (not *Ssere*) ; *לֵאלֹהִים* is intended like *לִי*, ch. xii. 16 ; and *כַּפִּיךָ* signifies properly, according to thine utterance, *i.e.* standard, in accordance with, *i.e.* like thee, and is used even in the Pentateuch (*e.g.* Ex. xvi. 21) in this sense *pro ratione* ; *כַּפִּי*, ch. xxx. 18, we took differently. He, Elihu, is also nipped from the clay, *i.e.* taken from the earth, as when the potter nips off

<sup>1</sup> God took a small piece of His own life—says the tradition among the Karens, a scattered tribe of Eastern India—blew into the nostrils of His son and daughter, and they lived, and were real human beings.

a piece of his clay (comp. Aram. קֶרֶץ, a piece, Arab. *qurs*, a bread-cake, or a dung-cake, *vid. supra*, vol. i. p. 377, from *qarasa*, to pinch off, take off, cogn. *qarada*, to gnaw off, cut off, ii. p. 40). Thus, therefore, no terribleness in his appearing will disconcert Job, and his pressure will not be a burden upon him. By a comparison of ch. xiii. 21a, it might seem that אֶכְבֵּשׁ is equivalent to כָּבַשׁ (LXX. ἡ χεῖρ μου), but כָּבַר is everywhere connected only with כָּ, never with כָּב; and the ἀπ. γεγρ. is explained according to Prov. xvi. 26, where אֶכְבֵּשׁ signifies to oppress, drive (*Jer. compulit*), and from the dialects differently, for in Syr. *ecaf* signifies to be anxious about anything (*ecaf li*, it causes me anxiety, *curæ mihi est*), and in Arab. *accafa*, to saddle, *ucâf*, Talmud. אֵיכָרָא, a saddle, so that consequently the Targ. translation of אֶכְבֵּשׁ by כָּבַר, my burden, and the Syr. by אֶכְבֵּשׁ, my pressing forward (Arabic version *iqbâli*, my touch), are supported, since אֶכְבֵּשׁ signifies pressure, heavy weight, load, and burden; according to which it is also translated by Saad. (my constraint), Gecat. (my might). It is therefore not an opponent who is not on an equality with him by nature, with whom Job has to do. If he is not able to answer him, he will have to be considered as beaten.

- 8 *Verily thou hast said in mine ears,  
And I heard the sound of thy words :*
- 9 *"I am pure, without transgression ;  
"Spotless am I, and I have no guilt.*
- 10 *"Behold, He findeth malicious things against me,  
"He regardeth me as His enemy ;*
- 11 *"He putteth my feet in the stocks,  
"He observeth all my paths."*
- 12 *Behold, therein thou art not right, I will answer thee,  
For Eloah is too exalted for man.*

With אֶכְבֵּשׁ אֶלִּי Elihu establishes the undeniable fact,

whether it be that אַיִן is intended as restrictive (only thou hast said, it is not otherwise than that thou . . .), or as we have translated, according to its primary meaning, affirmative (forsooth, it is undeniable). To say anything בְּאָזְנִי of another is in Hebrew equivalent to not saying it secretly, and so as to be liable to misconstruction, but aloud and distinctly. In ver. 9, Elihu falls back on Job's own utterances, as ch. ix. 21, תָּם אֲנִי; xvi. 17, הַפִּלְתִּי זָכָה; xii. 4, where he calls himself צַדִּיק תָּמִיד, comp. x. 7, xiii. 18, 23, xxiii. 10 sqq., xxvii. 5 sq., ch. xxix. xxxi. The expression הָיָה, *tersus*, did not occur in the mouth of Job; Geiger connects הָיָה with the Arab. *hanîf* (*vid.* on ch. xiii. 16); it is, however, the adj. of the Semitic verb הָיָה, حَفَّ, to rub off, scrape off; Arab. to make smooth by scraping off the hair; Targ., Talm., Syr., to make smooth by washing and rubbing (after which Targ. שָׁוִי, *lotus*).<sup>1</sup> אֶזְנִי has here, as an exception, retained its accentuation of the final syllable in pause. In ver. 10 Elihu also makes use of a word that does not occur in Job's mouth, viz. תַּנְאוּת, which, according to Num. xiv. 34, signifies "alienations," from נָאָה (הָנִיא), to hinder, restrain, turn aside, *abalienare*, Num. xxxii. 7; and according to the Arab. نَأَى (to rise heavily),<sup>2</sup> III. to lean one's self upon, to oppose any one; it might also signify directly, "hostile risings;" but according to the Hebr. it signifies grounds and occasions for hostile aversion. Moreover, Elihu here recapitulates what Job has in reality often in meaning

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Nöldecke in *Benfey's Zeitschrift*, 1863, S. 383.

<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless Zamachschari does not derive نَأَى, to treat with enmity, from نَوَى, but from نَوَى, so that *nâwa fulânan* signifies "to have evil designs against any one, to meditate evil against one." The phrases *iluh 'alêji nijât*, he has evil intentions (wicked designs) against me, *nijetuh zerîje aleik*, he has evil intentions against thee, and similar, are very common.—WETZST.

said, *e.g.* ch. x. 13-17; and ver. 10b are his own words, ch. xiii. 24, וַיַּחֲשַׁבְנִי לְאִוִּיב לֶךְ; xix. 11, וַיַּחֲשַׁבְנִי לֹא כַצְרִי; xxx. 21, תַּהֲפֹךְ לְאִבּוֹר לִי. In like manner, ver. 11 is a *verbatim* quotation from ch. xiii. 27; יֵשׁ is a poetic contracted *fut.* for יֵשׁוּ. It is a principal trait of Job's speeches which Elihu here makes prominent: his maintenance of his own righteousness at the expense of the divine justice. In ver. 12 he first of all refutes this נִפְשׁוּ מֵאֲלֹהִים צִדִּיק in general. The verb צִדִּיק does not here signify to be righteous, but to be in the right (as ch. xi. 2, xiii. 18)—the prevailing signification in Arabic (*sadaqa*, to speak the truth, be truthful). זֹאת (with *Munach*, not *Dechi*) is *acc. adv.*: herein, in this case, comp. on ch. xix. 26. מִן רִבְּהָ is like Deut. xiv. 24 (of the length of the way exceeding any one's strength), but used, as nowhere else, of God's superhuman greatness; the Arabic version has the preposition عَنْ in this instance for מִן. God is too exalted to enter into a defence of Himself against such vainglorious interwoven with accusations against Him. And for this reason Elihu will enter the lists for God.

- 13 *Why hast thou contended against Him,  
That He answereth not concerning all His doings?*
- 14 *Yet no—in one way God speaketh,  
And in two, only one perceiveth it not.*
- 15 *In the dream, in a vision of the night,  
When deep sleep falleth upon men,  
In slumberings upon the bed:*
- 16 *Then He openeth the ear of men,  
And sealeth admonition for them,*
- 17 *That He may withdraw man from mischief,  
And hide pride from man;*
- 18 *That He may keep back his soul from the pit,  
And his life from the overthrow of the sword.*

Knowing himself to be righteous, and still considering himself treated as an enemy by God, Job has frequently inquired of God, Why then does He treat him thus with enmity, ch. vii. 20, and why has He brought him into being to be the mark of His attack? ch. x. 18. He has longed for God's answer to these questions; and because God has veiled Himself in silence, he has fallen into complaint against Him, as a ruler who governs according to His own sovereign arbitrary will. This is what Elihu has before his mind in ver. 13. רִיב (elsewhere in the book of Job with עָם or the *acc.* of the person with whom one contends) is here, as Jer. xii. 1 and freq., joined with אֶל and conjugated as a contracted *Hiph.* (רִיבֹתָ instead of רִיבָתָ, Ges. § 73, 1); and עָנָה with the *acc.* signifies here: to answer anything (comp. ch. xxxii. 12, xl. 2, and especially ix. 3); the *suff.* does not refer back to אֲנֹכִי of the preceding strophe (Hirz., Hahn), but to God. דְּבָרָיו are the things, *i.e.* facts and circumstances of His rule; all those things which are mysterious in it He answers not, *i.e.* He answers concerning nothing in this respect (comp. בֵּל לֹא, ch. xxxiv. 27), He gives no kind of account of them (Schnurr., Ges., and others). כִּי, ver. 14a, in the sense of *imo*, is attached to this negative thought, which has become a ground of contention for Job: yet no, God does really speak with men, although not as Job desires when challenged and in His own defence. Many expositors take בְּאִתָּהּ and בְּשִׁתָּיִם after LXX., Syr., and Jer., in the signification *semel*, *secundo* (thus also Hahn, Schlottm.); but *semel* is אֶחָת, whereas בְּאִתָּהּ is nowhere equivalent to אֶחָת, for in Num. x. 4 it signifies with one, *viz.* trumpet; Prov. xxviii. 18, on one, *viz.* of the many ways; Jer. x. 8, in one, *i.e.* in like folly (not: altogether, at once, which בְּאַחַד, Syr. *bachdo*, signifies); then further on it is not twice, but two different modes or means of divine attestation, *viz.* dreams and sicknesses, that are spoken of; wherefore it is rightly translated by the Targ.

*una loquela*, by Pagn. *uno modo*, by Vatabl., Merc., *una via*. The form of the declaration: by one—by two, is that of the so-called number-proverbs, like ch. v. 19. In diverse ways or by different means God speaks to mortal man—he does not perceive it, it is *his own* fault if he does recognise it. לֹא יִשְׁמְעֶנּוּ, which is correctly denoted as a separate clause by *Rebia mugrasch*, is neither with Schlottm. to be regarded as a circumstantial clause (without one's . . .), nor with Vatablus and Hahn as a conditional clause (if one does not attend to it), nor with Montanus and Piscator as a relative clause (to him who does not observe it), but with Tremellius as a co-ordinate second predicative clause without a particle (one might expect וְלֹא): he (mortal man) or one observes it not (וְלֹא with neut. *suff.* exactly like ch. xxxv. 13).

Vers. 15 sqq. Elihu now describes the first mode in which God speaks to man: He Himself comes forward as a witness in man's sleep, He makes use of dreams or dream-like visions, which come upon one suddenly within the realm of nocturnal thought (*vid. Psychol.* p. 332 sq.), as a medium of revelation—a usual form of divine revelation, especially in the heathen world, to which positive revelation is wanting. The reading בְּחִלּוֹתָיִם (Codd., LXX., Syr., Symm., Jer.), as also the accentuation of the בחלום with *Mehupach Legarme*, proceeds from the correct assumption, that vision of the night and dream are not coincident notions; moreover, the detailing ver. 15, is formed according to ch. iv. 13. In this condition of deep or half sleep, *revelat aurem hominum*, a phrase used of the preparation of the ear for the purpose of hearing by the removal of hindrances, and, in general, of confidential communication, therefore: He opens the ear of men, and seals their admonition, *i.e.* the admonition that is wholesome and necessary for them. Elihu uses הִתָּם בָּעֵר here and ch. xxxvii. 7 as הִתָּם בָּעֵר is used in ch. ix. 7: to seal anything (to seal up), comp. حَتَمَ, σφραγίζειν, in the sense of infallible attestation and confirma-

tion (John vi. 27), especially (with ב) of divine revelation or inspiration, distinct in meaning from ختم, σφραγίζειν, in the proper sense. Elihu means that by such dreams and visions, as rare overpowering facts not to be forgotten, God puts the seal upon the warning directed to them which, sent forth in any other way, would make no such impression. Most ancient versions (also Luther) translate as though it were יהם (LXX. ἐξεφόβησεν αὐτούς). מִסָּר is a secondary form to מִסָּר, ch. xxxvi. 10, which occurs only here. Next comes the fuller statement of the object of the admonition or warning delivered in such an impressive manner. According to the text before us, it is to be explained: in order that man may remove (put from himself) mischief from himself (Ges. § 133, 3); but this inconvenient change of subject is avoided, if we supply a מ to the second, and read מַמְעֵשָׁה אָרַם, as LXX. ἀποστρέψαι ἀνθρώπου ἀπὸ ἀδικίας αὐτοῦ (which does not necessarily presuppose the reading מַמְעֵשָׁה), Targ. *ab opere malo*; Jer. not so good: *ab his quæ fecit*. מַמְעֵשָׁה signifies *facinus*, an evil deed, as 1 Sam. xx. 19, and בַּעַל, ch. xxxvi. 9, evil-doing. The *infin.* *constr.* now passes into the *v. fin.*, which would be very liable to misconstruction with different subjects: and in order that He (God) may conceal arrogance from man, *i.e.* altogether remove from him, unaccustom him to, render him weary of, the sin of pride (נָוָה from נָוָה = נָאָה, as ch. xxii. 29, according to Ges., Ew., Olsh., for נָאָה = נָאָה). Here everything in thought and expression is peculiar. Also תִּיָּה, ver. 18b (as vers. 22, 28), for תִּיָּים (ver. 30) does not occur elsewhere in the book of Job, and the phrase עָבַר בַּשִּׁלָּה here and ch. xxxvi. 12 (comp. עָבַר בַּשִּׁחָה, ver. 28) nowhere else in the Old Testament. שִׁלָּה (Arab. *silāh*, a weapon of offence, *opp. metá*, a weapon of defence) is the engine for shooting, from שָׁלַח, *emittere*, to shoot; and עָבַר בַּשִּׁלָּה is equivalent to נָפַל בְּעַד הַשִּׁלָּה, Joel ii. 8, to pass away by (precipitate one's self into) the weapon for shooting. To deliver man from sin, viz. sins of carnal

security and imaginary self-importance, and at the same time from an early death, whether natural or violent, this is the disciplinary design which God has in view in connection with this first mode of speaking to him ; but there is also a second mode.

- 19 *He is chastened also with pain upon his bed,  
And with the unceasing conflict of his limbs ;*  
20 *And his life causeth him to loathe bread,  
And his soul dainty meat.*  
21 *His flesh consumeth away to uncomeliness,  
And his deranged limbs are scarcely to be seen.*  
22 *Then his soul draweth near to the grave,  
And his life to the destroyers.*

Another and severer lesson which God teaches man is by painful sickness : he is chastened with pain (כּ of the means) on his bed, he and the vigorous number of his limbs, *i.e.* he with this hitherto vigorous (Raschi), or : while the multitude of his limbs is still vigorous (Ew.). Thus is the *Keri* כּרִי to be understood, for the interpretation : and the multitude of his limbs with unceasing pain (Arnh. after Aben-Ezra), is unnatural. But the *Chethib* is far more commendable : and with a constant tumult of his limbs (Hirz. and others). Ver. 19b might also be taken as a substantival clause : and the tumult of his limbs is unceasing (Umbr., Welte) ; but that taking over of כּ from כּמכאוב is simpler and more pleasing. רִיב (opposite of שָׁלוֹם, *e.g.* Ps. xxxviii. 4) is an excellent description of disease which consists in a disturbance of the equilibrium of the powers, in the dissolution of their harmony, in the excitement of one against another (*Psychol.* p. 338). אִתָּן for אִתָּן belongs to the many defective forms of writing of this section. In ver. 20 we again meet a Hebræo-Arabic *hapaxlegomenon*, זָהָם from זָהָם. In Arab. *zahuma* signifies to stink, like the Aram. זָהָם (whence זָהָם, dirt and stench), *zahama* to thrust back, restrain, after which Abu Suleiman Daûd Alfâsi, in his



Arabic *Lexicon* of the Hebrew, interprets: "his soul thrusts back (תוהם נפסה) food and every means of life,"<sup>1</sup> beside which the *suff.* of וְהִמָּתוֹ is taken as an anticipation of the following object (*vid.* on ch. xxix. 3): his life feels disgust at it, at bread, and his soul at dainty meat. The *Piel* has then only the intensive signification of *Kal* (synon. תַּעֲב, Ps. cvii. 18), according to which it is translated by Hahn with many before him. But if the poet had wished to be so understood, he would have made use of a less ambiguous arrangement of the words, וְהִמָּתוֹ לָחֶם חִיתוֹ. We take וְהִם with Ew. § 122, b, as causative of *Kal*, in which signification the *Piel*, it is true, occurs but rarely, yet it does sometimes, instead of *Hiph.*; but without translating, with Hirz., חִיהַ by hunger and נַפֵּשׁ by appetite, which gives a confused thought. Schlottm. appropriately remarks: "It is very clearly expressed, as the proper vital power, the proper ψυχή, when it is inwardly consumed by disease, gives one a loathing for that which it otherwise likes as being a necessary condition of its own existence." Thus it is: health produces an appetite, sickness causes nausea; the soul that is in an uninjured normal state longs for food, that which is severely weakened by sickness turns the desire for dainties into loathing and aversion.

Ver. 21a. The contracted future form יִכָּל, again, like יִשָּׁם, ver. 11a, is poetic instead of the full form: his flesh vanishes מִרְאֵי, from sight, *i.e.* so that it is seen no longer; or from comeliness, *i.e.* so that it becomes unsightly; the latter (comp. 1 Sam. xvi. 12 with Isa. liii. 2, וְלֹא-מִרְאָה) might be preferred. In ver. 21b the *Keri* corrects the text to וְשִׁפּוּ, *et contrita sunt*, whereas the *Chethib* is to be read וְשִׁפִּי, *et contritio*. The verb שִׁפָּה, which has been explained by Saadia from the Talmudic,<sup>2</sup> signifies *conterere, comminuere*; Abulwalid (in Ges.

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Pinsker's *Likkute Kadmoniot*, p. קמנ.

<sup>2</sup> He refers to *b. Aboda zara* 42a: If a heathen have broken an idol to pieces (שִׁפָּה) to derive advantage from the pieces, both the (shattered)

*Thes.*) interprets it here by *suhifet wa-baradet*, they are consumed and wasted away, and explains it by *בָּתָּחוּ*. The radical notion is that of scraping, scratching, rubbing away (not to be interchanged with *סָפָה*, which, starting from the radical notion of sweeping away, vanishing, comes to have that of wasting away; cognate, however, with the above *سَاحَفَ*, whence *suháf*, consumption, prop. a rasure of the plumpness of the body). According to the *Keri*, ver. 21b runs: and his bones (limbs) are shattered (fallen away), they are not seen, *i.e.* in their wasting away and shrivelling up they have lost their former pleasing form. Others, taking the bones in their strict sense, and *שָׁפָה* in the signification to scrape away = lay bare, take *לֹא רָאוּ* as a relative clause, as Jer. has done: *ossa quæ tecta fuerant nudabuntur* (rather *nudata sunt*), but this ought with a change of mood to be *לֹא רָאוּ . . . וְיִשָּׁפּוּ*. To the former interpretation corresponds the unexceptionable *Chethib*: and the falling away of his limbs are not seen, *i.e.* (*per attractionem*) his wasting limbs are diminished until they are become invisible. *רָאוּ* is one of the four Old Testament words (Gen. xliii. 26, Ezra viii. 18, Lev. xxiii. 17) which have a *Dagesh* in the *Aleph*; in all four the *Aleph* stands between two vowels, and the dageshing (probably the remains of a custom in the system of pointing which has become the prevailing one, which, with these few exceptions, has been suffered to fall away) is intended to indicate that the *Aleph* is here to be carefully pronounced as a guttural (to use an Arabic expression, as *Hamza*), therefore in this passage *ru-'û*.<sup>1</sup> Thus, then, the soul (the bearer of the life of the body) of the

idol and the fragments (*שִׁפְתָּיו*) are permitted (since both are deprived of their heathenish character).

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Luzzatto's *Grammatica della Lingua Ebraica* (1853), § 54. Ewald's (§ 21) view, that in these instances the pointed *Aleph* is to be read as *j* (therefore *ruju*), is unfounded; moreover, the point over the *Aleph* is certainly only improperly called *Dagesh*, it might at least just as suitably be called *Mappik*.

sick man, at last succumbing to this process of decay, comes near to the pit, and his life to the מַמְתִּים, destroying angels (comp. Ps. lxxviii. 49, 2 Sam. xxiv. 16), i.e. the angels who are commissioned by God to slay the man, if he does not anticipate the decree of death by penitence. To understand the powers of death in general, with Rosenm., or the pains of death, with Schlottm. and others, does not commend itself, because the Elihu section has a strong angelological colouring in common with the book of Job. The following strophe, indeed, in contrast to the מַמְתִּים, speaks of an angel that effects deliverance from death.

23 *If there is an angel as mediator for him,  
One of a thousand,  
To declare to man what is for his profit :*

24 *He is gracious to him, and saith :  
Deliver him, that he go not down to the pit—  
I have found a ransom.*

The former case, vers. 15–18, was the easier; there a strengthening of the testimony of man's conscience by a divine warning, given under remarkable circumstances, suffices. This second case, which the LXX. correctly distinguishes from the former (it translates ver. 19, *πάλιν δὲ ἡλεγχεν αὐτὸν ἐν μαλακίᾳ ἐπὶ κοίτης*), is the more difficult: it treats not merely of a warning against sin and its wages of death, but of a deliverance from the death itself, to which the man is almost abandoned in consequence of sin. This deliverance, as Elihu says, requires a mediator. This course of thought does not admit of our understanding the מַלְאָכִים of a human messenger of God, such as Job has before him in Elihu (Schult., Schnurr., Boullier, Eichh., Rosenm., Welte), an “interpreter of the divine will, such as one finds one man among a thousand to be, a God-commissioned speaker, in one word: a prophet” (von Hofmann in *Schriftbew.* i. 336f.). The

מלאך appears not merely as a declarer of the conditions of the deliverance, but as a mediator of this deliverance itself. And if the מַמְתִּים, ver. 22*b*, are angels by whom the man is threatened with the execution of death, the מלאך who comes forward here for him who is upon the brink of the abyss cannot be a man. We must therefore understand מלאך not as in ch. i. 14, but as in ch. iv. 18; and the more surely so, since we are within the extra-Israelitish circle of a patriarchal history. In the extra-Israelitish world a far more developed doctrine of angels and demons is everywhere found than in Israel, which is to be understood not only subjectively, but also objectively; and within the patriarchal history after Gen. xvi., that מלאך יהוה (אלהים) appears, who is instrumental in effecting the progress of the history of redemption, and has so much the appearance of the God of revelation, that He even calls himself God, and is called God. He it is whom Jacob means, when (Gen. xlviii. 15 sq.), blessing Joseph, he distinguishes God the Invisible, God the Shepherd, *i.e.* Leader and Ruler, and “the Angel who delivered (הַנִּצִּיל) me from all evil;” it is the Angel who, according to Ps. xxxiv. 8, encampeth round about them that fear God, and delivereth them; “the Angel of the presence” whom Isaiah in the *Thephilla*, ch. lxiii. 7 sqq., places beside Jehovah and His Holy Spirit as a third *hypostasis*. Taking up this perception, Elihu demands for the deliverance of man from the death which he has incurred by his sins, a superhuman angelic mediator. The “Angel of Jehovah” of primeval history is the oldest prefigurement in the history of redemption of the future incarnation, without which the Old Testament history would be a confused *quodlibet* of premises and radii, without a conclusion and a centre; and the angelic form is accordingly the oldest form which the hope of a deliverer assumes, and to which it recurs, in conformity to the law of the circular connection between the beginning and end, in Mal. iii. 1.

The strophe begins without any indication of connection with the preceding: one would expect  $\text{וְאֵם}$  or  $\text{אֵם אֶזְרָא}$ , as we felt the absence of  $\text{אֵם}$  in ver. 14, and  $\text{לָכֵן}$  in ch. xxxii. 17. We might take  $\text{מִלֵּין מִלְאָךְ}$  together as substantive and *epitheton*; the accentuation, however, which marks both  $\text{מִלְאָךְ}$  and  $\text{מִלֵּין}$  with *Rebia magnum* (in which case, according to Bär's *Psalterium*, p. xiv., the second distinctive has somewhat less value than the first), takes  $\text{מִלְאָךְ}$  as subj., and  $\text{מִלֵּין}$  as predicate: If there is then for him ( $\text{עָלָיו}$ , *pro eo*, Ew. § 217, i) an angel as  $\text{מִלֵּין}$ , *i.e.* mediator; for  $\text{מִלֵּין}$  signifies elsewhere an interpreter, Gen. xlii. 23; a negotiator, 2 Chron. xxxii. 31; a God-commissioned speaker, *i.e.* prophet, Isa. xliii. 27;—everywhere (if it is not used as in ch. xvi. 20, *in malam parte*) the shades of the notion of this word are summarized under the general notion of *internunciatus*, and therefore of mediator (as the Jewish name of the mediating angel  $\text{מַטְטְרוֹן}$ , probably equivalent to *mediator*, not  $\text{μετάθρονος}$ , which is no usable Greek word). The Targ. translates by  $\text{פִּרְקִלִּיטָא}$ ,  $\text{παράκλητος}$  (*opp.*  $\text{קִטְיוֹר}$ ,  $\text{κατήγορος}$ ,  $\text{κατήγωρ}$ ). Therefore: if an angel undertakes the mediatorial office for the man, and indeed one of a thousand, *i.e.* not any one whatever of the thousands of the angels (Deut. xxxiii. 2, Ps. lxviii. 18, Dan. vii. 10, comp. Tobit xii. 15,  $\text{εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά}$ ), but one who soars above the thousands, and has not his equal among them (as Eccl. vii. 28). Hirz. and Hahn altogether falsely combine: one of the thousands, whose business it is to announce . . . The accentuation is correct, and that forced mode of connection is without reason or occasion. It is the function of the  $\text{מִלְאָךְ}$  itself as  $\text{מִלֵּין}$ , which the clause which expresses the purpose affirms: if an angel appears for the good of the man as a mediator, to declare to him  $\text{יִשְׁרֹוּ$ , his uprightness, *i.e.* the right, straight way (comp. Prov. xiv. 2), in one word: the way of salvation, which he has to take to get free of sin and death, *viz.* the way of repentance and of faith (trust in God): God takes

pity on the man . . . Here the conclusion begins ; Rosenm. and others erroneously continue the antecedent here, so that what follows is the intercession of the angel ; the angel, however, is just as a mediator who brings about the favour of God, and therefore not the הַאֵל himself. He renders pardon possible, and brings the man into the state for receiving it.

Therefore : then God pardons him, and says to His angel : Deliver him from the descent to the pit, I have found a ransom. Instead of פָּרַעְתִּי, it would be admissible to read פָּרַעְתִּי, let him free (from פָּרַע, פָּרַע), if the angel to whom the command is given were the angel of death. פָּרַע is a cognate form, perhaps dialectic, with פָּרַח, root פָּר (as יָפַח, יָפַע, יָפַע, יָפַע, from the common root יָפַח, יָפַע).<sup>1</sup> The verb קָצַח (קָצַח) signifies to come at, ch. xi. 7, to attain something, and has its first signification here, starting from which it signifies the finding on the part of the seeker, and then when weakened finding without seeking. One is here reminded of Heb. ix. 12, *αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὐφράμενος*. כָּפַר (on this word, *vid. Hebræer-brief*, S. 385, 740), according to its primary notion, is not a covering = making good, more readily a covering = canceling (from כָּפַר, Talmud. to wipe out, away), but, as the usual combination with עַל shows, a covering of sin and guilt before wrath, punishment, or execution on account of guilt, and in this sense *λύτρον*, a means of getting free, ransom-money. The connection is satisfied if the repentance of the chastened one (thus *e.g.* also von Hofm.) is understood by this ransom, or better, his affliction, inasmuch as it has brought him to repentance. But wherefore should the mediatorship of the angel be excluded from the notion of the כָּפַר? Just this mediatorship is meant, inasmuch as it puts to right him who by his

<sup>1</sup> Wetzstein is inclined to regard פָּרַע as a metathesis of רָפַע, רָפַע : thrust (tear, hold) him back from the grave. A proper name, *fed'ân*, which often occurs among the Beduins, is of uncertain signification ; perhaps it would serve as an explanation of פָּרַעְתִּי.

sins had worked death, *i.e.* places him in a condition in which no further hindrance stands in the way of the divine pardon. If we connect the mediating angel, like the angel of Jehovah of the primeval history, with God Himself, as then the logos of this mediating angel to man can be God's own logos communicated by him, and he therefore as מַלְאִי, God's speaker (if we consider Elihu's disclosure in the light of the New Testament), can be the divine Logos himself, we shall here readily recognise a presage of the mystery which is unveiled in the New Testament: "God was in Christ, and reconciled the world unto Himself." A presage of this mystery, flashing through the darkness, we have already read in ch. xvii. 3 (comp. ch. xvi. 21; and, on the other hand, in order to see how this anticipation is kindled by the thought of the opposite, ch. ix. 33). The presage which meets us here is like another in Ps. cvii.—a psalm which has many points of coincidence with the book of Job—where in ver. 20 we find, "He sent His word, and healed them."<sup>1</sup> At any rate, Elihu expresses it as a postulate, that the deliverance of man can only be effected by a superhuman being, as it is in reality accomplished by the man who is at the same time God, and from all eternity the Lord of the angels of light.

The following strophe now describes the results of the favour wrought out for man by the מַלְאִי מְלָאךְ.

- 25 *His flesh swelleth with the freshness of youth,  
He returneth to the days of his youth.*  
26 *If he prayeth to Eloah, He showeth him favour,  
So that he seeth His face with joy,  
And thus He recompenseth to man his uprightness.*

<sup>1</sup> In his introduction, p. 76, Schlottmann says: "The conceptions of Wisdom and of the Revealing Angel were already united in that of the Eternal Word in the ante-Christian, Jewish theology. Therein the fact of the divine revelation in Christ found the forms in which it could accommodate itself to the understanding, and stimulate succeeding ages

27 *He singeth to men and saith :*

“*I had sinned and perverted what was straight,*

“*And it was not recompensed to me.*

28 “*He hath delivered my soul from going down into the pit,*

“*And my life rejoiceth in the light.*”

Misled by the change of the *perf.* and *fut.* in ver. 25, Jer. translates 25a: *consumpta est caro ejus a suppliciis*; Targ.: His flesh had been weakened (אֲחַלְשָׁהּ), or made thin (אֲחַקְלִישָׁהּ), more than the flesh of a child; Raschi: it had become burst (French אֲשַׁקְשָׁהּ, in connection with which only פֶּשׁ appears to have been in his mind, in the sense of springing up, *prendre son escousse*) from the shaking (of disease). All these interpretations are worthless; נָעַר, peculiar to the Elihu section in the book of Job (here and ch. xxxvi. 14), does not signify shaking; but is equivalent to נִעְרִים (ch. xiii. 26, xxxi. 18); and פֶּשׁ is in the *perf.* only because the passive quadriliteral would not so easily accommodate itself to inflexion (by which all those asserted significations, which suit only the *perf.* sense, fall to the ground). The *Chateph* instead of the simple *Shevâ* is only in order to give greater importance to the passive *u*. But as to the origin of the quadriliteral (on the four modes of the origin of roots of more than three radicals, *vid. Jesurun*, pp. 160-166), there is no reason for regarding it as a mixed form derived from two different verbs: it is formed just like פָּרִישׁ (from פָּרַשׁ, by Arabizing = פָּרַשׁ) with a sibilant termination from רָטַף = רָטַב, and therefore signifies to be (to have been made) over moist or juicy. However, there is yet another almost more commendable explanation possible. In Arab. طرّش signifies to further thought and penetration.” Thus it is: between the Chokma of the canonical books and the post-biblical development of the philosophy of religion (dogmatism) which culminates in Philo, there is an historical connection, and, indeed, one that has to do with the development of redemption. *Vid. Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1863, S. 219 ff.



to recover, prop. to grow green, become fresh (perhaps from *tarufa*, as in the signification to blink, from *tarafa*). From this Arab. *tarfasha*, or even from a Hebr. טַרְפָּשׁ,<sup>1</sup> *pinguefacere* (which may with Fürst be regarded as springing from טָפַשׁ, to be fleshy, like בָּרַבֵּל, בָּרַכָם), טַרְפָּשׁ might have sprung by transposition. In a remarkable manner one and the same idea is attained by all these ways: whether we regard טַרְפָּשׁ as a mixed form from רָטַב and טָפַשׁ, or as an extended root-form from one or other of these verbs, it is always according to the idea: a superabundance of fresh healthfulness. The מֶן of מִנְעֵר is chiefly regarded as comparative: more than youth, *i.e.* leaving this behind, or exceeding it, Ew. § 221, *a*; but ver. 25*b*, according to which he who was hitherto sick unto death actually renews his youth, makes it more natural to take the מֶן as causal: it swells from youth or youthfulness. In this description of the renovation which the man experiences, it is everywhere assumed that he has taken the right way announced to him by the mediating angel. Accordingly, ver. 26*a* is not intended of prayer that is heard, which resulted in pardon, but of prayer that may be heard continually, which results from the pardon: if he prays to Eloah (*fut. hypotheticum* as ch. xxii. 27, *vid.* on xxix. 24),

He receives him favourably. רָצָה, רָצִי, with ב, ב, to have pleasure in any one, with the acc. *eu. et gratum vel acceptum habere*), and he (whose state of favour is now established anew) sees God's countenance (which has been hitherto veiled

<sup>1</sup> The Talmud. טַרְפֵּשׁא דְלִבָּא (*Chullin*, 49*b*) signifies, according to the customary rendering, the pericardium, and טַרְפֵּשׁא דְכַבְרָא (*ib.* 46*a*) the diaphragm, or rather the little net (*omentum minus*). Originally, however, the former signified the cushion of fat under the pericardium on which the heart rests, especially in the crossing of the furrows; the latter the accumulation of fat on the porta (πύλη) and between the laminæ of the little net. For טַרְפֵּשׁ is correctly explained by שֶׁמֶן, fat. It has nothing to do with τράπεζα (an old name for a part of the liver), with which Ges. after Buxtorf connects it.

from him, ch. xxxiv. 29) with rejoicing (as Ps. xxxiii. 3 and freq.), and He (God) recompenses to the man his uprightness (in his prolonged course of life), or prop., since it is not *וַיִּשְׁלַם*, but *וַיִּשָּׁב*, He restores on His part his relation in accordance with the order of redemption, for that is the idea of *צִדְקָה*; the word has either a legal or a so-to-speak evangelical meaning, in which latter, used of God (as so frequently in Isaiah II.), it describes His rule in accordance with His counsel and order of redemption; the primary notion is strict observance of a given rule.

In ver. 27a the favoured one is again the subj. This change of person, without any indication of the same, belongs to the peculiarities of the Hebrew, and, in general, of the Oriental style, described in the *Geschichte der jüd. Poesie*, S. 189 [*History of Jewish Poetry*]; the reference of *וַיִּרְאֵהוּ*, as *Hiph.*, to God, which is preferred by most expositors, is consequently unnecessary. Moreover, the interpretation: He causes his (the favoured one's) countenance to behold joy (Umbr., Ew.), is improbable as regards the phrase *וַיִּרְאֵהוּ* (ראה), *פָּנֵי ה'*, and also syntactically lame; and the interpretation: He causes (him, the favoured one) to behold His (the divine) countenance with joy (Hirz., Hahn, Schlottm., and others), halts in like manner, since this would be expressed by *וַיִּרְאֵהוּ* (*וַיִּרְאֵהוּ*). By the reference to psalmody which follows in ver. 27 (comp. ch. xxxvi. 24), it becomes natural that we should understand ver. 26b according to such passages in the Psalms as xcv. 2, lxvii. 2, xvii. 15. *וַיִּשָּׂר* is a poetically contracted *fut.* after the manner of a jussive, for *וַיִּשָּׂר*; and perhaps it is a dialectic form, for the *Kal* *וַיִּשָּׂר* = *וַיִּשָּׂר* occurs only besides in 1 Sam. xviii. 6 as *Chethib*. With *עַל* (comp. Prov. xxv. 20) it signifies to address a song to any one, to sing to him. Now follows the psalm of the favoured one in outline; ver. 28 also belongs to it, where the *Keri* (Targ. Jer.), without any evident reason whatever, gets rid of the 1 *pers.* (LXX.,

Syr.). I had sinned—he says, as he looks back ashamed and thankful—and perverted what was straight (comp. the confession of the penitent, Ps. cvi. 6), וְלֹא שָׁנָה לִי, *et non æquale factum s. non æquatum est mihi*,<sup>1</sup> i.e. it has not been recompensed to me according to my deserts, favour instead of right is come upon me. שָׁנָה (سَوَى) is intended neutrally, not so that

God would be the subj. (LXX. καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἡτασέ με ὦν ἡμαρτον). Now follows, ver. 28, the positive expression of the favour experienced. The phrase עָבַר בְּשַׁחַח, after the analogy of עָבַר בְּשִׁלָּה above, and also חָיָה for חַיִּים, are characteristic of the Elihu section. Beautiful is the close of this psalm *in nuce*: “and my life refreshes itself (רָאָה as ch. xx. 17 and freq.) in the light,” viz. in the light of the divine countenance, which has again risen upon me, i.e. in the gracious presence of God, which I am again become fully conscious of.

- 29 Behold, God doeth all  
Twice, thrice with man;  
30 To bring back his soul from the pit,  
That it may become light in the light of life.  
31 Listen, O Job, hearken to me;  
Be silent and let me speak on.  
32 Yet if thou hast words, answer me;  
Speak, for I desire thy justification.  
33 If not, hearken thou to me;  
Be silent and I will teach thee wisdom.

After having described two prominent modes of divine in-

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic *sawa* (سَوَى) is the most general expression for “to be worth, to cost,” usually with the *acc.* of price, but also with *li*, e.g. in the proverb *hal ka’ke mâ tiswe li-hal da’ke*, this (wretched) bite of bread (of subsistence) is not worth this (excessive) pressure after it. Accordingly וְלֹא שָׁנָה לִי would signify: it (what I suffered) came not equal to me (did not balance me), which at any rate is equivalent to “it did not cost my life” (Wetzst.), but would be indistinctly expressed.

terposition for the moral restoration and welfare of man, he adds, vers. 29 sq., that God undertakes (observe the want of parallelism in the distich, ver. 29) everything with a man twice or thrice (asyndeton, as *e.g.* Isa. xvii. 6, in the sense of *bis terve*) in order to bring back his soul from the pit (נֶחֱשׁ, here for the fifth time in this speech, without being anywhere interchanged with לִנְשׁוֹ or another synonym, which is remarkable), that it, having hitherto been encompassed by the darkness of death, may be, or become, light (נֹרָא, *inf. Niph.*, syncopated from לְהִנְאוֹר, Ew. § 244, *b*) in the light of life (as it were bask in the new and restored light of life)—it does not always happen, for these are experiences of no ordinary kind, which interrupt the daily course of life; and it is not even repeated again and again constantly, for if it is without effect the first time, it is repeated a second or third time, but it has an end if the man trifles constantly with the disciplinary work of grace which designs his good. Finally, Elihu calls upon Job quietly to ponder this, that he may proceed; nevertheless, if he has words, *i.e.* if he thinks he is able to advance any appropriate objections, he is continually to answer him (הִשִּׁיב with *acc.* of the person, as ver. 5), for he (Elihu) would willingly justify him, *i.e.* he would gladly be in the position to be able to acknowledge Job to be right, and to have the accusation dispensed with. Hirz. and others render falsely: I wish thy justification, *i.e.* that thou shouldst justify thyself; in this case הִשִּׁיבֶנִּי ought to be supplied, which is unnecessary: הִפֵּי, without a change of subject, has the *inf. constr.* here without לְ, as it has the *inf. absol.* in ch. xiii. 3, and הִפֵּי signifies to vindicate (as ch. xxxii. 2), or acknowledge to be in the right (as the *Piel* of הִפֵּי, ver. 12), both of which are blended here. The LXX., which translates *θέλω γὰρ δικαιωθῆναι σε*, has probably read הִפֵּי (Ps. xxxv. 27). If it is not so (אֵין־מִסֵּד as Gen. xxx. 1), viz. that he does not intend to defend himself with reference to his expostulation with God on

account of the affliction decreed for him, he shall on his part (וְשָׁמַע) listen, shall be silent and be further taught wisdom.

*Quasi hac ratione Heliu sanctum Iob convicerit!* exclaims Beda, after a complete exposition of this speech. He regards Elihu as the type of the false wisdom of the heathen, which fails to recognise and persecutes the servant of God: *Sunt alii extra ecclesiam, qui Christo ejusque ecclesiæ similiter adversantur, quorum imaginem prætulit Balaam ille ariolus, qui et Elieu sicut patrum traditio habet* (Balaam and Elihu, one person—a worthless conceit repeated in the Talmud and Midrash), *qui contra ipsum sanctum Iob multa improbe et injuriose locutus est, in tantum ut etiam displiceret in una ejus et indisciplinata loquacitas.*<sup>1</sup> Gregory the Great, in his *Moralia*, expresses himself no less unfavourably at the conclusion of this speech:<sup>2</sup> *Magna Eliu ac valde fortia protulit, sed hoc unusquisque arrogans habere proprium solet, quod dum vera ac mystica loquitur subito per tumorem cordis quædam inania et superba permiscet.* He also regards Elihu as an emblem of confident arrogance, yet not as a type of a heathen philosopher, but of a believing yet vain and arrogant teacher. This tone in judging of Elihu, first started by Jerome, has spread somewhat extensively in the Western Church. In the age of the Reformation, e.g., Victorin Strigel takes this side: Elihu is regarded by him as *exemplum ambitiosi oratoris qui plenus sit ostentatione et audacia inusitata sine mente.* Also in the Greek Eastern Church such views are not wanting. Elihu says much that is good, and excels the friends in this, that he does not condemn Job; Olympiodorus adds, *πλὴν οὐκ ἐνόησε τοῦ δικαίου τὴν διάνοιαν*, but he has not understood the true idea of the servant of God!<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bedæ Opp. ed. Basil.* iv. col. 602 sq. 786. The commentary also bears the false name of Jerome [Hieronymus], and as a writing attributed to him is contained in *tom. v. Opp. ed. Vallarsi.*

<sup>2</sup> *Opp. ed. Paris,* i. col. 777.

<sup>3</sup> *Catena in Job. Londin.* p. 484, where it is further said, *Ὁ θεὸς λογιζό-*

In modern times, Herder entertains the same judgment. Elihu's speech, in comparison with the short, majestic, solemn language of the Creator, he calls "the weak rambling speech of a boy." "Elihu, a young prophet"—he says further on in his *Geist der Ebr. Poesie*, where he expounds the book of Job as a composition—"arrogant, bold, alone wise, draws fine pictures without end or aim; hence no one answers him, and he stands there as a mere shadow."<sup>1</sup> Among the latest expositors, Umbreit (Edition 2, 1832) considers Elihu's appearance as "an uncalled-for stumbling in of a conceited young philosopher into the conflict that is already properly ended; the silent contempt with which one allows him to speak is the merited reward of a babbler." In later years Umbreit gave up this depreciation of Elihu.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless Hahn, in his *Comm. zu Iob* (1850), has sought anew to prove that Elihu's speeches are meant indeed to furnish a solution, but do not really do so: on the contrary, the poet intentionally represents the character of Elihu as that "of a most conceited and arrogant young man, boastful and officious in his undeniable knowingness." The unfavourable judgments have been carried still further, inasmuch as an attempt has even been made to regard Elihu as a disguise for Satan in the organism of the drama;<sup>3</sup> but it may be more suitable to break off this unpleasant subject than to continue it.

In fact this dogmatic criticism of Elihu's character and speeches produces a painful impression. For, granted that it might be otherwise, and the poet really had designed to bring forward in these speeches of Elihu respecting God's

μεθὰ καὶ τὸν θεὸν μῆτε ἐπαινέσαι τὸν Εὐλιού, ἐπειδὴ μὴ νενόηκε τοῦ Ἰῶβ τοὺς λόγους, μῆτε μὴν καταδικάσαι, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀσεβείας αὐτὸν κατέκρινε.

<sup>1</sup> Edition 1805, S. 101, 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid.* Riehm, *Blätter der Erinnerung an F. W. C. Umbreit* (1862), S. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Thus the writer of a treatise in the 3d vol. of Bernstein's *Analekten*, entitled: *Der Satan als Irrgeist und Engel des Lichts*.

own appearing an incontrovertible apology for His holy love, as a love which is at work even in such dispensations of affliction as that of Job: what offence against the deep earnestness of this portion of Holy Scripture would there be in this degradation of Elihu to an absurd character, in that depreciation of him to a babbler promising much and performing little! But that the poet is really in earnest in everything he puts into Elihu's mouth, is at once shown by the description, ch. xxxiii. 13-30, which forms the kernel of the contents of the first speech. This description of the manifold ways of the divine communication to man, upon a contrite attention to which his rescue from destruction depends, belongs to the most comprehensive passages of the Old Testament; and I know instances of the powerful effect which it can produce in arousing from the sleep of security and awakening penitence. If one, further, casts a glance at the historical introduction of Elihu, ch. xxxii. 1-5, the poet there gives no indication that he intends in Elihu to bring the odd character of a young poltroon before us. The motive and aim of his coming forward, as they are there given, are fully authorized. If one considers, further, that the poet makes Job keep silence at the speeches of Elihu, it may also be inferred therefrom that he believes he has put answers into Elihu's mouth by which he must feel himself most deeply smitten; such truths as ch. xxxii. 13-30, drawn from the depths of moral experience, could not have been put forth if Job's silence were intended to be the punishment of contempt.

These counter-considerations also really affect another possible and milder apprehension of the young speaker, inasmuch as, with von Hofmann, the gravitating point of the book of Job is transferred to the fact of the Theophany as the only satisfactory practical solution of the mystery of affliction: it is solved by God Himself coming down and acknowledging Job

as His servant. Elihu—thus one can say from this point of view—is not one of Job's friends, whose duty it was to comfort him; but the moral judgment of man's perception of God is made known by this teacher, but without any other effect than that Job is silent. There is one duty towards Job which he has not violated, for he has not to fulfil the duty of friendship: The only art of correct theorizing is to put an opponent to silence, and to have spoken to the wind is the one punishment appropriate to it. This milder rendering also does not satisfy; for, in the idea of the poet, Elihu's speeches are not only a thus negative, but the positive preparation for Jehovah's appearing. In the idea of the poet, Job is silent because he does not know how to answer Elihu, and therefore feels himself overcome.<sup>1</sup> And, in fact, what answer should he give to this first speech? Elihu wishes to dispute Job's self-justification, which places God's justice in the shade, but not indeed in the friends' judging, condemnatory manner: he wishes to dispute Job's notion that his affliction proceeds from a hostile purpose on the part of God, and sets himself here, as there, a perfectly correct task, which he seeks to accomplish by directing Job to regard his affliction, not indeed as a punishment from the angry God, but as a chastisement of the God who desires his highest good, as disciplinary affliction which is intended to secure him against hurtful temptation to sin, especially to pride, by salutary humiliation, and will have a glorious issue, as soon as it has in itself accomplished that at which it aims.

It is true one must listen very closely to discover the difference between the tone which Elihu takes and the tone in

<sup>1</sup> The preparation is negative only so far as Elihu causes Job to be silent and to cease to murmur; but Jehovah draws from him a confession of penitence on account of his murmuring. This positive relation of the appearing of Jehovah to that for which Elihu negatively prepares the way, is rightly emphasized by Schlottm., Rübiger (*De l. Iobi sententia primaria*, 1860, 4), and others, as favourable to the authenticity.



which Eliphaz began his first speech. But there is a difference notwithstanding: both designate Job's affliction as a chastisement (מוסר), which will end gloriously, if he receives it without murmuring; but Eliphaz at once demands of him humiliation under the mighty hand of God; Elihu, on the contrary, makes this humiliation lighter to him, by setting over against his longing for God to answer him, the pleasing teaching that his affliction in itself is already the speech of God to him,—a speech designed to educate him, and to bring about his spiritual well-being. What objection could Job, who has hitherto maintained his own righteousness in opposition to affliction as a hostile decree, now raise, when it is represented to him as a wholesome medicine reached forth to him by the holy God of love? What objection could Job now raise, without, in common, offensive self-righteousness, falling into contradiction with his own confession that he is a sinful man, ch. xiv. 4, comp. xiii. 26? Therefore Elihu has not spoken to the wind, and it cannot have been the design of the poet to represent the feebleness of theory and rhetoric in contrast with the convincing power which there is in the fact of Jehovah's appearing.

But would it be possible, that from the earliest times one could form such a condemnatory, depreciating judgment concerning Elihu's speeches, if there were not something peculiar about them? If of two such enlightened men as Augustine and Jerome, the former can say of Elihu: *ut primas partes modestiæ habuit, ita et sapientiæ*, while the latter, and after his example Bede, can consider him as a type of a heathen philosophy hostile to the faith, or of a selfishly perverted spirit of prophecy: they must surely have two sides which make it possible to form directly opposite opinions concerning them. Thus is it also in reality. On the one side, they express great, earnest, humiliating truths, which even the holiest man in his affliction must suffer him-

self to be told, especially if he has fallen into such vain-glorying and such murmuring against God as Job did; on the other side, they do not give such sharply-defined expression to that which is intended characteristically to distinguish them from the speeches of the friends, viz. that they regard Job not as רשע, and his affliction not as just retribution, but as a wholesome means of discipline, that all misunderstanding would be excluded, as all the expositors who acknowledge themselves unable to perceive an essential difference between Elihu's standpoint and the original standpoint of the friends, show. But the most surprising thing is, that the peculiar, true aim of Job's affliction, viz. his being proved as God's servant, is by no means thoroughly clear in them. From the prologue we know that Job's affliction is designed to show that there is a piety which also retains its hold on God amid the loss of all earthly goods, and even in the face of death in the midst of the darkest night of affliction; that it is designed to justify God's choice before Satan, and bring the latter to ruin; that it is a part of the conflict with the serpent, whose head cannot be crushed without its sting being felt in the heel of the conqueror; in fine, expressed in New Testament language, that it falls under the point of view of the cross (σταυρός), which has its ground not so much in the sinfulness of the sufferer, as in the share which is assigned to him in the conflict of good with evil that exists in the world. It cannot be supposed that the poet would, in the speeches of Elihu, set another design in opposition to the design of Job's affliction expressed in the prologue; on the contrary, he started from the assumption that the one design does not exclude the other, and in connection with the imperfectness of the righteousness even of the holiest man, the one is easily added to the other; but it was not in his power to give expression to both grounds of explanation of Job's affliction side by side, and thus to make this intermediate section "the

beating heart”<sup>1</sup> of the whole. The aspect of the affliction as a chastisement so greatly preponderates, that the other, viz. as a trial or proving, is as it were swallowed up by it. One of the old writers<sup>2</sup> says, “Elihu proves that it can indeed be that a man may fear and honour God from the heart, and consequently be in favour with God, and still be heavily visited by God, either for a trial of his faith, hope, and patience, or for the revelation and improvement of the sinful blemishes which now and then are also hidden from the pious.” According to this, both aspects are found united in Elihu’s speeches; but in this first speech, at least, we cannot find it.

There is another poet, whose *charisma* does not come up to that of the older poet, who in this speech pursues the well-authorized purpose not only of moderating what is extreme in Job’s speeches, but also of bringing out what is true in the speeches of the friends.<sup>3</sup> While the book of Job, apart from these speeches, presents in the Old Testament way the great truth which Paul, Rom. viii. 1, expresses in the words, οὐδέν κατάκριμα τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, this other poet has given expression at the same time, in the connection of the drama, to the great truth, 1 Cor. xi. 32, κρινόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου παιδευόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν. That it is another poet, is already manifest from his inferior, or if it is preferred, different, poetic gift. True, A. B. Davidson has again recently asserted, that by supporting it by such observations, the critical question is made “a question of subjective taste.” But if these speeches and the other parts of the book are said to have been written by *one* poet, there is an end to all critical judgment in such questions generally. One cannot

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Hengstenberg, *Lecture on the Book of Job*.

<sup>2</sup> Jacob Hoffmann (of St Gallen), *Gedult Iobs*, Basel, 1663 (a rare little book which I became acquainted with in the town library of St Gallen).

<sup>3</sup> On this subject see my Art. *Hiob* in Herzog’s *Real-Encyklopädie*, vi. 116–119, and comp. Kahnis, *Dogmatik*, i. 306–309, and my *Für und wider Kahnis* (1863), S. 19–21.

avoid the impression of the distance between them; and if it be suppressed for a time, it will nevertheless make itself constantly felt. But do the prophecies of Malachi stand lower in the scale of the historical development of revelation, because the Salomonic glory of prophetic speech which we admire in Isaiah is wanting in them? Just as little do we depreciate the inner glory of these speeches, when we find the outward glory of the rest of the book wanting in them. They occupy a position of the highest worth in the historical development of revelation and redemption. They are a perfecting part of the canonical Scriptures. In their origin, also, they are not much later;<sup>1</sup> indeed, I venture to assert that they are by a cotemporary member even of the Chokma-fellowship from which the book of Job has its rise. For they stand in like intimate relation with the rest of the book to the two Ezrahite Psalms, lxxxviii., lxxxix.; they have, as to their doctrinal contents, the fundamental features of the Israelitish Chokma in common; they speak another and still similar Aramaizing and Arabizing language (*hebraicum arabicumque sermonem et interdum syrum*, as Jerome expresses it in his *Præf. in l. Iobi*); in fact, we shall further on meet with linguistic signs that the poet who wrote this addition has lived together with the poet of the book of Job in one spot beyond the Holy Land, and speaks a Hebrew bearing traces of a like dialectic influence.

<sup>1</sup> Seinecke (*Der Grundgedanke des B. Hiob*, 1863) places it, with Ewald, 100-200 years later; and, moreover, asserts that the book of Job has no foundation whatever in oral tradition—Job is the Israel of the exile, Uz is Judæa, etc.

*Elihu's Second Speech.*—Chap. xxxiv.*Schema:* 6. 10. 5. 8. 12. 6. 10. 9. 13.

[Then began Elihu and said:]

2 *Hear, ye wise men, my words,**And ye experienced ones, give ear to me!*3 *For the ear trieth words,**As the palate tasteth by eating.*4 *Let us find out what is right,**Let us explore among ourselves what is good.*

After his first speech Elihu has made a brief pause; now since Job is silent, he begins anew. יוען ויאמר, LXX. correctly, here as in all other instances where the phrase occurs: ὑπολαβὼν λέγει, taking up the word he said. The wise and the knowing (Arab. *'ulamā*), whose attention he bespeaks, are not Job and the three (Umbr., Hahn), who are indeed a party, and as such a subject for the arbitrativ appearance of Elihu; also not every one capable of forming a judgment (Hirz.); but those in the circle of spectators and listeners which, as is assumed, has assembled round the disputants (Schlottm.). In ver. 3 Elihu does not expressly mean his own ear, but that of the persons addressed: he establishes his summons to prove what he says by the general thought brought over from ch. xii. 11, and as there (comp. ch. v. 7, xi. 12), clothed in the form of the emblematic proverb,—that as there is a bodily, so there is also a mental organ of sense which tries its perceptions. לִאֲכַל is not intended as expressing a purpose (*ad vescendum*), but as gerundive (*vescendo*). The phrase בָּחַר בְּשִׁפְטָם, occurring only here, signifies neither to institute a search for the purpose of decision (Schult. and others), since בָּחַר does not signify to decide upon anything, nor to investigate a cause (Hahn), which would be נִבְחַנָה, but to test and choose what is right, δοκιμάζειν καὶ τὸ καλὸν

κατέχειν, 1 Thess. v. 21, after which the parallel runs: *cognoscamus inter nos (i.e. in common) quid bonum.*

- 5 For Job hath said: "I am guiltless,  
"And God hath put aside my right.
- 6 "Shall I lie in spite of my right,  
"Incurable is mine arrow without transgression."
- 7 Where is there a man like Job,  
Who drinketh scorning like water,
- 8 And keepeth company with the workers of iniquity,  
And walketh with wicked men,
- 9 So that he saith: "A man hath no profit  
"From entering into fellowship with God"?!

That in relation to God, thinking of Him as a punishing judge, he is righteous or in the right, *i.e.* guiltless (צַדִּיקִי with *Pathach* in pause, according to Ew. § 93, *c*, from צִדִּיק = צַדִּיק, but perhaps, comp. Prov. xxiv. 30, Ps. cii. 26, because the *Athnach* is taken only as of the value of *Zakeph*), Job has said *verbatim* in ch. xiii. 18, and according to meaning, ch. xxiii. 10, xxvii. 7, and throughout; that He puts aside his right (the right of the guiltless, and therefore not of one coming under punishment): ch. xxvii. 2. That in spite of his right (עַל, to be interpreted, according to Schultens' example, just like ch. x. 7, xvi. 17), *i.e.* although right is on his side, yet he must be accounted a liar, since his own testimony is belied by the wrathful form of his affliction, that therefore the appearance of wrong remains inalienably attached to him, we find in idea in ch. ix. 20 and freq. Elihu makes Job call his affliction צָרָה, *i.e.* an arrow sticking in him, viz. the arrow of the wrath of God (on the objective *suff.* comp. on ch. xxiii. 2), after ch. vi. 4, xvi. 9, xix. 11; and that this his arrow, *i.e.* the pain which it causes him, is incurably bad, desperately malignant without (לֵבִי as ch. viii. 11) פֶּשַׁע, *i.e.* sins existing as the ground of it, from which he would be

obliged to suppose they had thrust him out of the condition of favour, is Job's constant complaint (*vid. e.g.* ch. xiii. 23 sq.). Another utterance of Job closely connected with it has so roused Elihu's indignation, that he prefaces it with the exclamation of astonishment: Who is a man like Job, *i.e.* where in all the world (כִּי as 2 Sam. vii. 23) has this Job his equal, who . . . The attributive clause refers to Job; "to drink scorn (here: blasphemy) like water," is, according to ch. xv. 16, equivalent to to give one's self up to mockery with delight, and to find satisfaction in it. אָרַח לְהַבָּרָה, to go over to any one's side, looks like a poeticized prose expression. לְלַבָּת is a continuation of the אָרַח, according to Ew. § 351, c, but not directly in the sense "and he goes," but, as in the similar examples, Jer. xvii. 10, xlv. 19, 2 Chron. vii. 17, and freq., in the sense of: "he is in the act of going;" comp. on ch. xxxvi. 20 and Hab. i. 17. The utterance runs: a man does not profit, viz. himself (on the use of כִּי of persons as well as of things, *vid.* on ch. xxii. 2), by his having joyous and familiar intercourse (בְּרִצְתוֹ, as little equivalent to בָּרַח as in Ps. l. 18) with God. Job has nowhere expressly said this, but certainly the declaration in ch. ix. 22, in connection with the repeated complaints concerning the anomalous distribution of human destinies (*vid.* especially ch. xxi. 7 sqq., xxiv. 1 sqq.), are the premises for such a conclusion. That Elihu, in vers. 7 sq., is more harsh against Job than the friends ever were (comp. *e.g.* the well-measured reproach of Eliphaz, ch. xv. 4), and that he puts words into Job's mouth which occur nowhere *verbatim* in his speeches, is worked up by the Latin fathers (Jer., Philippus Presbyter, Beda,<sup>1</sup> Gregory) in favour of their

<sup>1</sup> Philippus Presbyter was a disciple of Jerome. His *Comm. in Iobum* is extant in many forms, partly epitomized, partly interpolated (on this subject, *vid. Hieronymi Opp. ed. Vallarsi*, iii. 895 sqq.). The commentary of Beda, dedicated to a certain Nectarius (Vettersius), is fundamentally that of this Philippus.

unfavourable judgment of Elihu; the Greek fathers, however, are deprived of all opportunity of understanding him by the translation of the LXX. (in which *μυκτηρισμὸν* signifies the scorn of others which Job must swallow down, comp. Prov. xxvi. 6), which here perverts everything.

10 *Therefore, men of understanding, hearken to me!*

*Far be it from God to do evil,*

*And the Almighty to act wrongfully.*

11 *No indeed, man's work He recompenseth to him,*

*And according to man's walk He causeth it to be with him.*

“Men of heart,” according to *Psychol.* p. 294, comp. 300, is equivalent to *νοήμονες* or *νοητοί* (LXX. *συνετοὶ καρδίας*). The clause which Elihu makes prominent in the following reply is the very axiom which the three defend, perfectly true in itself, but falsely applied by them: evil, wrong, are inconceivable on the part of God; instead of *וְלֹא־עֲשֵׂי* it is only *וְעֲשֵׂי* in the second member of the verse, with the omission of the *præp.*—a frequent form of ellipsis, particularly in Isaiah (ch. xv. 8, xxviii. 6, xlvi. 14, lxi. 7, comp. Ezek. xxv. 15). Far removed from acting wickedly and wrongfully, on the contrary He practises recompense exactly apportioned to man's deeds, and ever according to the walk of each one (*אֲרַח* like *יִרְחֶה* or *יִרְכֶּה*, e.g. Jer. xxxii. 19, in an ethical sense) He causes it to overtake him, i.e. to happen to him (*הִמְצִיא* only here and ch. xxxvii. 13). The general assertion brought forward against Job is now proved.

12 *Yea verily God acteth not wickedly,*

*And the Almighty perverteth not the right.*

13 *Who hath given the earth in charge to Him?*

*And who hath disposed the whole globe?*

14 *If He only set His heart upon Himself,*

*If He took back His breath and His inspiration to Himself:*



15 *All flesh would expire together,  
And man would return to dust.*

With אֵף אֶמֶן (Yea verily, as ch. xix. 4, “and really”) the counter-assertion of ver. 11 is repeated, but negatively expressed (comp. ch. viii. 3). הִרְשִׁיעַ signifies sometimes to act as רָשָׁע, and at others to be set forth and condemned as a רָשָׁע; here, as the connection requires, it is the former. Ver. 13 begins the proof. Ewald’s interpretation: who searcheth, and Hahn’s: who careth for the earth beside Him, are hazardous and unnecessary. פָּקַד with עַל of the person and the *acc.* of the thing signifies: to enjoin anything as a duty on any one, to entrust anything to any one, ch. xxxvi. 23, Num. iv. 27, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23; therefore: who has made the earth, *i.e.* the care of it, a duty to Him? אֶרְצָה (*Milel*) is not to be refined into the meaning “to the earth” (as here by Schultens and a few others, Isa. viii. 23 by Luzzatto: he hath smitten down, better: dishonoured, to the earth with a light stroke), but is poetically equivalent to אֶרְצָן, as לִילָה (comp. modern Greek ἡ νύχθα) is in prose equivalent to לַיִל. Ver. 13*b* is by no means, with Ew. and Hahn, to be translated: who observes (considers) the whole globe, שֵׁים as ver. 23, ch. iv. 20, xxiv. 12—the expression would be too contracted to affirm that no one but God bestowed providential attention upon the earth; and if we have understood ver. 13*a* correctly, the thought is also inappropriate. A more appropriate thought is gained, if עָלַי is supplied from ver. 13*a*: who has enjoined upon Him the whole circle of the earth (Saad., Gecat., Hirz., Schlottm.); but this continued force of the עָלַי into the second independent question is improbable in connection with the repetition of כִּי. Therefore: who has appointed, *i.e.* established (שָׁם as ch. xxxviii. 5, Isa. xlv. 7),—a still somewhat more suitable thought, going logically further, since the one giving the charge ought to be the lord of him who receives the com-

mission, and therefore the Creator of the world. This is just God alone, by whose רִחַם and נִשְׁמָה the animal world as well as the world of men (*vid.* xxxii. 8, xxxiii. 4) has its life, ver. 14: if He should direct His heart, *i.e.* His attention (שִׁים לֵב אֵל as ch. ii. 3), to Himself (emphatic: Himself alone), draw in (אָסַף as Ps. civ. 29; comp. for the matter Eccl. xii. 7, *Psychol.* p. 475) to Himself His inspiration and breath (which emanated from Him or was effected by Him), all flesh would sink together, *i.e.* die off at once (this, as it appears, has reference to the taking back of the animal life, רִחַם), and man would return (this has reference to the taking back of the human spirit, נִשְׁמָה) to dust (עָל instead of אֵל, perhaps with reference to the usual use of the עֲלֵ-עָפָר, ch. xvii. 16, xx. 11, xxi. 26).

Only a few modern expositors refer אֵלַי, as Targ. Jer. and Syr., to man instead of reflexively to God; the majority rightly decide in favour of the idea which even Grotius perceived: *si sibi ipsi tantum bonus esse (sui unius curam habere) vellet.* אָס followed by the *fut.* signifies either *si vellet* (LXX. εἰ βούλοιτο), as here, or as more frequently, *si vellet*, Ps. l. 12, cxxxix. 8, Obad. ver. 4, Isa. x. 22, Amos ix. 2-4. It is worthy of remark that, according to Norzi's statement, the Babylonian texts presented יִשִּׁיב, ver. 14a, as *Chethîb*, יִשִּׁים as *Kerî* (like our Palestine text, Dan. xi. 18), which a ms. of De Rossi, with a Persian translation, confirms; the reading gives a fine idea: that God's heart is turned towards the world, and is unclosed, would then be its ethical condition of life as its physical ground of life, that God's spirit dwells in it; the drawing back of the heart, and the taking back to Himself of the spirit, would be equivalent to the exclusion of the world from God's love and life. However, יִשִּׁים implies the same; for a reference of God's thinking and willing to Himself, with the exclusion of the world, would be just a removal of His love. Elihu's proof is this: God does

not act wrongly, for the government of the world is not a duty imposed upon Him from without, but a relation entered into freely by Him: the world is not the property of another, but of His free creative appointment; and how unselfishly, how devoid of self-seeking He governs it, is clear from the fact, that by the impartation of His living creative breath He sustains every living thing, and does not, as He easily might, allow them to fall away into nothingness. There is therefore a divine love which has called the world into being and keeps it in being; and this love, as the perfect opposite of sovereign caprice, is a pledge for the absolute righteousness of the divine rule.

- 16 *And oh understand now, hear this;  
Hearken to the sound of my words.*
- 17 *Would one who hateth right also be able to subdue?  
Or wilt thou condemn the All-just?*
- 18 *Is it becoming to say to a king: Worthless One! ?  
Thou evil-doer! to princes?*
- 19 *To Him who accepteth not the person of rulers,  
And regardeth not the noble before the poor:  
For they are all the work of His hands.*
- 20 *In a moment they die, and at midnight  
The people are overthrown and perish,  
And they put aside the mighty—not by the hand of man.*

This strophe contains several grammatical rarities. At first sight it appears that ver. 16a ought to be translated: "and if there is understanding (viz. to thee = if thou hast), then hear this." But מִיָּנִיָּה is accented as *Milel* and with *Mercha*, and can therefore not be a substantive (Hirz., Hahn, and others); for the retreat of the accent would be absolutely incomprehensible, and instead of a conjunctive, a distinctive, viz. *Dechî*, ought to be expected. Several of the old expositors, therefore, interpret with Nolde: *quod quum ita sit*,

*intellige*; but this elliptical **וְאִם**, well as it might also be used for ch. xxi. 4, is unsupportable; the *Makkeph* between the two words is also against it, which rather arises from the assumption that **בִּינָה** is the *imperat.*, and **וְאִם** as an exception, like Gen. xxiii. 13, is an optative particle joined to the *imper.* instead of to the *fut.*: “and if thou shouldst observe” (= **וְאִם־תִּבְּרִין**). To translate ver. 17a with Schultens: *num iram osor judicii frenabit*, is impracticable on account of the order of the words, and gives a thought that is inappropriate here. **וְאִם** is a particle, and the *fut.* is *potentialis*: is it also possible that an enemy of right should govern? (**וְאִם־יָבִשׁ**, *imperio coercere*, as **עָצָר** 1 Sam. ix. 17, **אָסַר** Ps. cv. 22); right and government are indeed mutually conditioned, without right everything would fall into anarchy and confusion. In ver. 17b this is applied to the Ruler of the world: or (**וְאִם**, *an*, as ch. viii. 3, xxi. 4, xl. 9) wilt thou condemn the mighty just One, *i.e.* the All-just? As Elihu calls God **שֹׁנֵיָא בָּח** ch. xxxvii. 23, as the Almighty, and as the Omniscient One, **הַמֵּימִים יָדָעִים** ch. xxxvii. 16, so here as the All-just One, **צָדִיק בְּבִיר**. The two adjectives are put side by side *ἀσυνδέτως*, as is frequently the case in Arabic, and form one compound idea, Ew. § 270, d.

Ver. 18a. The interrogative **וְ** is joined to the *inf.*, not, however, as ch. xl. 2 (*num litigare cum Deo castigator, scil. vult*), with the *inf. absol.*, but with the *inf. constr.*; the form **אָמַר** for **אָמַרְ** occurs also in Prov. xxv. 7, and is also otherwise not rare, especially in combination with particles, *e.g.* **בְּאֵבֶל**, Num. xxvi. 10, Olsh. § 160, b.<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary to suppose that the *inf. constr.*, which sometimes, although rarely, does occur (Ges. § 131, rem. 2), is used here instead of the *inf. absol.*; it is thus, as after **טוֹב**, *e.g.* Judg. ix. 2 (**הַמֵּשֶׁל**), Prov. xxv. 7, Ps. cxxxiii. 1, and Ps. xl. 6 after **אֵין**, used as *n.*

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxv. 8 is also to be read **אָמַר** according to the Masora and old editions (as **אָמַרְ** Deut. vii. 20, **אָבֶל** xii. 23, **אָהוּ** 1 Kings vi. 6), for distinction from the imperatives, which have *Chateph-Segol*.

*actionis*, since הָ in a pregnant sense is equivalent to *num licet* (הֲטוֹב), if one does not prefer, with Olsh., to suppose an aposiopesis: “(dare one be so bold as) to say to a king: Thou worthless one! Thou evil-doer! to princes?” The reading הָאֵלִים is an unnecessary lightening of the difficulty. It were a *crimen læsæ*, if one reproached a king with being unjust, and therefore thereby denied him the most essential requisite of a ruler; and now even Him (Merc. correctly supplies *tanto minus ei*) who does not give the preference to the person (נָשָׂא פָנַי as ch. xiii. 8, xxxii. 21) of princes, and does not (with preference) regard (on נִיר *vid.* on ch. xxi. 29, also here *Piel*, and according to the statement of the Masora, *Milel*, for an acknowledged reason which can be maintained even in remarkable instances, like Deut. x. 5 in וַיְהִי, Ezek. xxxii. 26 in מַחֲלֵי, whereas 1 Sam. xxiii. 7 is *Milra*) the rich before (לִפְנֵי in the sense of *præ*) the poor! therefore the King of kings, who makes no partial distinction, because the king and the beggar are the work of His hands: they stand equally near to Him as being His creatures, and He is exalted above both alike as their Creator, this order and partiality are excluded;—what a *nota bene* against the doctrine of the *decretum absolutum*, which makes the love of the Creator a partial love, and turns this love, which in its very nature is perfect love, into caprice! In ver. 20 Elihu appeals to human history in favour of this impartiality of the Ruler of the world. It may there appear as though God with partiality suffered rulers and peoples in authority in the world to do as they please; but suddenly they die away, and in fact in the middle of the night (here *Mercha-mahpach*), the individuals of a great people (thus must עַם be understood in accordance with the prominently-placed plur. predicate, Ges. § 146, 1) tremble and perish; and they remove (וַיִּסְרִי instead of the passive, as ch. iv. 20 and frequently) the mighty—לֹא-יָבִיר. It is not the hand of man which does this, but an invisible

higher power (which, if it is called  $\text{ר}$ , only bears this name *per anthropomorphismum*); comp. Dan. ii. 34,  $\text{רִיבְנֵי נָזָר}$ ; Dan. viii. 25,  $\text{רִיבְנֵי נָזָר}$ ; and also ch. xx. 26, like the New Testament use of  $\text{οὐ χειροποιήτος}$ . The subj. of ver. 20a are the previously mentioned princes. The division according to the accents may be received with hesitation, since the symmetry of the stichs, which it restores, is not unfrequently wanting in the Elihu section. Ver. 20c refers back to the possessors of power, and in the interval, ver. 20b describes the fate of those who belong to the people which has become subservient to their lust of conquest, for  $\text{בְּצִמְצִימָם}$  cannot signify "in crowds" (Ew., Hahn); it is therefore, and especially when mentioned as here between princes and rulers, the people, and in fact, in distinction from  $\text{בְּנֵי אָדָם}$ , the people together forming a state.

21 *For His eyes are upon the ways of each one,*

*And He seeth all his steps.*

22 *There is no darkness nor shadow of death*

*Wherein the workers of iniquity might hide themselves.*

23 *For He needeth not long to regard a man*

*That he may enter into judgment with God.*

As the preceding strophe showed that God's creative order excludes all partiality, so this strophe shows that His omniscience qualifies Him to be an impartial judge. He sees everything, nothing can escape His gaze; He sees through man without being obliged to wait for the result of a judicial investigation.  $\text{עַל־בְּנֵי אָדָם}$  with  $\text{עַל־בְּנֵי אָדָם}$  does not here signify: to lay upon (Saad., Gecat.), but as ch. xxxvii. 15, and as with  $\text{עַל־בְּנֵי אָדָם}$  (ver. 14) or  $\text{עַל־בְּנֵי אָדָם}$  (ch. xxiii. 6): to direct one's attention (supply  $\text{עַל־בְּנֵי אָדָם}$ , ch. i. 8) towards anything; the *fut.* has here a modal signification;  $\text{עַל־בְּנֵי אָדָם}$  is used as *e.g.* Gen. xli. 29: again and again, continuously; and in the clause expressive of purpose it is  $\text{עַל־בְּנֵי אָדָם}$  (instead of  $\text{עַל־בְּנֵי אָדָם}$ , a very favourite combination used throughout the whole book, ch. v. 8, viii. 5, xiii. 3, and so on) from

the human standpoint: He, the all-seeing One, needs not to observe him long that he should enter into judgment with God—He knows him thoroughly before any investigation takes place, which is not said without allusion to Job's vehement longing to be able to appear before God's tribunal.

24 *He breaketh the mighty in pieces without investigation  
And setteth others in their place.*

25 *Thus He seeth through their works,  
And causeth an overthrow by night, thus they are crushed.*

26 *He smiteth them after the manner of evil-doers  
In the sight of the public.*

27 *For for such purpose are they fallen away from Him  
And have not considered any of His ways,*

28 *To cause the cry of the poor to come up to Him,  
And that He should hear the cry of the needy.*

He makes short work (לֹא-חִקֵּר for בָּלָא, as ch. xii. 24, xxxviii. 26: without research, viz. into their conduct, which is at once manifest to Him; not: in an incomprehensible manner, which is unsuitable, and still less: *innumerabiles*, as Jer., Syr.) with the mighty (בְּבִירִים, Arab. *kibâr, kubarâ*), and in consequence of this (*fut. consec.*) sets up (*constituit*) others, *i.e.* better and worthier rulers (comp. אֲחִיר, ch. viii. 19, Isa. lxxv. 15), in their stead. The following לֵבָן is not equivalent to לֵבָן אִשִּׁיר, for which no satisfactory instance exists; on the contrary, לֵבָן here, as more frequently, introduces not the real consequence (ch. xx. 2), but a logical inference, something that directly follows in and with what precedes (corresponding to the Greek *ἀρα*, just so, consequently), comp. ch. xlii. 3, Isa. xxvi. 14, lxi. 7, Jer. ii. 33, v. 2, Zech. xi. 7 (*vid. Köhler in loc.*). Thus, then, as He hereby proves, He is thoroughly acquainted with their actions (מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם, nowhere besides in the book of Job, an Aramaizing expression for מַעֲשֵׂהוּ). This abiding fact of divine omniscience, inferred

from the previously-mentioned facts, then serves again in its turn, in ver. 25*b*, as the source of facts by which it is verified. לַיְלָה is by no means an obj. The expositions: *et inducit noctem* (Jer.), He walks in the night in which He has veiled Himself (Umbr.), *convertit eos in noctem* (Syr., Arab.), and such like, all read in the two words what they do not imply. It is either to be translated: He throws them by night (לַיְלָה as ch. xxvii. 20) upon the heaps (הַפָּה as Prov. xii. 7), or, since the verb has no objective *suff.*: He maketh a reformation or overthrow during the night, *i.e.* creates during the night a new order of things, and they who stood at the head of the former affairs are crushed by the catastrophe.

Ver. 26. The following תַּחַת רַשָּׁעִים cannot signify: on the place of the evil-doers, *i.e.* in the place where evil-doers are punished (Hirz., Hahn, and others), for תַּחַת (תַּחְתִּי) only has this signification with the *suff.* (*vid.* on Hab. iii. 16); but not otherwise than: in the evil-doers' stead, taking them and treating them as such, as Jer. has correctly translated: *quasi impios* (comp. Isa. x. 4, Jerome, *cum interfectis*). The place, first mentioned afterwards, is not exactly the usual place of judgment, but any place whatever where all can see it. There He smites those who hitherto held positions of eminence, as of unimpeachable honour, like the common criminal; סָפַק, صَفَقَ, *complodere*, and then *ictu resonante percutere*, as the likewise cognate سَفَعَ signifies first to box the ear (as صَفَقَ = صَفَقَ), then so to strike that it smacks. As little as לָבֶן, ver. 25*a*, was = לָבֶן אִשָּׁר, just so little is אִשָּׁר עַל-בֶּן, ver. 27*a*, = עַל-בֶּן אִשָּׁר (*vid.* on the other hand what is said on Gen. xviii. 5 concerning בֶּן-עֲלֵיבֶן). Elihu wishes to say that they endure such a destiny of punishment, because they therefore, *i.e.* in order to suffer such, have turned aside from following after God, and have not thought on all His ways, *i.e.* guidings, by which He manifested Himself to them: they have thus sought to cause the cry of the poor to come (Jer. well renders:



*ut pervenire facerent ad eum*) before Him (עָלָיו, perhaps with the idea of urging forward = לִפְנֵי or בְּפָנָיו), and that He may hear the cry of the lowly (construction exactly like ch. xxxiii. 17), *i.e.* have sought to bring forth His avenging justice by injustice that cries aloud to heaven.

29 *If He, however, maketh peace, who will then condemn?*

*And if He hideth His countenance—who then can behold Him?—*

*Both concerning numbers and individuals together :*

30 *That godless men reign not,*

*That they be not nets to the people.*

31 *For one, indeed, saith to God,*

*“I have been proud, I will not do evil ;*

32 *“What I see not, show Thou me ;*

*“If I have done wrong, I will do it no more” !?—*

If God makes peace (יִשְׁקֵט as Ps. xciv. 13, comp. Isa. xiv. 7, שָׁקֵטָה בְּלִהְיָרֵץ, viz. after the overthrow of the tyrant) in connection with such crying oppression of the poor, who will then condemn Him without the rather recognising therein His comprehensive justice? The conjecture יִרְעֵשׁ<sup>1</sup> is not required either here or 1 Sam. xiv. 47 (where הִרְשִׁיעַ signifies to punish the guilty); יִרְעֵשׁ is also not to be translated *turbabit* (Rosenm.), since רָשַׁע (رَسَعَ, رَسَعَ) according to its primitive notion does not signify “to be restless, to rage,” but “to be relaxed, hollow” (opposite of צָדִיק, صدق, to be hard, firm, tight). Further: If God hides His countenance, *i.e.* is angry and punishes, who can then behold Him, *i.e.* make Him, the veiled One, visible and claim back the favour withdrawn? The *Waw* of וְיָבִי, if one marks off the periods of the paratactic expression, is in both cases the *Waw* of conclusion after hypothetical antecedents, and ver. 29b refers to Job’s impetuous challenging of God. Thus exalted above human controversy

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Grätz in Frankel’s *Monatsschrift*, 1861, i.

and defiance, God rules both over the mass and over individuals alike. יָדָר gives intensity to the equality thus correlatively (*et — et*) expressed (Targ., Syr.); to refer it to אָדָם as generalizing (LXX., Jer. *et super omnes homines*), is forbidden by the antithesis of peoples and individuals. To the thought, that God giveth rest (from oppressors) and hides His countenance (from the oppressors and in general those who act wrongly), two co-ordinate negative final clauses are attached: in order that godless men may not rule (מִמְלִיךָ, as *e.g.* 2 Kings xxiii. 33, *Keri*), in order that they may no longer be (מִהָיִית = מ, under the influence of the notion of putting aside contained in the preceding final clause, therefore like Isa. vii. 8 מעַם, xxv. 2 מעִיר, Jer. xlviii. 2 מְנִי, and the like) snares of the people, *i.e.* those whose evil example and bad government become the ruin of the community.

In ver. 31a the view of those who by some jugglery concerning the laws of the vowel sounds explain הָאָמַר as *imper. Niph.* (= הִאָמַר), be it in the sense of לְהָאָמַר, *dicendum est* (Rosenm., Schlottm., and others, after Raschi), or even in the unheard-of reflexive signification: express thyself (Stick., Hahn), is to be rejected. The syncopated form of the *inf.* בִּהְרֵג, Ezek. xxvi. 15, does not serve as a palliation of this adventurous imperative. It is, on the contrary, אָמַר with הָ *interrog.*, as Ezek. xxviii. 9 הָאָמַר, and probably also הָאָמַר Mic. ii. 7 (*vid.* Hitz.). A direct exhortation to Job to penitence would also not be in place here, although what Elihu says is levelled against Job. The בִּי is confirmatory. Thus God acts with that class of unscrupulous men who abuse their power to the destruction of their subjects: for he (one of them) says (or: has said, from the standpoint of the execution of punishment) to God, etc. Ew. differently: “for one says thus to God even: I expiate what I do not commit,” by understanding the speech quoted of a defiance which reproachfully demands an explanation. It is, however, manifestly

a compendious model confession. And since Elihu with **כִּי** establishes the execution of punishment from this, that it never entered the mind of the **הִנֵּה אָרָם הִנֵּה** thus to humble himself before God, so **נִשְׁאַתִּי** here cannot signify: I have repented (put up with and had to bear what I have deserved); on the contrary, the confession begins with the avowal: I have exalted myself (**נִשְׂאָה**, *se efferre*, in Hos. xiii. 1, Ps. lxxxix. 10), which is then followed by the vow: I will not (in the future) do evil (**לֹא עֲוֵה** synonym **לֹא אַעֲשֶׂה**, as Neh. i. 7, and probably also *supra*, ch. xxiv. 9), and the entreaty, ver. 32: beside that which I behold (elliptical object-clause, Ew. § 333, *b*), *i.e.* what lies beyond my vision (= **נִסְתָּרוֹת** or **עֲלִמִים**, Ps. xix. 13, xc. 8, unperceived sins), teach me; and the present vow has reference to perceived sins and sins that have still to be perceived: if I have done wrong, I will do it no more. Thus speaking—Elihu means—those high ones might have anticipated the punishment of the All-just God, for favour instead of wrath cannot be extorted, it is only reached by the way of lowly penitence.

- 33 *Shall He recompense it as thou wilt? For thou hast found fault,*  
*So that thou hast to determine, not I,*  
*And what thou knowest speak out!*
- 34 *Men of understanding will say to me,*  
*And a wise man who listeneth to me:*
- 35 *“Job speaketh without knowledge,*  
*“And his words are without intelligence.”*
- 36 *O would that Job were proved to the extreme*  
*On account of his answers after the manner of evil men;*
- 37 *For he addeth transgression to his sin,*  
*Among us he clappeth*  
*And multiplieth his speeches against God.*

The question put to Job, whether then from him or accord-

ing to his idea (עם in עָמְךָ as ch. xxiii. 10, xxvii. 11, which see) shall God recompense it (viz., as this "it" is to be understood according to ver. 32b: man's evil-doing and actions in general), Elihu proves from this, that Job has despised (shown himself discontented with it) the divine mode of recompense, so that therefore (this second בִּי signifies also *nam*, but is, because extending further on account of the first, according to the sense equivalent to *ita ut*) he has to choose (seek out) another mode of recompense, not Elihu (who is perfectly satisfied with the mode with which history furnishes us); which is then followed by the challenge (וְיָבִיחַ not *infin.*, but as ch. xxxiii. 32): what (more corresponding to just retribution) thou knowest, speak out then! Elihu on his part knows that he does not stand alone against Job, the censurer of the divine government of the world, but that men of heart (understanding) and (every) wise man who listens to him will coincide with him in the opinion that Job's talk is devoid of knowledge and intelligence (on the form of writing הַשִּׁבְלִי as Jer. iii. 15, *vid.* Ges. § 53, rem. 2).

In ver. 36 sq. we will for the present leave the meaning of אָבִי undecided; יִבְחֶנּוּ is certainly intended as optative: let Job be tried to the extreme or last, *i.e.* let his trial by affliction continue until the matter is decided (comp. Hab. i. 4), on account of the opposition among men of iniquity, *i.e.* after the manner of such (on this *Beth* of association comp. בְּקִרְיָשִׁים, ch. xxxvi. 14), for to הַטָּאָת, by which the purpose of his affliction is to be cleared up, he adds בְּשָׁעָה, viz. the wickedness of blasphemous speeches: among us (therefore without fear) he claps (viz. his hands scornfully together, יִסְבֹּחַ only here thus absolute instead of יִשְׁבֹּחַ בְּפִי, ch. xxvii. 23, comp. בִּשְׁפָק ch. xxxvi. 18 with סָפְקוּ xx. 22<sup>1</sup>) and multiplies (יִרְבֵּה, *fut. apoc. Hiph.* as ch. x. 17, and instead of the full fut., as יִשָּׂר, ch.

<sup>1</sup> The mode of writing with ס instead of ש is limited in the book of Job, according to the Masora, to ch. xxxiv. 26, 37.

xxxiii. 27) his speeches against God, *i.e.* exceeds himself in speeches which irreverently dictate to and challenge God.

But we now ask, what does that אָבִי, ver. 36a, signify? According to the accentuation with *Rebia*, it appears to be intended to signify *pater mi* (Jer.), according to which Saad. (*jâ rabbî*) and Gecat. (*munshî*, my Creator) translate it. This would be the only passage where an Old Testament saint calls God אָבִי; elsewhere God is called the Father of Israel, and Israel as a people, or the individual comprehending himself with the nation, calls Him אָבִינוּ. Nevertheless this *pater mi* for Elihu would not be inappropriate, for what the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. xii. 7, says to believers on the ground of Prov. iii. 11: εἰς παιδείαν ὑπομένετε, ye suffer for the purpose of paternal discipline, is Elihu's fundamental thought; he also calls God in ch. xxxii. 22, xxxvi. 3, with a like reference to himself, עֲשֵׂי and פֹּעֵל—this ejaculatory “my Father!” especially in conjunction with the following wish, remains none the less objectionable, and only in the absence of a more agreeable interpretation should we, with Hirz., decide in its favour. It would be disproportionately repulsive if ver. 36 sq. still belonged to the assenting language of another, and Elihu represented himself as addressed by אָבִי (Wolfson, Maur.). Thus, therefore, אָבִי must be taken somehow or other interjectionally. It is untenable to compare it with אָבִי, Prov. xxiii. 29, for אִי וְאָבִי (Arab. *âh wa-âwâh*) is “ah! and alas!” The Aramaic בִּיאָ בִּיאָ, *væ væ* (Buxtorf, col. 294), compared by Ges. to בִּי, signifies just the same. The Targ. translates אֲבִיָּא, I wish; after which Kimchi, among moderns, Umbr., Schlottm., Carey, and others derive אָבִי from אֲבָהָ, a wish (after the form קִיָּה, קִיָּה), but the participial substantival-form badly suits this signification, which is at once improbable according to the usage of the language so far as we at present know it. This interpretation also does not well suit the בִּי, which is to be explained at the same time. Ewald,

§ 358, *a*, regards אָבִי as the fuller form of אָבִי, and thinks אָבִי is dialectic = לָבִי = לָבִי = לָבִי, but this is an etymological legerdemain. The two Schultens (died 1750 and 1793) were on the right track when they traced back אָבִי to בּוֹא, but their interpretation: *rem eo adducam ut* (אָבִי = אָבִי, as it is certainly not unfrequently written, *e.g.* 1 Kings xxi. 29, with the assumption of a root בִּי cognate with בּוֹא), is artificial and without support in the usage of the language and in the syntax. Körber and Simonis opened up the right way, but with inadequate means for following it out, by referring (*vid. Ges. Thes. s.v. בִּי*) to the formula of a wish and of respect, *bawwák allah*, which, however, also is *bajjá́k*. The *Kamus* interprets *bajjá́k*, though waveringly, by *bawwák*, the meaning of which (may he give thee a resting-place) is more transparent. In an annotated Codex of Zamachschari *hajjá́k allah wa-bajjá́k* is explained: God preserve thy life and grant thee to come to a place of rest, *bawwaaka* (therefore בּוֹא = בּוֹא)

*menzilan*. That אָבִי (as also אָבִי) is connected with this *bajjá́k* since the latter is the *Piel*-form of an old verb *bajja* (*vid. supra*, p. 125), which with the forms בָּא (whence בֵּיתָ, a sheltering house) and בּוֹא (בּוֹא) has one root similar in signification with בּוֹא, the following contributions of Wetzstein will show.

In elucidation of the present passage he observes: The expressions *abí, tebí, jebí; nebí, tebú, jebú*, are so frequent in Damascus, that they very soon struck me, and on my first inquiry I always received the same answer, that they are a mutilation of ابغى, *abghi*, I desire, etc. [*vid. supra*, p. 165], until one day a fugitive came into the consulate, and with these words, *abí wálidék*, seized me in that part of the body where the Arabs wear the girdle (*zunnár*), a symbolic action by which one seeks some one's protection. Since the word here could not be equivalent to *abghi* ("I desire" thy parents), I turned to the person best acquainted with the idiom of

the country, the scribe *Abderrahmán el-Midáni*, whose father had been a wandering minstrel in the camps for twenty years; and he explained to me that *abghi* only signifies "I desire;" on the contrary, *abî*, "I implore importunately, I pray for God's sake," and the latter belongs to a defective verb, *أبى*, from which, except the forms mentioned, only the part. *anâ bâj*, "I come as a suppliant," and its plur. *nahn bâjin*, is used. The poet *Musa Rârâ* from *Krêje* in the south of Hauran, who lived with me six months in Damascus in order to instruct me in the dialect of his district, assured me that among the Beduins also the *perf.* forms *bît*, *bînâ* (I have, we have entreated), and the *fut.* forms *tabîn* (thou, woman . . .), *jâben* (they, the women . . .), and *taben* (ye women . . .), are used. In the year 1858, in the course of a journey in his native country, I came to *Dîmâs*, whither they had brought two strange Beduins who had been robbed of their horses in that desert (*Sahra Dîmâs*), and one of them had at the same time received a mortal gunshot-wound. As I came to these men, who were totally forsaken, the wounded man began to express his importunate desire for a surgeon with the words *jâ shêch nebî 'arabak*, "Sir, we claim the protection of thy Arabs," i.e. we adjure thee by thy family. Naturally *abî* occurs most frequently. It generally has its obj. in the *acc.*, often also with the *præpos.* *على*, exactly like *دخل* (to enter, to flee anywhere and hide), which is its correct synonym and usual substitute in common life. It is often used without an obj., and, indeed, very variously. With women it is chiefly the introduction to a question prompted by curiosity, as: *abî* (ah, tell me), have you really betrothed your daughter? Or the word is accompanied by a gesture by the five fingers of the right hand, with the tips united, being stretched out towards the hasty or impatient listener, as if one wished to show some costly object, when *abî* signifies as much as: I pray thee wait

till I have shown thee this precious thing, *i.e.* allow me to make one more remark to thee in reference to the matter. Moreover, בִּי (probably not corrupted from אֲבִי, but a derived *nomen concretum* in the sense of *dachîl* or *mustagîr*, one seeking protection, protégé, after the form אִי, יִי, from בּוּה = בּוּא) still exists unaltered in Hauran and in the steppe. The Beduin introduces an important request with the words *anâ bî ahlak*, I am a protégé of thy family, or *anâ bî 'irdak*, I trust to thine honour, etc.; while in Damascus they say, *anâ dachîl ahlak*, *harîmak*, *aulâdak*, etc. The Beduin women make use of this *bî* in a weakened signification, in order to beg a piece of soap or sugar, and *anâ bî lihjetak*, I pray by thy beard, etc., is often heard.

If now we combine that אֲבִי of Elihu with *abghi* (from בָּגַה, Hebr. בָּעָה, Aram. בָּעָה, fut. יִבְעִי, as בִּי with בָּעִי) or with *abî* = אֲבִי, from the verb *bajja* = בּוּא (בִּי),<sup>1</sup> it always remains a remarkable instance in favour of the Arabic colouring of the Elihu section similar to the rest of the book,—a colouring, so to speak, dialectically Hauranitish; while, on the other hand, even by this second speech, one cannot avoid the impression of a great distance between it and the rest of the book: the language has a lofty tone, without its special harshness, as there, being the necessary consequence of a carefully concentrated fulness of thought; moreover, here in general the usual

<sup>1</sup> We cannot in any case, with Wetzst., explain the אֲבִי אֲבִי, 2 Kings ii. 12, xiii. 14, according to the above, so that the king of Israel adjured the dying prophet by the national army and army of the faithful not to forsake him, as an Arab is now and then adjured in most urgent and straitened circumstances "by the army of Islam;" *vid.* on the other hand, 2 Kings vi. 21, comp. v. 13, viii. 9 (בְּיָדָם). Here rather, if an Arabian parallel be needed, the usual death wail, *bi-abî anta* (thou wast dear as a father to me), *e.g.* in Kosegarten, *Chrestom.* p. 140, 3, is to be compared. אֲבִי, 1 Sam. xxiv. 12, might more readily, with Ew. § 101, c, be brought in here and regarded as belonging to the North Palestine peculiarities of the book of Kings; but by a comparison of the passages cited, this is also improbable.



regularity of the strophe-lines no longer prevails, and also the usual symmetrical balance of thought in them.

If we confine our attention to the real substance of the speech, apart from the emotional and rough accessories, Elihu casts back the reproach of injustice which Job has raised, first as being contradictory to the being of God, ch. xxxiv. 10 sq.; then he seeks to refute it as contradicting God's government, and this he does (1) apagogically from the unselfish love with which God's protecting care preserves the breath of every living thing, while He who has created all things might bring back all created things to the former non-existence, ch. xxxiv. 12-15; (2) by induction from the impartial judgment which He exercises over princes and peoples, and from which it is inferred that the Ruler of the world is also all-just, ch. xxxiv. 16-20. From this Elihu proves that God can exercise justice, and from that, that He is omniscient, and sees into man's inmost nature without any judicial investigation, ch. xxxiv. 21-28; inaccessible to human accusation and human defiance, He rules over peoples and individuals, even over kings, and nothing turns His just punishment aside but lowly penitence blended with the prayer for the disclosure of unperceived sin, ch. xxxiv. 29-32. For in His retributive rule God does not follow the discontented demands of men arrogant and yet devoid of counsel, ch. xxxiv. 33. It is worthy of recognition, that Elihu does not here coincide with what has been already said (especially ch. xii. 15 sqq.), without applying it to another purpose; and that his theodicy differs essentially from that proclaimed by the friends. It is not derived from mere appearance, but lays hold of the very principles. It does not attempt the explanation of the many apparent contradictions to retributive justice which outward events manifest, as agreeing with it; it does not solve the question by mere empiricism, but from the idea of the Godhead and its relation to the world, and by such inner necessity guarantees to the

mysteries still remaining to human shortsightedness, their future solution.

*Elihu's Third Speech.*—Chap. xxxv.

*Schema* : 6. 8. 10. 6.

[Then began Elihu, and said:]

2 *Dost thou consider this to be right,*

*Sayest thou : my righteousness exceedeth God's,*

3 *That thou sayest, what advantage is it to thee,*

*What doth it profit me more than my sin?*

4 *I will answer thee words,*

*And thy companions with thee.*

The neutral וְאֵת, ver. 2*a*, refers prospectively to בִּי־תִאמָר, ver. 3*a* : this that thou sayest. וְאֵת with *acc.* of the obj. and לְ of the predicate, as ch. xxxiii. 10, comp. xiii. 24, and freq. The second interrogative clause, ver. 2*b*, is co-ordinate with the first, and the collective thought of this ponderous construction, vers. 2, 3, is this : Considerest thou this to be right, and thinkest thou on this account to be able to put thy righteousness above the divine, that, as thou maintainest, no righteousness on the side of God corresponds to this thy righteousness, because God makes no distinction between righteousness and the sin of man, and allows the former to go unrewarded? צִדְקָתִי (for which Olsh. wishes to read צִדְקָתִי, as ch. ix. 27 אִמְרֵי for אֲמָרִי) forms with מֵאֵל a substantival clause : *justitia mea est præ Deo (præ divina)*; מִן comparative as ch. xxxii. 2, comp. on the matter xxxiv. 5, not equivalent to ἀπό as ch. iv. 17. בִּי־תִאמָר is first followed by the *oratio obliqua* : what it (viz. צִדְקָתִי) advantageth thee, then by the *or. directa* (on this change *vid.* Ew. § 338, *a*) : what profit have I (viz. בְּצִדְקָתִי), *præ peccato meo*; this מִן is also comparative; the constantly ambiguous combination became allowable from the fact that, according to the usage of the language, “to

obtain profit from anything" is expressed by הוֹעִילָּךְ, not by הוֹעִיל מִן. Moreover, *præ peccato meo* is equivalent to *plus quam inde quod pecco*, comp. Ps. xviii. 24 מִמַּעֲוֵי, Hos. iv. 8 אֶל-עֲוֹנָם. We have already on ch. xxxiv. 9 observed that Job has not directly said (he cites it, ch. xxi. 15, as the saying of the ungodly) what Elihu in ver. 3 puts into his mouth, but as an inference it certainly is implied in such utterances as ch. ix. 22. Elihu's polemic against Job and his companions (רַעֲיֵיהֶם are not the three, as LXX. and Jer. translate, but the אֲנָשֵׁי אֲוֶן, to whom Job is likened by such words as ch. xxxiv. 8, 36) is therefore not unauthorized; especially since he assails the conclusion together with its premises. In the second strophe the vindication of the conclusion is now refuted.

5 *Look towards heaven and see,*

*And behold the ethereal heights: they are high above thee.*

6 *If thou sinnest, what dost thou effect with Him?*

*And if thy transgressions are many, what dost thou to Him?*

7 *If thou art righteous, what dost thou give Him,*

*Or what doth He take from thy hand?*

8 *To man like thee thy godlessness availeth,*

*And to thee, a son of man, thy righteousness.*

Towards heaven he is to direct his gaze, to obtain from the height of heaven a notion of the exaltation of God who dwells above the heavens. The combination הַבֵּיט וְרָאָה is like Ps. lxxx. 15 and freq. שָׁחַק (سحق, to rub in pieces, make thin, therefore the opposite of עָבִים) are the thin transparent strata of the atmosphere above the hanging clouds. מִן after גִּבֹּהַ denotes the height that is on the opposite side to the beholder. From the exaltation of God it is then further inferred that it is impossible to exercise any human influence upon Him, by which He might suffer. The pointing wavers here between תַּפְעֵל (the common *fut.* form) and תִּפְעַל (as a con-

traction of תַּבְעַל after the form אָנֹכִי, Num. xxiii. 8). Human wrong or right doing neither diminishes nor increases His blessedness; injury or advantage is only on the side of man, from whom it proceeds. Others, whom his conduct affects, are not included in ver. 8: righteous or ungodly doing, Elihu means to say, as such and with its consequences, belongs solely to the doer himself, the man "like thee" (לְאִישִׁ with *Munach*, כְּמוֹךָ with *Munach*), the son of man, i.e. man, capable of evil as of good, and who always, after deciding in favour of the latter or the former, determines his fortune or misfortune, in distinction from God, who ever remains unchangeably the same in His perfect righteousness. What Elihu here says we have already heard from Eliphaz, ch. xxii. 2 sq., and Job even expresses himself similarly in ch. vii. 20; but to Elihu's mind it all becomes for Job new and powerful motives to quiet submission, for what objection should Job raise in justification of his complaints concerning his affliction against such sentiments as these, that goodness bears its reward and evil its punishment in itself, and that God's reward of goodness is not a work of indebtedness, nor His punishment of evil a work of self-defence? Before such truth he must really hold his peace.

- 9 *By reason of the multitude of oppressions they raise a cry,  
They call for help by reason of the arm of the great,*
- 10 *But none saith: Where is Eloah my Creator,  
Who giveth songs of praise in the night,*
- 11 *Who teacheth us by the beasts of the earth,  
And maketh us wise by the fowls of heaven?*
- 12 *Then they cry, yet He answereth not,  
Because of the pride of evil men.*
- 13 *Vanity alone God heareth not,  
And the Almighty observeth it not.*

In ver. 9a the accentuation of מְרִיב with *Decht*, according

to which Dachselet interprets: *præ multitudine (oppressionum) oppressi clamabunt*, is erroneous; it is to be written מַרְבֵּ, as everywhere else, and this (according to Codd. and the editions of Jablonski, Majus, Michaelis, and others) is to be accented with *Munach*, which is followed by עֲשׂוּקִים with a vicarious *Munach*: *præ multitudine oppressionum* (עֲשׂוּקִים like Eccl. iv. 1a, and probably also Amos iii. 9) *edunt clamorem* (*Hiph.* in the intensive *Kal* signification, as e.g. הִזְנִיחַ, to commit fornication, Hos. iv. 10, and freq., comp. p. 185, note). On וְרוּעַ, ver. 9b, *vid.* vol. i. 432; רָבִים are the great or lords (Arab. *arbáb*). The *plur.* with a general subj. is followed by the *sing.* in ver. 10a: and no one says (exactly as in הִתְאַמֵּר, ch. xxxiv. 31). Elihu weakens the doubt expressed by Job in ch. xxiv. 12, that God allows injustice to prevail, and oppressed innocence remains without vindication. The failure of the latter arises from the fact of the sufferers complaining, but not seeking earnestly the only true helper, God their maker (עֲשִׂים, intensive *plur.*, as Isa. xxii. 11, liv. 5, Ps. cxlix. 2), who gives (to which may be compared a passage of the Edda: "Wuodan gives songs to the Scalds") songs (וְסִמְרוֹת, from the onomatopoetic זָמַר) in the night, i.e. who in the night of sorrow puts songs of praise concerning the dawning light of help into the mouth of the sufferers. The singing of the glory of the nightly heavens (Stick., Hahn) is to be as little thought of as the music of the spheres; the night is, as ch. xxxiv. 20, 25, the time of unexpectedly sudden change.

In ver. 11 most expositors (last of all Schlottm.) take the two כִּי as comparative. Elihu would then, since he feels the absence of the asking after this God on the part of the sufferers, mean the conscious relation in which He has placed us to Himself, and in accordance with which the sufferer should not merely instinctively complain, but humbly bow himself and earnestly offer up prayer. But according to ch. xii. 7 (comp. Prov. vi. 6, וְחִכָּה), it is to be translated: who

teaches (נִלְמַד = נִלְמַדָּנוּ, comp. 2 Sam. xxii. 40, *Psalter* i. 160) us from the beasts of the earth (so that from them as a means of instruction teaching comes to us), and makes us wise from the birds of heaven. The *fut.* interchanging with the *part.* better accords with this translation, according to which ver. 11 is a continuation of the assertion of a divine instruction, by means of the animal creation; the thought also suits the connection better, for of the many things that may be learned from the animal creation, prayer here comes under consideration,—the lions roar, Ps. civ. 21; the thirsty cattle cry to God, Joel i. 20; the ravens call upon God, Ps. cxlvii. 9. If we now determine the collective thought of vers. 10 sq., that affliction does not drive most men to God the almighty Helper, who will be humbly entreated for help: it is more natural to take נָשׂ (vid. on ch. xxiii. 7) in the sense of then (τότε), than, with reference to the scene of oppression, in the sense of there (LXX., Jer.: *ibi*). The division of the verse is correct, and H. B. Starcke has correctly interpreted: *Tunc clamabunt (sed non respondebit) propter superbiam (insolentiam) malorum.* מִפְּנֵי is not to be connected with יַעֲנֶה in the sense of *non exaudiet et servabit*, by which *constr. prægnans* one would expect הֵן, Ps. xxii. 22, instead of מִפְּנֵי, nor in the sense of *non exaudiet propter* (Hirz., Schlottm.), for the arrogant רָעִים are not those who complain unheard: but, as the connection shows, those from whom the occasion of complaint proceeds. Therefore: not allowing themselves to be driven to God by oppression, they cry then, without, however, being heard of God, by reason of the arrogance of evil men which they have to endure. Ver. 13 gives the reason of their obtaining no answer: Only emptiness (*i.e.* mere motion of the lips without the true spirit of prayer) God heareth not, and the Almighty observeth it not. Hahn wrongly denies הֵן the significations *certo* and *verumtamen*; but we prefer the restrictive signification (sheer emptiness or hollowness) which

proceeds from the affirmative primary signification<sup>1</sup> here, to the adversative (nevertheless emptiness), since the adversative thought, *verumtamen non exaudit*, has found its expression already in *וְלֹא יִעֲנֶה*.

14 *Although thou sayest, thou seest Him not :*

*The cause lieth before Him, and thou mayest wait for Him.*

15 *Now, then, if His wrath hath not yet punished,*

*Should He not be well acquainted with sullenness?*

16 *While Job openeth his mouth without reason,*

*Without knowledge multiplieth words.*

The address is not directed to Job exclusively, for it here treats first of the acts of injustice which prevail among men and remain apparently unpunished; but to Job, however, also, so far as he has, ch. xxiii. 8–10, comp. xix. 7, xxx. 20, thus complained concerning his prayer being unanswered. *כַּיִּי* signifies elsewhere *quanto minus*, ch. iv. 19, or also *quanto magis*, Prov. xv. 11, but nowhere *quanto minus si* (Hirz., Hlgst.) or *quanto magis si* (Hahn), also not Ezek. xv. 5, where it signifies *etiamne quum*. As it can, however, naturally signify *etiam quum*, it can also signify *etiamsi*, *etsi*, as here and Neh. ix. 18. This *quamvis dicas (opineris)* is followed by the *oratio obliqua*, as ch. xxxv. 3a. The relation of the matter—says the conclusion, ver. 14b—is other than thou thinkest: the matter to be decided lies before Him, is therefore well known to Him, and thou mightest only wait for Him (*חֹלֵל* instead of *יָחַל* or *הֹחֵל* only here, comp. Ps. xxxvii. 7, *וְהִתְחַלַּל לוֹ*); the decision, though it tarry, will not fail. In vers. 15 sq., ver. 15 is taken by most modern commentators as antecedent to ver. 16, in which case, apart from the distortions introduced, two interpretations are possible: (1) However now, because His (God's) wrath does not visit . . . Job opens his mouth; (2) However now, because

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Hupfeld in the *Zeitschr. für Kunde des Morgenl.* ii. 441 f.

He (God) does not visit his (Job's) wrath (comp. on this reference of the **אַפַּי** to Job, ch. xviii. 4, xxxvi. 13, 18) . . . Job opens, etc. That a clause with a confirmatory **כִּי** is made to precede its principal clause is not without example, Gen. iii. 14, 17; but in connection with this arrangement the verb is accustomed always, in the principal clause or in the conclusion, to stand prominent (so that consequently we should expect **וַיַּפֶּצֶה אֱלֹהִים**), although in Arabic this position of the words, **וַיַּפֶּצֶה**, and in fact **وَأَيُّوبَ** instead of **وَأَيُّوبَ** (in connection with a difference of the subj. in the antecedent and in the conclusion, *vid.* De Sacy, *Gramm. Arabe*, § 1201, 2), is regular. Therefore for a long time I thought that ver. 15 was to be taken interrogatively: And now (**וְעַתָּה**) as logical inference and conclusion, which is here its most probable function, Ew. § 353, *b*) should His wrath not punish (**פָּקַד** as absolute as ch. xxxi. 14), and should He not take notice, etc., **הֲיִי** interrogative as 1 Sam. xxiv. 20, xxviii. 13, 1 Kings xi. 22, as **הֲכִי** (is it so that, or: should it be so that), ch. vi. 22, and freq., in connection with which, what is said on Gen. xxi. 7 concerning the modal use of the *præt.* might be compared on the two *prætt.* But by this rendering the connection of ver. 16 with what precedes is awkward. Ewald has given the correct rendering (apart from the misunderstanding of **פָּשַׁע**): Therefore, because His wrath has not yet punished, He does not know much about foolishness! Ver. 15*b* requires to be taken as the conclusion to ver. 15*a*, yet not as an exclamation, but as an interrogative. The interrogative use of **וְלֹא** is not unusual, 2 Sam. xix. 44, Ezek. xvi. 43, 47, 56, xxxii. 27; and just as here, this interrogative **וְלֹא** is found after a hypothetical antecedent clause, 1 Sam. xx. 9, Ex. viii. 22.

In connection with this interrogative rendering of ver. 15, it still remains questionable whether it refers to Job's sin, or sin which prevails among men. The theme of this third



speech of Elihu requires the latter reference, although perhaps not without a side-glance at Job's own arrogant behaviour. The translation shows how suitably ver. 16 is connected with what precedes: ver. 16 is a circumstantial clause, or, if one is not willing to take it as a subordinate clause, but prefers to take it as standing on a level with ver. 15, an adversative clause attached with *Waw*, as is frequently the case: but (nevertheless) Job . . . ; פָּחַז פִּי פָה of opening the mouth in derision, as Lam. ii. 16, iii. 46; הִבֵּל is the *acc.* of closer definition to it (= פְּהֵבֵל), and the הִכְבִּיר, which occurs only here and ch. xxxvi. 31, signifies without distinction *magnificare* and *multiplicare*: Job multiplies high emotional words. As this יִכְבִּיר is, so to speak, Hebræo-Arabic (Arab. *akbara*), so is ver. 15 full of Arabisms: (1) The combination אֵין פִּקֵּר, which has not its like in the Hebrew language (whether it be originally intended as relative or not: *non est quod visitaverit*, Ew. § 321, *b*), corresponds to the popular Arabic use of لا ليس for لا, Ges. *Thes.* i. 82, *b*; probably אֵין has the value of an intensive negation (Carey: not at all). (2) The combination יָדַע בִּי, to know about anything, to take knowledge of anything (differently ch. xii. 9, but comp. ch. xxiv. 12 on the idea), is like the Arab. construction of the verb 'alima with bi (concerning) or bianna (because that) of the obj.; בִּי אֵין (on this *vid.* on Ps. xxxi. 12) belongs not to בִּי אֵין (which is indeed possible), but, according to Ps. cxxxix. 14, to יָדַע. (3) פֶּשׁ is especially to be explained from the Arabic. The signification a multitude (Jewish expositors, after פֶּשׁ, *Niph. se diffundere*, Nah. iii. 18) is not suitable; the signification evil (LXX., Jer., and others: פֶּשׁ = פֶּשַׁע) presents a forcibly mutilated word, and moreover one devoid of significance in this connection; whereas the Arab. فَشَّ (but not in its metaphorical derivatives, *fashsh*, empty-headed; *fāshūsh*, or *fashshāsh*, a noisy swaggering

fellow) indicates a development of signification which leads to the desired end, especially in the Syro-Arabic usage most natural here. The verb **פָּשַׁח** (פִּשַׁח, cogn. **فشر**, **فرش**, to extend, *expandere*) is used originally of water (*fashsh el-mā*): to overflow its dam, to overflow its banks, whence a valley by the lake of *el-Higāne*, into which the waters of the lake flow after the winter rains, is called *el-mefeshsh*; then of a leathern bottle: to run out (*tarf mefshûsh*, an emptied bottle), of a tumour (*waram*): to disperse, disappear, and tropically of anger (*el-chulq*): to break forth, vent itself on anything, hence the phrase: dost thou make me a *mefeshshe* (an object for the venting) of thine anger? From this **פָּשַׁח** (distinct from **נָשַׁח** *med. Waw*, to swim on the surface, trop. to be above, not to allow one's self to be kept down, and *med. Je*, comp. **פָּשַׁח**, Hab. i. 8, Jer. l. 11, Mal. iii. 20, signifies to be proud) is **פָּשַׁח**, formed after the forms **בָּרַח**, **בָּרַח**, **בָּרַח**, a synon. of **זָרַח**, or even of **עָבְרָה** in the signification of excessive haughtiness, pride that bursts forth violently.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, even at the close of this third speech of Elihu, the Arabic, and in fact Syro-Arabic colouring, common to this

<sup>1</sup> The signification *expandere* also underlies the noun *fishshe*, the lungs (in Egypt); the signification *discutere* (especially *carminare*, to card wool), which the Talmud. **פִּשְׁפִּישׁ** also has, is only a shade of the same signification; the origin of the trop. signification *fatuum esse* is clear from '*gaus fashûsh*, empty nuts. The rice from the Palestine valley of *Hûle*, it is somewhere said, is worse than the Egyptian, because (what is a fault in the East) in cooking *tufeshfish*, i.e. it bursts, breaks in pieces (comp. on the other hand: if the seed for sowing sinks to the bottom when put into water, it is good; if it swims on the surface, *jefûsh*, it is bad). The *Piel* of this *fashsha* signifies to cause the water to overflow, trop. *fashshasha qalbahu*, he gave air to his heart, i.e. he revealed a secret which burdened him. A proverb says: the market (with its life and changing scenes) is a *feshshûsh* of cares, i.e. consoles a troubled heart. In the *Hiph.* one says in like manner proverbially, *el-bukâ jufishsh*, weeping removes the anguish of the soul.—WETZST.

section with the rest of the book, is confirmed; while, on the other hand, we miss the bold, original figures which up to ch. xxxi. followed like waves one upon another, and we perceive a deficiency of skill, as now and then between Koheleth and Solomon. The chief thought of the speech we have also heard already from the three friends and Job himself. That the piety of the pious profits himself without involving God in any obligation to him, Eliphaz has already said, ch. xxii. 2 sq.; and that prayer that is heard in time of need and the unanswered cry of the godly and the ungodly are distinct, Job said, ch. xxvii. 9 sq. Elihu, however, deprives these thoughts of their hitherto erroneous application. If piety gives nothing to God which He ought to reward, Job dare not regard his affliction, mysterious as it is to him, as unjust; and if the godly do not directly experience the avenging wrath of God on the haughtiness of their oppressors, the question, whether then their prayer for help is of the right kind, is more natural than the complaint of a want of justice in God's government of the world. Job is silent also after this speech. It does not contain the right consolation; it contains, however, censure which he ought humbly to receive. It touches his heart. But whether it touches the heart of the idea of the book, is another question.

*Elihu's Fourth Speech.*—Chap. xxxvi. xxxvii.

*Schema:* 6. 7. 6. 6. 6. 7. 6. 8. 8. 8. | 11. 11. 8. 6. 8. 11.

[Then Elihu continued and said:]

- 2 *Suffer me a little, and I will inform thee,  
For there is something still to be said for Eloah.*
- 3 *I will fetch my knowledge from afar,  
And to my Creator will I ascribe right.*
- 4 *For truly my words are not lies,  
One perfect in knowledge stands before thee.*

Elihu's preceding three speeches were introduced by וַיַּעַן; this fourth, in honour of the number three, is introduced only as a continuation of the others. Job is to wait yet a little while, for he still has (= עוֹד לִי), or: there still are, words in favour of Eloah; *i.e.* what may be said in vindication of God against Job's complaints and accusations is not yet exhausted. This appears to be the only instance of the Aramaic פִּתְר being taken up as Hebr.; whereas פִּתְרָה, *nunciare* (Arab. وحى I. IV.), is a poetic Aramaism occurring even in Ps. xix. 3 (comp. on the construction ch. xxxii. 6); and וַיַּעִיר (a diminutive form, after the manner of the Arab. *zu'air*) belongs in Isa. xxviii. 10, 13 to the popular language (of Jerusalem), but is here used poetically. The verb נִשָּׂא, ver. 3a, is not to be understood according to נִשָּׂא מֶשֶׁל, but according to 1 Kings x. 11; and לְמִרְחוֹק signifies, as also ch. xxxix. 29, Isa. xxxvii. 26, *longinquo*, viz. out of the wide realm of history and nature. The expression נָתַן צֶדֶק follows the analogy of נָתַן כְּבוֹד (עוֹ), ver. 4b, interchanges with the דָּעָה which belongs exclusively to Elihu, since Elihu styles himself דְּעוֹת, as ch. xxxvii. 16 God תָּמִים דְּעִים (comp. 1 Sam. ii. 3, יְעוֹת). תָּמִים in this combination with דְּעוֹת cannot be intended of purity of character; but as Elihu there attributes absolute perfection of knowledge in every direction to God, so here, in reference to the theodicy which he opposes to Job, he claims faultlessness and clearness of perception.

- 5 Behold, God is mighty, and yet doth not act scornfully,  
Mighty in power of understanding.
- 6 He preserveth not the ungodly in life,  
And to the afflicted He giveth right.
- 7 He withdraweth not His eyes from the righteous,  
But with kings on the throne  
He establisheth them for ever, and they are exalted.

The obj. that must be mentally supplied to וְלֹא יִמָּאָס is, as

in ch. xlii. 6, to be derived from the connection. The idea of the verb is, as in ch. viii. 20 : He is exalted, without however looking down disdainfully (*non despicit*) from His height, or more definitely : without setting Himself above the justice due to even the meanest of His creatures—great in power of heart (comp. ch. xxxiv. 34 אֱנִשִּׁי לִבָּב, Arab. *ulú-l-elbáb*), i.e. understanding (*νοῦς, πνεῦμα*), to see through right and wrong everywhere and altogether. Vers. 6, 7 describe how His rule among men evinces this not merely outward but spiritual superiority coupled with condescension to the lowly. The notion of the object, וְאֶת־מַלְאָכָיו לִפְנֵי (as Isa. ix. 11 the subject), becomes the more distinctly prominent by virtue of the *fut. consec.* which follows like a conclusion, and takes it up again. Ewald thinks this explanation contrary to the accents and the structure of the sentence itself ; but it is perfectly consistent with the former, and indisputably syntactic (Ges. § 129, 2, *b*, and Ew. himself, § 344, *b*). Ps. ix. 5, comp. cxxxii. 12, Isa. xlvii. 1, shows how לִבְסֵא is intended (He causes them to sit upon the throne). Ch. v. 11, 1 Sam. ii. 8, Ps. cxiii. 7 sq. are parallel passages.

- 8 *And if they are bound with chains,  
Holden in cords of affliction :*  
9 *Then He declareth to them their doing  
And their transgressions, that they have been vainglorious ;*  
10 *Then He openeth their ear to warning,  
And commandeth them to turn from iniquity.*

The subj. is in no case the רִשְׁעִים (Hahn), but the צַדִּיקִים, or those who are as susceptible to discipline as it is needful to them, just as in Ps. cvii., which in general presents many instances for an extensive comparison with the speeches of Elihu. The chains, ver. 8*a*, are meant literally, and the bands, ver. 8*b*, figuratively ; the Psalmist couples both in אֶסִּירִי עָנִי וּבְרִל, cvii. 10. The conclusion begins with ver. 9,

and is repeated in another application, ver. 10. פָּעַל in the sense of *maleficium*, as Arab. فَعْلَة, recalls מעשה, *facinus*, ch. xxxiii. 17. בִּי, ver. 9b, is, as in ver. 10b, an objective *quod*. It is not translated, however, *quod invaluerint* (Rosenm.), which is opposed to the most natural sense of the *Hithpa.*, but according to ch. xv. 25: *quod sese extulerint*. מוֹסֵר, παιδεία, *disciplina*, interchanges here with the more rare מִסֵּר used in ch. xxxiii. 16; there we have already also met with the phrase הִלֵּךְ אָזֶן, to uncover the ear, i.e. to open. פִּי אֶמַר corresponds to the Arab. *amara an (bi-an)*, to command that. The fundamental thought of Elihu here once again comes unmistakably to view: the sufferings of the righteous are well-meant chastisements, which are to wean them from the sins into which through carnal security they have fallen—a warning from God to penitence, designed to work their good.

- 11 *If they hear and yield,  
They pass their days in prosperity  
And their years in pleasure.*  
12 *And if they hear not,  
They pass away by the bow  
And expire in lack of knowledge.*

Since a declaration of the divine will has preceded in ver. 10b, it is more natural to take וַיַּעֲבֹד in the sense of *obsequi*, to do the will of another (as 1 Kings xii. 7, comp. מַעֲבֹד from עָבַד in the generalized sense of *facere*), than, with Umbr., in the sense of *colere scil. Deum* (as Isa. xix. 23, Arab. 'ābid, one who reveres God, a godly person). Instead of יָבֵלֵי, Isa. lxxv. 22 (on which the Masora observes לֵית, i.e. "nowhere else") and ch. xxi. 13 *Chethīb*, it is here without dispute יָבֵלֵי (Targ. יִשְׁלֵכֵן, *peragent*, as Ezek. xliii. 27). נְעִימִים is, as Ps. xvi. 6, a neutral masc.: *amæna*. On עָבַר בַּשֵּׁלֶחַ, to precipitate one's self into the weapon, i.e. to incur peremptory

punishment, comp. ch. xxxiii. 18. On בְּבִלִי דָעָה comp. xxxv. 16, iv. 21. Impenitence changes affliction, which is intended to be a means of rescue, into total destruction; yet there are some who will not be warned and affrighted by it.

- 13 *Yet the hypocrites in heart cherish wrath,  
They cry not when He hath chained them.*  
14 *Thus their soul dieth in the vigour of youth,  
And their life is like that of the unclean.*  
15 *Yet He delivereth the sufferer by his affliction,  
And openeth their ear by oppression.*

He who is angry with God in his affliction, and does not humbly pray to Him, shows thereby that he is a חֲנִיף, one estranged from God (on the idea of the root, *vid.* i. 216), and not a צָרִיק. This connection renders it natural to understand not the divine wrath by חֲנִיף: *θησαυρίζουσιν ὀργήν* (Rosenm. after Rom. ii. 5), or: they heap up wrath upon themselves (Wolfson, who supplies עֲלֵיהֶם), but the impatience, discontent, and murmuring of man himself: they cherish or harbour wrath, viz. בְּלִבָּם (comp. ch. xxii. 22, where בִּלְבָבִים signifies to take to heart, but at the same time to preserve in the heart). Used thus absolutely, שָׁם signifies elsewhere in the book, to give attention to, ch. iv. 20, xxiv. 12, xxxiv. 23, or (as وَضَعَ) to lay down a pledge; here it signifies *reponunt s. recondunt* (with an implied *in ipsis*), as also شَام *fut. i.*, to conceal with the idea of sinking into (*immittentem*), e.g. the sword in the sheath. With תָּחַת, for תַּחַת (Isa. i. 2) or תַּחֲתָיִם, the punishment which issues forth as from the pupa, from this frustration of the divine purpose of grace, follows ἀσυνδέτως, as e.g. Hos. vii. 16. חֲזָה interchanges with נָפַשׁ, as ch. xxxiii. 22, 28; נָעַר (likewise a favourite word with Elihu) is intended just as ch. xxxiii. 25, and in the Ps. lxxxviii. ver. 16, which resembles both the Elihu section and the rest of the book. The *Beth* of בְּקִרְשֵׁים has

the sense of *aque ac* (Targ. חַיִּיךְ), as ch. xxxiv. 36, comp. פְּחָת, ch. xxxiv. 26. Jer. translates *inter effeminatos*; for קְרָשִׁים (heathenish, equivalent to קְרָשִׁים, as בְּמָרִים, heathenish, equivalent to בְּהָנִים) are the consecrated men, who yielded themselves up, like the women in honour of the deity, to passive, prematurely-enervating incontinence (*vid.* Keil on Deut. xxiii. 18), a heathenish abomination prevailing now and again even in Israel (1 Kings xiv. 24, xv. 12, xxii. 47), which was connected with the worship of Astarte and Baal that was transferred from Syria, and to which allusion is here made, in accordance with the scene of the book. For the sufferer, on the other hand, who suffers not merely of necessity, but willingly, this his suffering is a means of rescue and moral purification. Observe the play upon the words יִחַלֵּץ and בְּלַחֵץ. The *Beth* in both instances is, in accordance with Elihu's fundamental thought, the *Beth instrum.*

- 16 *And He even bringeth thee out of the jaws of distress  
To a broad place, whose ground hath no straitness,  
And the adorning of thy table shall be full of fatness.*
- 17 *Yet thou art become full of the judging of the evil-doer :  
Judging and judgment lay hold on one another !*
- 18 *For let not anger indeed entice thee to scorning,  
And let not the greatness of the ransom mislead thee.*

With ver. 16a Elihu passes over to the application to Job of what he said in the preceding strophe. Since it is usual to place אֵף (like גַּם and אֵד) at the beginning of the sentence, although not belonging to the member of the sentence which immediately follows, וְאֵף הִסִּיתָךְ for אֵף אֶתְךָ cannot be remarkable. The *præt.* הִסִּיתָךְ is not promissory, but Elihu says with what design God has decreed the present suffering for Job. הִסִּיתָךְ is like 2 Chron. xviii. 31: out of distress (צָר for צַר by *Rebia magnum*), which has him in its jaws, and threatens to swallow him, God brings him away to great



prosperity; a thought which Elihu expresses in the imagery of the Psalms of a broad place and a bonntiful table (comp. e.g. Ps. iv. 2, xxiii. 5). לֹא-מוֹצֵק תַּחְתָּיהָ is locative, and רַחֵב is either a relative clause: whose beneath (ground) is not straitened, no-straitness (in which case מוֹצֵק would not be *constr.* from the *n. hophal*. מוֹצֵק, Isa. viii. 23, but *absol.* after the form מוֹצֵק, ch. vii. 15, Ew. § 160, c, Anm. 4), Saad. لا ضيق في موضعها (*cujus in loco non angustiae*); or it is virtually an adj.: without (לֹא = בְּלֹא, as ch. xxxiv. 24, comp. on ch. xii. 24) straitness of what is beneath them, *eorum quæ sub se habet* (comp. on ch. xxviii. 5). רַחֵב is *fem.*, like רַחוּב, Dan. ix. 25. A special clause takes the place of the locative, ver. 16c: and the settling or spreading, i.e. the provision (from יָרַח, to come down gradually, to seat one's self) of thy table shall be full of fatness. מָלֵא (whether it be adj. or verb) is treated by attraction, according to the gender of the governed noun; and it is unnecessary, with Rosenm. and others, to derive יָרַח from יָרַח (Aram. for יָרַח).

In ver 17, יָדִין is intended of Job's negative judgment concerning God and His dealings (comp. Ps. lxxvi. 9, where it signifies a judicial decision, and Prov. xxii. 10, where it signifies a wrangling refusal of a fair decision). Ver. 17a is not a conditional clause (Hahn), in which case the *præt. hypothet.* would have a prominent position, but an adversative predicative clause: but (nevertheless) thou art full of the judging of the evil-doer (evil judging); after which, just as *ἀσυνδέτως* as ver. 14a, the sad issue in which this judging after the manner of evil-doers results is expressed: such judging and judgment border closely upon one another. Röd., Dietr., and Schlottm. have wrongly reproduced this idea, discerned by Ges., when they translate: judgment and sentence (guilt and punishment) shall seize thee. יִתְּכֵבִי, *prehendunt scil. se* (Ebr.: put forth the hand), is used like the Aram. סִמְךָ, to draw nearer, fasten together (Rabb. סִמְךָ, near at hand), Arab. *tamûsaka*

(from מֶסֶק = מֶסֶק, as *e.g.* *hanash* = הָנִיחַ). In ver. 18 we leave the signification thick milk or cream (חֵמָה = חֵמָה, as ch. xxix. 6) to those who persuade themselves that cream can be metaphorically equivalent to superfluity (Ew., Hirz., Vaih., Hlgst). Renan's translation: *N'espère pas détourner la colère de Dieu par une amende*, we also leave as a simple puzzle to its discoverer, who, with this one exception, is destitute of thoughts proper to the book of Job. In general, the thought, "do not imagine by riches, by a great ransom, to be able to satisfy the claims of God," is altogether out of place here. Moreover, חֵמָה, which, as *e.g.* חֵמָה, Prov. xii. 25 (Ew. § 174, *g*), is construed as *masc.*, cannot be understood of God's wrath, since the poet by הָיָה will not at one time have ascribed to God a well-meant incitation, at another an enticement *in malam partem*. That which allures is Job's own חֵמָה, and that not the excitement of his affliction (Hahn), but of his passion; comp. חֵמָה, ver. 13. חֵמָה is, however, to be explained according to ch. xxxiv. 37, comp. xxvii. 23 (clapping of hands = derision); and חֵמָה signifies reconciliation or expiation, as ch. xxxiii. 24. Elihu admonishes Job not to allow himself to be drawn by the heat of passion into derision, or to deride; nor to be allured from the right way by the ransom which is required of him as the price of restoration to happiness, viz. humble submission to the divine chastisement, as though this ransom were exceeding great. The connection is clear: an adverse verdict (חֵמָה) and condemnation (חֵמָה) are closely connected; for (חֵמָה) hastiness of temper, let it not (חֵמָה) lead thee astray . . . thou wouldst not escape the judgment of God!

- 19 *Shall thy crying place thee beyond distress,  
And all the efforts of strength?*  
20 *Long not for the night to come,  
Which shall remove people from their place!*

21 *Take heed, incline not to evil :*

*For this thou hast desired more than affliction.*

Those expositors who found in ver. 18<sup>b</sup> the warning, that Job should not imagine that he would be able to redeem himself from judgment by a large ransom, go on to explain: will He esteem thy riches? (Farissol, Rosenm., Umbr., Carey, Ebr., and others); or: will thy riches suffice? (Hirz., Schlottm.); or some other way (Ew.). But apart from the want of connection of this insinuation, which is otherwise not mentioned in the book, and apart from the violence which must be done to הִיעָרָה to accommodate it to it, שָׁוֶה, although it might, as the abstract of שָׁוֶה, ch. xxxiv. 19, signify wealth (comp. سَعَة, *amplitudo*), is, however, according to the usage of the language (*vid.* ch. xxx. 24), so far as we can trace it, a secondary form of שָׁוֶה (שָׁוָה), a cry for help; and ch. xxxv. 9 sq., ver. 13, and other passages, also point to this signification. What follows is still less appropriate to this thought of ransom; Hirz. translates: Oh, not gold and all the treasures of wealth! But בָּצָר is nowhere equivalent to בָּצָר, ch. xxii. 24; but צָר, ver. 16, signifies distress; and the expression בָּצָר לֹא, in a condition devoid of distress, is like לֹא בַחֲכָמָה, ch. iv. 21, and לֹא בִיר, ch. xxxiv. 20. Finally, אֲמִיץ פֶּה signifies mighty in physical strength, ch. ix. 4, 19, and כָּאֲמִיצֵיכֶם strong proofs of strength, not "treasures of wealth." Stick. correctly interprets: "Will thy wild raging cry, then, and all thine exertions, as a warrior puts them forth in the tumult of battle to work his way out, put thee where there is an open space?" but the figure of a warrior is, with Hahn, to be rejected; עָרָה is only a nice word for שָׁוֶה, שָׁוֶה, to place, set up, ch. xxxvii. 19.

Ver. 20. Elihu calls upon Job to consider the uselessness of his vehement contending with God, and then warns him

against his dreadful provocation of divine judgment: *ne anheles* (ch. vii. 2) *noctem illam* (with the emphatic art.) *sublaturam populos loco suo*. לְעֵלוֹת is equivalent to *futuram* (הַהוּא or הַעֲתִידָהּ) *ut tollat* = *sublaturam* (vid. on ch. v. 11, לְשֹׂם, *collocaturus*; xxx. 6, לְשֹׁב, *habitandum est*), syncopated from לְהַעֲלוֹת, in the sense of Ps. cii. 25; and תַּחֲתָם signifies, as ch. xl. 12 (comp. on Hab. iii. 16), nothing but that just where they are, firmly fixed without the possibility of escape, they are deprived of being. If whole peoples are overtaken by such a fate, how much less shall the individual be able to escape it! And yet Job presses forward on to the tribunal of the terrible Judge, instead of humbling himself under His mighty hand. Oh that in time he would shrink back from this absolute wickedness (אָוֶן), for he has given it the preference before עָנִי, quiet, resigned endurance. עַל בָּחַר signifies, 2 Sam. xix. 39, to choose to lay anything on any one; here as בָּחַר elsewhere, to extend one's choice to something, to make something an object of choice; perhaps also under the influence of the phrase הִתְעַנֵּג עַל, and similar phrases. The construction is remarkable, since one would sooner have expected וְהָיָה בַּחֲרַת עַל-עֵנִי, *hanc elegisti præ toleratione*.

- 22 Behold, God acteth loftily in His strength;  
Who is a teacher like unto Him?  
23 Who hath appointed Him His way,  
And who dare say: Thou doest iniquity! ?  
24 Remember that thou magnify His doing,  
Which men have sung.  
25 All men delight in it,  
Mortal man looketh upon it from afar.

Most modern expositors, after the LXX. *δυναστεύς*, give מוֹרָה the signification lord, by comparing the Arab. *mar-un* (*imru-un*), Syr. *mor* (with the art. *moro*) or *more* (with the art. *morjo*), Chald. מְרָא, Talmud. מֵר (comp. Philo, ii. 522, ed.

*Mangey*: οὕτως, viz. μάρτυρ, φασὶ τὸν κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις), with it; but Rosenm., Arnh., Löwenthal, Wolfson, and Schlottm., after the Targ., Syr., and Jer., rightly abide by the signification: teacher. For (1) מוֹרֶה (from הוֹרָה, Ps. xxv. 8, 12, xxxii. 8) has no etymological connection with מֵר

(of מֵרָא, מֵרָ, *opimum, robustum esse*); (2) it is, moreover,

peculiar to Elihu to represent God as a teacher both by dreams and dispensations of affliction, ch. xxxiii. 14 sqq., xxxiv. 32, and by His creatures, xxxv. 11; and (3) the designation of God as an incomparable teacher is also not inappropriate here, after His rule is described in ver. 22*a* as transcendently exalted, which on that very account commands to human research a reverence which esteems itself lightly. Ver. 23*a* is not to be translated: who overlooketh Him in His way? (מִפְקֵר with עַל of the personal and *acc.* of the neutral obj.), which is without support in the language; but: who has prescribed to Him (עַל פִּקְרָא as ch. xxxiv. 13) His way? i.e. as Rosenm. correctly interprets: *quis ei præscripsit quæ agere deberet*, He is no mandatory, is responsible to no one, and under obligation to no one, and who should dare to say (*quis dixerit*; on the *perf.* comp. on ch. xxxv. 15): Thou doest evil?—man shall be a docile learner, not a self-satisfied, conceited censurer of the absolute One, whose rule is not to be judged according to the laws of another, but according to His own laws. Thus, then, shall Job remember (*memento = cura ut*) to extol (הִשְׁבִּיחַ, ch. xii. 23) God's doings, which have been sung (comp. e.g. Ps. civ. 33) by אֲנָשִׁים, men of the right order (ch. xxxvii. 24); Jer. *de quo cecinerunt viri*. שִׁיר nowhere has the signification *intueri* (Rosenm., Umbr.); on the other hand, Elihu is fond of direct (ch. xxxiii. 27, xxxv. 10) and indirect allusions to the Psalms. All men—he continues, with reference to God's פֹּעַל, working—behold it, viz., as בּוֹ implies, with pleasure and astonishment; mortals gaze upon

it (reverentially) from afar,—the same thought as that which has already (ch. xxvi. 14) found the grandest expression in Job's mouth.

- 26 *Behold, God is exalted—we know Him not entirely;  
The number of His years, it is unsearchable.*  
27 *For He draweth down the drops of water,  
They distil as rain in connection with its mist,*  
28 *Which the clouds do drop,  
Distil upon the multitude of men.*  
29 *Who can altogether understand the spreadings of the clouds,  
The crash of His tabernacle?*

The *Waw* of the quasi-conclusion in ver. 26*b* corresponds to the *Waw* of the train of thought in ver. 26*a* (Ges. § 145, 2). מִסְפָּר שָׁנָיו is, as the subject-notion, conceived as a nominative (*vid.* on ch. iv. 6, vol. i. 91, note 1), not as in similar quasi-antecedent clauses, *e.g.* ch. xxiii. 12, as an *acc.* of relation. שָׁנָיו here and ch. xxxvii. 23 occurs otherwise only in Old Testament Chaldee. In what follows Elihu describes the wondrous origin of rain. "If Job had only come," says a Midrash (*Jalkut*, § 518), "to explain to us the matter of the race of the deluge (*vid.* especially ch. xxii. 15-18), it had been sufficient; and if Elihu had only come to explain to us the matter of the origin of rain (מַעֲשֵׂה יִירֵדָה גְּשָׁמִים), it had been enough." In Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, ver. 27 is translated: when He has drawn up the drops of water to Himself, then, etc. But it is יָרַע, not יָרַע; and יָרַע neither in Hebr. nor in Arab. signifies *attrahere in sublime* (Rosenm.), but only *attrahere* (root גָּר) and *detrahere*; the latter signification is the prevailing one in Hebr. (ch. xv. 8, xxxvi. 7). With פִּי the transcendent exaltation of the Being who survives all changes of creation is shown by an example: He draws away (draws off, as it were) the water-drops, viz. from the waters that are confined above on the circle of the sky, which

pass over us as mist and cloud (*vid. Genesis*, S. 107); and these water-drops distil down (קַלַּף, to ooze, distil, here not in a transitive but an intransitive signification, since the water-drops are the rain itself) as rain, לְאִירֵי, with its mist, *i.e.* since a mist produced by it (*Gen. ii. 6*) fills the expanse (רָקִיעַ), the downfall of which is just this rain, which, as *ver. 28* says, the clouds (called שְׁחָקִים on account of its thin strata of air, in distinction from the next mist-circle) cause to flow gently down upon the multitude of men, *i.e.* far and wide over the mass of men who inhabit the district visited by the rain; both verbs are used transitively here, both נָלַל as *Isa. xlv. 8*, and רָעַף, as evidently *Prov. iii. 20*. אֵם אֵף *ver. 29a*, commences an intensive question: moreover, could one understand = could one completely understand; which certainly, according to the sense, is equivalent to: how much less (כִּי אֵם). אֵם is, however, the interrogative *an*, and אֵם אֵף corresponds to הֲאֵם in the first member of the double question, *ch. xxxiv. 17, xl. 8 sq.* מִפְּרִשִׁי are not the burstings, from פָּרַשׁ = פָּרַם, *frangere, findere*, but spreadings, as *Ezek. xxvii. 7* shows, from פָּרַשׁ, *expandere*, *Ps. cv. 39*, comp. *supra* on *ch. xxvi. 9*. It is the growth of the storm-clouds, which collect often from a beginning "small as a man's hand" (*1 Kings xviii. 44*), that is intended; majestic omnipotence conceals itself behind these as in a סִבְכָּה (*Ps. xviii. 12*) woven out of thick branches; and the rolling thunder is here called the crash (תִּשְׁאֹת, as *ch. xxxix. 7*, is formed from שָׁא, to rumble, whence also שִׁשְׂאָה, if it is not after the form גִּילָה, migration, exile, from שָׂא, *vid. on ch. xxx. 3*) of this pavilion of clouds in which the Thunderer works.

- 30 Behold, He spreadeth His light over Himself,  
And the roots of the sea He covereth.  
31 For thereby He judgeth peoples,  
He giveth food in abundance.

- 32 *Both hands He covereth over with light,  
And directeth it as one who hitteth the mark.*  
33 *His noise announceth Him,  
The cattle even that He is approaching.*

A few expositors (Hirz., Hahn, Schlottm.) understand the celestial ocean, or the sea of the upper waters, by ם, ver. 30*b*; but it is more than questionable (*vid.* on ch. ix. 8) whether ם is used anywhere in this sense. Others as (Umbr., Ew.) the masses of water drawn up to the sky out of the depths of the sea, on which a Persian passage cited by Stick. (who, however, regards the *Waw* of וַשׁׁוּׁ as *Waw adæquationis*) from Schebisteri may be compared: "an exhalation rises up out of the sea, and comes down at God's command upon the deserts." In both cases כָּפָה would be equivalent to עָלִי, *obtegit se*, which in and of itself is possible. But he who has once witnessed a storm in the neighbourhood of the sea, will decide in favour of one of the three following explanations: (1.) He covereth the uprooted ground of the sea (comp. Ps. xviii. 15 sq.) with the subsiding waves (Blumenf.); but then ver. 30*a* would require to be understood of the light of the brightening sky following the darkness of the storm, which is improbable in respect of ver. 32*a*. (2.) While the sky is brilliantly lighted up by the lightning, the abysses of the ocean are veiled in a so much deeper darkness; the observation is correct, but not less so another, that the lightning by a thunder-storm, especially when occurring at night, descends into the depths of the sea like snares that are cast down (פְּתִיּוֹם, Ps. xi. 6), and the water is momentarily changed as it were into a sea of flame; accordingly it may be explained, (3.) Behold, He spreadeth over Himself His light (*viz.* the light which incessantly illumines the world), and the roots of the sea, *i.e.* the sea down to its depths, He covers with it, since He makes it light through and through (Stuhlm., Wolfs.). Thus, as it



appears, Jerome also interprets: *Et (si voluerit) fulgurare lumine suo desuper, cardines quoque maris operiet.*<sup>1</sup>

This, that He makes the light of the lightning His manifestation (פֶּרֶשׁ עָלָיו), and that He covers the earth down to the roots of the sea beneath with this light, is established in ver. 31 from the design, partly judicial, partly beneficial, which exists in connection with it. כָּם refers as neuter (like בָּהֶם, ch. xxii. 21) to the phenomena of the storm; מְכַבֵּיר (with the adverbial ל like לָב, ch. xxvi. 3), what makes great = a making great, abundance (only here), is *n. hiphil.* after the form מִשְׁחִית, *perdens* = *perditio*. In ver. 32 God is represented under a military figure as a slinger of lightnings: He covers light over both hands, *i.e.* arms both completely with light (comp. כִּכְכֵּם and שָׁכ, *totum se operire armis*), and directs it

(עָלָיָהּ referring to אֹר as *fem.* like Jer. xiii. 16, and sometimes in the Talmud). But what is the meaning of בְּמַפְנֵעַ? Hahn takes מַפְנֵעַ as *n. hiphil.* like מַכְבִּיר: an object of attack; but what then becomes of the original *Hiphil* signification? It ought to be בְּמַפְנֵעַ (ch. vii. 20), as Olsh. wishes to read it. Ew., Hirz., and others, after the example of Theod. (LXX.), Syr., Jer., translate: against the adversary; מַפְנֵעַ signifies indeed the opposite in Isa. lix. 16: *intercessor* (properly, one who assails with prayers); however, it would be possible for this word, just as פָּנַע *c. acc.* (which signifies usually a hostile meeting, Ex. v. 3 and freq., but sometimes also a friendly, Isa. xlvii. 3, lxiv. 4), to be an *ἐναντιόσημον*. We prefer to abide by the usage of the language as we have it, according

<sup>1</sup> The Targ. translates אֹר, vers. 30, 32, by מְטָרָא, *pluvia*, according to the erroneous opinion of R. Jochanan: בַּל אֹרָה שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר בְּאֵלֵיהֶּוּ אֵינוֹ. אֵלֵּהּ בִּירִידַת נִשְׁמִיִּם. Aben-Ezra and Kimchi explain even עָלֵי־אֹר, Isa. xviii. 4, according to this passage. The LXX. translates ver. 30a: ἔδου ἐκτενεῖ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡδὼ (Cod. Alex. ἐπ' αὐτοῦ το τοξον; Cod. Sinait. ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοξον with the corrections ἡδὼ and τοξον), probably according to the reading אֵירוֹ for אֹר. But what connection have ἡδὼ and rainbow?

to which הפגיע signifies *facere ut quid incurset s. petat*, Isa. liii. 6; מפגיע therefore is one who hits, in opposition to one who misses the mark. The *Beth* is the *Beth essentialis* (vid. on ch. xxiii. 13), used here like Ex. vi. 3, Ps. lv. 19, Isa. xl. 10. With both hands He seizes the substance of the lightning, fills them with it so that they are completely covered by it, and gives it the command (appoints it its goal), a sure aim!

Ver. 33a. Targ., Syr., Symm., Theod. (from which ver. 32 sq. is supplied in the LXX.<sup>1</sup>), Jer., Luther, and others destroy the idea, since they translate רַעִי = רַעְיוּ, "his friend (companion)." Among moderns, only Umbr. and Schlottm. adopt this signification; Böttch. and Welte, after the example of Cocceius, Tingstad, and others, attempt it with the signification "thought = determination;" but most expositors, from Ew. to Hahn, decide in favour of the rendering as simple as it is consistent with the usage of the language and the connection: His noise (רַעִי as Ex. xxxii. 17) gives tidings concerning Him (announces Him). In ver. 33b Theod. (LXX.), Syr., and Jer. point מקנה like our text, but translate *possessio*, with which we can do nothing. It seems that in the three attempts of the Targ. to translate ver. 33, the translators had קִנְיָה and קִנְיָה before their mind, according to which Hahn translates: the arousing of anger (announces) the comer, which assumes מקנה instead of מקנה; and Schlottm.: fierce wrath (goes forth) over evil (according to Symm. *ζῆλον περὶ ἀδικίας*), which assumes the reading עֲלֵה (עֲלֵה), *ἀδικία*, adopted also by Syr., Theod. (LXX.). Schultens even renders similarly: *rubedinem flammantem nasi contra elatum*, and Tingstad: *zelum iræ in iniquitatem*. But it is not probable that the language was acquainted with a subst. מְקִנֶה, exciting, although in Ezek. viii. 3 הַמְּקִנֶה is equivalent to הַמְּקִנֶה, so that one might

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Bickel, *De indole ac ratione versionis Alex. in interpretando l. Iobi*, p. 50. Cod. Sinait. has, like Cod. Vat.: ἀναγγελεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ φίλον (corr. φίλος) αὐτοῦ καὶ κτησις καὶ περὶ ἀδικίας.

more readily be tempted (*vid.* Hitz. *in loc.*) to read מְקַנֶּה אֵף, “one who excites anger against evil,” if one is not willing to decide with Berg, and recently Bleek, in favour of מְקַנֶּה אֵף בְּעוֹלָה, *excandescens (zelans) irā contra iniquitatem*. But does the text as it stands really not give an appropriate idea? Aben-Ezra and Duran have understood it of the foreboding of an approaching thunder-storm which is manifested by cattle, מְקַנֶּה. Accordingly Ew. translates: His thunder announces Him, the cattle even, that He is approaching; and peculiarly new (understanding יָיִד not of a foreboding but of a thankful lowing) is Ebrard’s rendering: also the cattle at fresh sprouting grass. But such a change of the position of אֵף is without precedent. Hirz. and Ges.: His rumble (rumble of thunder) announces Him to the herds, Him, and indeed as Him who rises up (approaches). But this new interpunction destroys the division of the verse and the syntax. Better Rosenm. like Duran: *pecus non tantum pluviam proximam, sed et antequam nubes in sublime adscenderint adscensuras præsagit*, according to Virgil, *Georg.* i. 374 sq.:

*illum (imbrem) surgentem vallibus imis  
Aeriæ fugere grues.*

But עֲלֵי refers to God, and therefore עֲלֵי-עוֹלָה also, viz. Him who leads forth the storm-clouds (Jer. x. 13, li. 16, Ps. cxxxv. 7), and Himself rising up in them; or, what עֲלָה frequently signifies, coming on as to battle. It is to be interpreted: His thunder-clap announces Him (who is about to reveal Himself as a merciful judge), the cattle even (announce) Him at His first rising up, since at the approach of a storm they herd together affrighted and seek shelter. The speakers are Arabian, and the scene is laid in the country: Elihu also refers to the animal world in ch. xxxv. 11; this feature of the picture, therefore, cannot be surprising.

Ch. xxxvii. 1 *Yea, at this my heart trembleth*

*And tottereth from its place.*

2 *Hear, O hear the roar of His voice,*

*And the murmur that goeth out of His mouth.*

3 *He sendeth it forth under the whole heaven,*

*And His lightning unto the ends of the earth.*

4 *After it roareth the voice of the thunder,*

*He thundereth with the voice of His majesty,*

*And spareth not the lightnings, when His voice is heard.*

5 *God thundereth with His voice marvellously,*

*Doing great things, incomprehensible to us.*

Louis Bridel is perhaps right when he inserts after ch. xxxvi. the observation: *L'éclair brille, la tonnerre gronde.* לִזְאֹת does not refer to the phenomenon of the storm which is represented in the mind, but to that which is now to be perceived by the senses. The combination שָׁמַעַי שָׁמַעַי can signify both hear constantly, Isa. vi. 9, and hear attentively, ch. xiii. 17; here it is the latter. רָעַם of thunder corresponds to the verbs رَجَسَ and رَجَزَ, which can be similarly used. The repetition of קוֹל five times calls to mind the seven קוֹלוֹת (ἐπτὰ βρονταί) in Ps. xxix. The parallel is רָעַם, ver. 2b, a murmuring, as elsewhere of the roar of the lion and the cooing of the dove. The suff. of יִשְׁרָהוּ refers to the thunder which rolls through the immeasurable breadth under heaven; it is not perf. Piel of יָשַׁר (Schlottm.), for "to give definite direction" (2 Chron. xxxii. 30) is not appropriate to thunder, but fut. Kal of שָׁרַה, to free, to unbind (Ew., Hirz., and most others). What ver. 3a says of thunder, ver. 3b says of light, i.e. the lightning: God sends it forth to the edges, πτερύγες, i.e. ends, of the earth. אֶחָדָיו, ver. 4a, naturally refers to the lightning, which is followed by the roar of the thunder; and יַעֲקֹב to the flashes, which, when once its rumble is heard, God does not restrain (עָקַב = עָקַב of the Targ., and Arab. 'aqqaba, to leave behind, postpone), but causes to flash forth in quick

succession. Ewald's translation: should He not find (prop. *non investigaverit*) them (the men that are to be punished), gives a thought that has no support in this connection. In ver. 5a מִפְּלִיאוֹת, *mirabilia*, is equivalent to *mirabiliter*, as Dan. viii. 24, comp. Ps. lxxv. 6, cxxxix. 14. לֹא גִרָע is intended to say that God's mighty acts, with respect to the connection between cause and effect and the employment of means, transcend our comprehension.

- 6 *For He saith to the snow: Fall towards the earth,  
And to the rain-shower  
And the showers of His mighty rain.*  
7 *He putteth a seal on the hand of every man,  
That all men may come to a knowledge of His creative work.*  
8 *The wild beast creepeth into a hiding-place,  
And in its resting-place it remaineth.*  
9 *Out of the remote part cometh the whirlwind,  
And cold from the cloud-sweepers.*  
10 *From the breath of God cometh ice,  
And the breadth of the waters is straitened.*

Like מִן, ch. xxxiv. 36, and מִן, ch. xxxv. 15, מִן, ver. 6a (falsely translated "be earthwards" by LXX., Targ., and Syr.), also belongs to the most striking Arabisms of the Elihu section: it signifies *delabere* (Jer. *ut descendat*), a signification which the Arab. هوى does not gain from the radical signification placed first in Gesenius-Dietrich's *Handwörterbuch*, to breathe, blow, but from the radical signification, to gape, yawn, by means of the development of the meaning which also decides in favour of the primary notion of the Hebr. הָיָה, according to which, what was said on ch. vi. 2, xxx. 13 is to be corrected.<sup>1</sup> The ה of הָיָה influences ver. 6bc also. The

<sup>1</sup> هوى is originally *χαίρειν*, to gape, yawn, *hiare*, e.g. *hawāt et-ta'natu*, the stab gapes (imperf. *tahwī*, inf. *huwījun*), "when it opens its mouth"

Hebr. name for rain, מַטְרָה (cogn. with Chald. מַטְרָה, Arab. 'gism, a body), denotes the rain collectively. The expression ver. 6b is exceeded in ver. 6c, where מַטְרָה does not signify rain-drops (Ew.), but, like the Arab. *amtâr*, rain-showers. The wonders of nature during the rough season (מַטְרָה, חֹרֶף, Cant. ii. 11, comp. p. 119), between the autumnal and vernal equinoxes, are meant; the rains after the autumnal equinox (the early rain), which begin the season, and the rains before the vernal equinox (the late rain, Zech. x. 1), which close it, with the falls of snow between, which frequently produce great desolation, especially the proper winter with its frosty winds and heavy showers, when the business of the husbandmen as of the nomads is brought to a stand-still, and every one retreats to his house or seeks a sheltering corner (*vid.* p. 23, note).

This is the meaning of ver. 7: He sealet up (שָׂם מַטְרָה) as

—the Turkish *Kamus* adds, to complete the picture: like a tulip. Thence next *hâwijatun*, χαίνοισα, χαῖνον, i.e. χάσμα = *hûwatun*, *uhwijatun*, *huwâatun*, *mahwâtun*, a cleft, yawning deep, chasm, abyss, βάραθρον, *vorago*; *hawijatun* and *hauhâtun* (a reduplicated form), especially a very deep pit or well. But these same words, *hâwijatun*, *hûwatun*, *uhwijatun*,

*mahwâtun*, also signify, like the usual حَوْءٌ, the χάσμα between heaven and earth, i.e. the wide, empty space, the same as 'gawwun. The wider significations, or rather applications and references of *hawâ*: air set in motion, a current of air, wind, weather, are all secondary, and related to that primary signification as *samâ*, rain-clouds, rain, grass produced by the rain, to the prim. signification height, heaven, *vid.* Mehren, *Rhetorik d. Araber*, S. 107, Z. 14 ff. This *hawâ*, however, also signifies in general: a broad, empty space, and by transferring the notion of "empty" to mind and heart, as the reduplicated forms *hûhatun* and *hauhâtun*: devoid of understanding and devoid of courage, e.g. *Koran* xiv. 44: *wa-af'î-datuhum hawâun*, where Beidhâwî first explains *hawâ* directly by *chalâ*, emptiness, empty space, i.e., as he adds, *châlijetun 'an el-fahm*, as one says of one without mind and courage *qalbuhu hawâun*. Thence also *hawwun*, emptiness, a hole, i.e. in a wall or roof, a dormer-window (*kauwe*, *kûwe*), but also with the genit. of a person or thing: their hole, i.e. the space left empty by them, the side not taken up by them, e.g. *qâ'ada fî hawwihî*, he set himself beside him. From the signification to be empty then comes, (1) *hawâ el-mar'atu*, i.e. *vacua fuit mulier* = *orba liberis*, as *χῆρα*,

ch. xxxiii. 16) the hand of all men that they cannot, viz. on account of the cold out of doors, be opened for work, that all people of His work (*i.e.* thanking Him for their origin as His handiwork, ch. xxxiv. 19) may come to the perception (of Him who doeth all things). The expression is remarkable, and by the insertion of a מ may be as easily cleared up as ch. xxxiii. 17: לְרַעַת כָּל־אֲנָשִׁים מַעֲשָׂהוּ, in order that each and every one may acknowledge His work; after which even Jer. translates: *ut noverint singuli opera sua*. The conjecture אֲנָשִׁים עֲשָׂהוּ (Schultens junior, Reiske, Hirz.) is inferior to the former (Olsh.) by its awkward *synecdoche num.* The *fut. consec.* in ver. 8 continues the description of what happens in consequence of the cold rainy season; the expression calls to mind Ps. civ. 22, as ch. xxxiv. 14 sq. does Ps. civ. 29. The winter is also the time of the stormy and raw winds. In ver. 9a Elihu means the storms which come across from the great wide desert, ch. i. 19, therefore the south (Isa. xxi. 1, *vidua*, properly empty, French *vide*; (2) *hawâ er-ragulu*, *i.e.* *vacuus, inanis factus est vir = exanimatus* (comp. فَرِغَ, he became empty, euphemistic for he died).

From this variously applied primary signification is developed the generally known and usual هَوَى, loose and free, without being held or holding to anything one's self, to pass away, fly, swing, etc., *libere ferri, labi*, in general in every direction, as the wind, or what is driven hither and thither by the wind, especially however from above downwards, *labi, delabi, cadere, deorsum ruere*. From this point, like many similar, the word first passes into the signification of sound (as certainly also נִשְׁמַע, נִשְׁמָ): as anything falling has a dull noise, and so on, δουπεῖν, *rumorem, fragorem edere* (*fragor* from *frangi*), hence *hawât udhnuhu hawîjan* of a singing in the ears.

Finally, the mental هَوَى (perf. *hawija*, imperf. *jahwâ* with the acc.), *animo ad* or *in aliquid ferri*, is attached to the notion of passing and falling through space (though by no means to *hiare*, or the supposed meaning "to breathe, blow"). It is used both emotionally of desire, lust, appetites, passions, and strong love, and intellectually of free opinions or assertions springing from mere self-willed preference, caprices of the understanding.—FL.

Zech. ix. 14), or rather (*vid.* p. 77, note) south-east winds (Hos. xiii. 15), increasing in violence to storms. הַתְּחִיר (properly the surrounded, enclosed space, never the storehouse,—so that Ps. cxxxv. 7 should be compared,—but *adytum*, *penetrable*, as Arab. *chidr*, e.g. in *Vita Timuri* ii. 904: after the removal of the superincumbent earth, they drew away *sitr chidrihâ*, the curtain of its innermost part, *i.e.* uncovered its lowest depth) is here the innermost part of the south (south-east),—comp. ch. ix. 9 חֲדָרֵי תִימָן, and xxiii. 9 יַעֲטָף יָמִין (so far as יַעֲטָף there signifies *si operiat se*),—especially of the great desert lying to the south (south-east), according to which אֶרֶץ הַיַּרְדֵּן, Zech. ix. 1, is translated by the Targ. אֶרֶעָ דְּרוּמָא. In opposition to the south-east wind, מְזָרִים, ver. 9b, seems to mean the north winds; in and of itself, however, the word signifies the scattering or driving, as also in the Koran the winds are called the scatterers, *dhârijât*, *Sur.* li. 1.<sup>1</sup> In מְזָרִים, Reiske, without any ground for it, traces the Arab. *mirzam* (a name of two stars, from which north wind, rain, and cold are derived); the Targ. also has one of the constellations in view: מִבֵּית מְזָרִים (from the window, *i.e.* the window of the vault of heaven, of the *mezarim*); Aq., Theod. ἀπὸ μαζούρ (= מזרות, ch. xxxviii. 32); LXX. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων, we know not wherefore. Concerning מְנַשְׂמֵת־אֵל (with causal מֵן) with reference to the wind, *vid.* on ch. iv. 15. יָתֵן, it gives, *i.e.* comes to light, is used as in Gen. xxxviii. 28, Prov. xiii. 10. The idea of מוֹצֵק (not *fusum* from יָצַק, but *coarctatum* from צִיק) cannot be doubtful in connection with the antithesis of רִתֵּב, comp. ch. xxxvi. 16, the idea is like ch. xxxviii. 30 (comp. Mutenebbi: “the flood is bound by bands of ice”); the קִי of בְּמִצָּק is, as ch. xxxvi. 32, the *Beth essentialis*, used far more extensively in Hebr. than in Arab. as an exponent of the

<sup>1</sup> This *dhârijât* is also differently explained; but the first explanation in Beidhâwî (ii. 183, Fleischer's edition) is, “the winds which scatter (blow away) the dust and other things.”



predicate: the breadth of the water is (becomes) straitened (forcibly drawn together).

- 11 *Also He loadeth the clouds with water,  
He spreadeth far and wide the cloud of His light,*  
12 *And these turn themselves round about,  
Directed by Him, that they execute  
All that He hath commanded them  
Over the wide earth.*  
13 *Whether for a scourge, or for the good of His earth,  
Or for mercy, He causeth it to discharge itself.*

With אֶרֶץ extending the description, Elihu, in the presence of the storm that is in the sky, continually returns to this one marvel of nature. The old versions connect בָּרִי partly with בָּר, *electus* (LXX., Syr., Theod.) or *frumentum* (Symm., Jer.), partly with בָּרָה = בָּרִי in the signification *puritas, serenitas* (Targ.); but בָּרִי is, as Schultens has already perceived, the Hebr.-Arabic رِي, رِي (from روه = *riw*), abundant irrigation, with رِي; and יִטְרֶה does not signify, according to the Arab. *atrahā*, "to hurl down," so that what is spoken of would be the bursting of the clouds (Stick.),<sup>1</sup> but, according to טַרְחָה, a burden (comp. Arab. *taraha ala*, to load), "to burden;" with fluidity (Ew., Hirz., Hahn, Schlottm.), better: fulness of water, He burdens the clouds (comp. *rawij-un* as a designation of cloud as the place of rain). עֲנַן אֶרֶץ, His cloud of light, is that that is charged with lightning, and הִפִּיץ has here its Hebr.-Arab. radical signification *effundere, diffundere*, with a preponderance of the idea not of scattering, but of spreading out wide (Arab. *fa'id*, abundance). וְהִנֵּה, ver. 12a, refers to the cloud pregnant with lightning; this turns

<sup>1</sup> This "*atrahā*" is, moreover, a pure invention of our ordinary Arabic lexicons instead of *ittaraha* (VIII. form): (1) to throw one's self, (2) to throw anything from one's self, with an *acc.* of the thing.—FL.

round about (מְסֹבֹת, adv. as מְסֹב, round about, 1 Kings vi. 29) seeking a place, where it shall unburden itself by virtue of His (God's) direction or disposing (תְּהַבִּילֵהוּ, a word belonging to the book of Proverbs; LXX., *Cod. Vat.* and *Alex.*, untranslated: *εν θεωβουλαθωθ*, *Cod. Sinait.* still more monstrous), in order that they (the clouds full of lightning) may accomplish everything that He commands them over the surface of the earth; אֶרְצָה as ch. xxxiv. 13, and the combination תְּהַבִּיל אֶרְצָה as Prov. viii. 31, comp. אֶרְצִי וְתְהַבִּיל, Ps. xc. 2. The reference of the pronominal *suff.* to men is as inadmissible here as in ver. 4c. In ver. 13 two אֵם have certainly, as. ch. xxxiv. 29, two י, the correlative signification *sive . . . sive* (Arab. *in . . . wa-in*), and a third, as appears, a conditional, but which? According to Ew., Hirz., Hahn, Schlottm., and others, the middle one: if it (the rod) belongs to His land, *i.e.* if it has deserved it. But even the possessive *suff.* of אֶרְצִי shows that the י is to be taken as *dat. commodi*: be it for a rod, be it for the good of His land; which is then followed by a conditional verbal clause: in case He mercifully causes it (the storm) to come, *i.e.* causes this His land to be overtaken by it (הִמְצִיא here with the *acc.* of the thing coming, whereas in ch. xxxiv. 11 of the thing to be overtaken). The accentuation, indeed, appears to assume a threefold *sive*: [whether He causeth it to discharge itself upon] man for punishment, man for mercy, or His earth for good with reference to man. Then Elihu would think of the uninhabited steppe in connection with אֶרְצִי אֵם. Since a conditional אֵם by the side of two correlatives is hazardous, we decide finally with the LXX., Targ., and all the old versions, in favour of the same rendering of the threefold אֵם, especially since it corresponds to the circumstances of the case.

14 *Hearken unto this, O Job;*

*Stand still and consider the wonderful works of God!*

- 15 *Dost thou know when God designeth  
To cause the light of His clouds to shine?*  
16 *Dost thou understand the balancings of the clouds,  
The wondrous things of Him who is perfect in knowledge?*

Job is to stand still, instead of dictating to God, in order to draw from His wondrous acts in nature a conclusion with reference to his mystery of suffering. In ver. 15a *יָדַע בְּ* does not, as ch. xxxv. 15 (Ew. § 217, S. 557), belong together, but *בְּ* is the temporal *Beth*. *שֵׁם* is equivalent to *לְבוֹ* (*vid.* on ch. xxxiv. 23); *עַלֵּיהֶם* does not refer to *נִפְלְאוֹת* (Hirz.) or the phenomena of the storm (Ew.), but is intended as neuter (as *בָּם* ch. xxxvi. 31, *בָּהֶם* xxii. 21), and finds in ver. 15b its distinctive development: "the light of His clouds" is their effulgent splendour. Without further support, *יָדַע עַל* is to have knowledge concerning anything, ver. 16a; *מִפְּלִשִׁי* is also *ἀπ. γερρ.* It is unnecessary to consider it as wrongly written from *מִפְּרִשִׁי*, ch. xxxvi. 29, or as from it by change of letter (as *מִלְמֹנֹת = אֲרֻמֹּנֹת*, Isa. xiii. 22). The verb *פָּלַם* signifies to make level, prepare (*viz.* a way, also weakened: to take a certain way, Prov. v. 6), once: to weigh, Ps. lviii. 3, as *denom.* from *פָּלַם*, a balance (and indeed a steelyard, *statera*), which is thus mentioned as the means of adjustment. *מִפְּלִשִׁי* accordingly signifies either, as *synon.* of *מִשְׁקָלִי* (thus the Midrash, *vid. Jalkut*, § 522), weights (the relations of weight), or even equipoised balancings (Aben-Ezra, Kimchi, and others), Lat. *quomodo librentur nubes in aëre*.<sup>1</sup> *מִפְּלְאוֹת* is also a word that does not occur elsewhere; in like manner *רַע* belongs exclu-

<sup>1</sup> The word is therefore a metaphor taken from the balance, and it may be observed that the Syro-Arabic, on account of the most extensive application of the balance, is unusually rich in such metaphors. Moreover, the Arabic has no corresponding noun: the *teflis* (a balance) brought forward by Ges. in his *Thes.* and *Handwörterbuch* from Schindler's *Pentaglotton*, is a word devoid of all evidence from original sources and from the modern usage of the language, in this signification.

sively to Elihu. God is called תָּמִים יָדָעִים (comp. ch. xxxvi. 4) as the Omniscient One, whose knowledge is absolute as to its depth as well as its circumference.

- 17 *Thou whose garments become hot,  
When the land is sultry from the south :*  
18 *Dost thou with Him spread out the sky,  
The firm, as it were molten, mirror?*  
19 *Let us know what we shall say to Him!—  
We can arrange nothing by reason of darkness.*  
20 *Shall it be told Him that I speak,  
Or shall one wish to be destroyed?*

Most expositors connect ver. 17a with ver. 16: (Dost thou know) how it comes to pass that . . . ; but אֵשֶׁר after יִי signifies *quod*, Ex. xi. 7, not *quomodo*, as it sometimes occurs in a comparing antecedent clause, instead of בְּאֵשֶׁר, Ex. xiv. 13, Jer. xxxiii. 22. We therefore translate: thou whose . . . ,—connecting this, however, not with ver. 16 (*vid. e.g.* Carey), but as Bolduc. and Ew., with ver. 18 (where הָאֵרֶץ before תִּרְקֹעַ is then the less missed): thou who, when the land (the part of the earth where thou art) keeps rest, *i.e.* in sultriness, when oppressive heat comes (on this *Hiph. vid.* Ges. § 53, 2) from the south (*i.e.* by means of the currents of air which come thence, without דָּרוֹם signifying directly the south wind),—thou who, when this happens, canst endure so little, that on the contrary the heat from without becomes perceptible to thee through thy clothes: dost thou now and then with Him keep the sky spread out, which for firmness is like a molten mirror? Elsewhere the hemispheric firmament, which spans the earth with its sub-celestial waters, is likened to a clear sapphire Ex. xxiv. 10, a covering Ps. civ. 2, a gauze Isa. xl. 22; the comparison with a metallic mirror (יִצָּק here not from צִיָּק, ver. 10, ch. xxxvi. 16, but from יִצָּק) is therefore to be understood according to Petavius: *Cælum*

*aëreum στερέωμα dicitur non a naturæ propria conditione, sed ab effectu, quod perinde aquas separet, ac si murus esset solidissimus.* Also in תרקיץ lies the notion both of firmness and thinness; the primary notion (root רק) is to beat, make thick, *stipare* (رَفَعَ, to stop up in the sense of *resarcire*, e.g. to mend stockings), to make thick by pressure. The ל joined with תרקיץ is *nota acc.*; we must not comp. ch. viii. 8, xxi. 22, as well as ch. v. 2, xix. 3.

Therefore: As God is the only Creator (ch. ix. 8), so He is the all-provident Preserver of the world—make us know (הוֹדִיעֵנִי, according to the text of the Babylonians, *Keri* of הוֹדִיעֵנִי) what we shall say to Him, viz. in order to show that we can cope with Him! We cannot arrange, viz. anything whatever (to be explained according to כָּלֵן עָרַךְ, ch. xxxii. 14, comp. “to place,” ch. xxxvi. 19), by reason of darkness, viz. the darkness of our understanding, σκοτός τῆς διανοίας; כִּפְיִ is much the same as ch. xxiii. 17, but different from ch. xvii. 12, and חֹשֶׁךְ different from both passages, viz. as it is often used in the New Testament, of intellectual darkness (comp. Eccl. ii. 14, Isa. lx. 2). The meaning of ver. 20 cannot now be mistaken, if, with Hirz., Hahn, and Schlottm., we call to mind ch. xxxvi. 10 in connection with אֶמְרֵי: can I, a short-sighted man, enshrouded in darkness, wish that what I have arrogantly said concerning and against Him may be told to God, or should one earnestly desire (אֶמְרֵי, a modal *perf.*, as ch. xxxv. 15b) that (*an jusserit s. dixerit quis ut*) he may be swallowed up, i.e. destroyed (comp. לִבְלַעַ, ch. ii. 3)? He would, by challenging a recognition of his unbecoming arguing about God, desire a tribunal that would be destructive to himself.

21 *Although one seeth not now the sunlight  
That is bright in the ethereal heights:  
A wind passeth by and cleareth them up.*

- 22 *Gold is brought from the north,—  
Above Eloah is terrible majesty.*
- 23 *The Almighty, whom we cannot find out,  
The excellent in strength,  
And right and justice He perverteth not.*
- 24 *Therefore men regard Him with reverence,  
He hath no regard for all the wise of heart.*

He who censures God's actions, and murmurs against God, injures himself—how, on the contrary, would a patiently submissive waiting on Him be rewarded! This is the connection of thought, by which this final strophe is attached to what precedes. If we have drawn the correct conclusion from ch. xxxvii. 1, that Elihu's description of a storm is accompanied by a storm which was coming over the sky, וַעֲמָהּ, with which the speech, as ch. xxxv. 15, draws towards the close, is not to be understood as purely conclusive, but temporal: And at present one does not see the light (אֹר of the sun, as ch. xxxi. 26) which is bright in the ethereal heights (בְּהִיר again a Hebr.-Arab. word, comp. *báhir*, outshining, surpassing, especially of the moon, when it dazzles with its brightness); yet it only requires a breath of wind to pass over it, and it clears it, *i.e.* brings the ethereal sky with the sunlight to view. Elihu hereby means to say that the God who is hidden only for a time, respecting whom one runs the risk of being in perplexity, can suddenly unveil Himself, to our surprise and confusion, and that therefore it becomes us to bow humbly and quietly to His present mysterious visitation. With respect to the removal of the clouds from the beclouded sun, to which ver. 21 refers, וְהִב, ver. 22a, seems to signify the gold of the sun; *esh-shemsu bi-tibrin*, the sun is gold, says Abulola. Oriental and Classic literature furnishes a large number of instances in support of this calling the sunshine gold; and it should not perplex us here, where we have

an Arabizing Hebrew poet before us, that not a single passage can be brought forward from the Old Testament literature. But מַצֵּן is against this figurative rendering of the זָהָב (LXX. *νέφη χρυσανγούνα*). In Ezek. i. 4 there is good reason for the storm-clouds, which unfold from their midst the glory of the heavenly Judge, who rideth upon the cherubim, coming from the north; but wherefore should Elihu represent the sun's golden light as breaking through from the north? On the other hand, in the conception of the ancients, the north is the proper region for gold: there griffins (*γρυπές*) guard the gold-pits of the Arimasian mountains (Herod. iii. 116); there, from the narrow pass of the Caucasus along the Gordyæan mountains, gold is dug by barbarous races (Pliny, *h. n.* vi. 11), and among the Scythians it is brought to light by the ants (*ib.* xxxiii. 4). Egypt could indeed provide itself with gold from Ethiopia, and the Phœnicians brought the gold of Ophir, already mentioned in the book of Job, from India; but the north was regarded as the fabulously most productive chief mine of gold; to speak more definitely: Northern Asia, with the Altai mountains.<sup>1</sup> Thus therefore ch. xxviii. 1, 6 is to be compared here.

What Job describes so grandly and minutely in ch. xxviii., viz. that man lays bare the hidden treasures of the earth's interior, but that the wisdom of God still transcends him, is here expressed no less grandly and compendiously: From the north cometh gold, which man wrests from the darkness of the gloomy unknown region of the north (מַצֵּן, ζόφος, from צָפָה, cogn. טָמַן, טָמַר,<sup>2</sup> *vid.* p. 53, note, comp. p. 11, note); upon

<sup>1</sup>  *Vid. the art. Gold, S. 91, 101, in Ersch and Gruber. The Indian traditions concerning Uttaraguru (the "High Mountain"), and concerning the northern seat of the god of wealth Kuvêra, have no connection here; on their origin comp. Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, i. 848.*

<sup>2</sup> The verb מַצֵּן, *obducere*, does not belong here, but to צָפָה, and signifies properly to flatten (as רָקַע, to make thin and thick by striking),

Eloah, on the contrary, is terrible majesty (not genitival: terror of majesty, Ew. § 293, *c*), *i.e.* it covers Him like a garment (Ps. civ. 1), making Him inaccessible (הוד, glory as resounding praise, *vid.* on ch. xxxix. 20, like כבוד as imposing dignity). The beclouded sun, ver. 21 said, has lost none of the intensity of its light, although man has to wait for the removing of the clouds to behold it again. So, when God's doings are mysterious to us, we have to wait, without murmuring, for His solution of the mystery. While from the north comes gold—ver. 22 continues—which is obtained by laying bare the interior of the northern mountains, God, on the other hand, is surrounded by inaccessible terrible glory: the Almighty—thus ver. 23 completes the thought towards which ver. 22 tends—we cannot reach, the Great in power, *i.e.* the nature of the Absolute One remains beyond us, the counsel of the Almighty impenetrable; still we can at all times be certain of this, that what He does is right and good: “Right and the fulness of justice (יֵרֵב) according to the Masora, not (יִרְבֵּ) He perverteth not.” The expression is remarkable: עֲנֶה רֵן is, like the Talmudic עֲנֶה רֵן, equivalent elsewhere to הִפָּךְ מִשְׁפָּט; and that He does not pervert רַב־צִדְקָה, affirms that justice in its whole compass is not perverted by Him; His acts are therefore perfectly and in every way consistent with it: רַב־צִדְקָה is the *abstract.* to צִדִּיק כְּבִיר, ch. xxxiv. 17, therefore *summa justitia*. One may feel tempted to draw מִשְׁפָּט to שְׁנֵי כַּח, and to read יֵרֵב according to Prov. xiv. 29 instead of יִרְבֵּ, but the expression gained by so doing is still more difficult than the combination לֹא יַעֲנֶה; not merely difficult, however, but putting a false point in place of a correct one, is the reading לֹא יַעֲנֶה (LXX., Syr., Jer.),

comp. صَفَحَ, to strike on something flat (whence *el-musâfaha*, the salutation by striking the hand), and صَفَعَ, to strike with the flat hand on anything, therefore *diducendo obducere*.



according to which Hirz. translates: He answers not, *i.e.* gives no account to man. The accentuation rightly divides ver. 23 into two halves, the second of which begins with וְיִשְׁפַּט—a significant *Waw*, on which J. H. Michaelis observes: *Placide invicem in Deo conspirant infinita ejus potentia et justitia quæ in hominibus sæpe disjuncta sunt.*

Elihu closes with the practical inference: Therefore men, viz. of the right sort, of sound heart, uncorrupted and unaffected, fear Him (יִרְאוּהוּ *verentur eum*, not יִרְמִיאוּהוּ *veremini eum*); He does not see (regard) the wise of heart, *i.e.* those who imagine themselves such and are proud of their לֵב, their understanding. The *qui sibi videntur* (Jer.) does not lie in לֵב (comp. Isa. v. 21), but in the antithesis. Stick. and others render falsely: Whom the aggregate of the over-wise beholds not, which would be יִרְאֶנּוּ. God is the subj. as in ch. xxviii. 24, xxxiv. 21, comp. xli. 26. The assonance of יִרְאוּהוּ and יִרְאֶה, which also occurs frequently elsewhere (*e.g.* ch. vi. 21), we have sought to reproduce in the translation.

In this last speech also Elihu's chief aim (ch. xxxvi. 2-4) is to defend God against Job's charge of injustice. He shows how omnipotence, love, and justice are all found in God. When judging of God's omnipotence, we are to beware of censuring Him who is absolutely exalted above us and our comprehension; when judging of God's love, we are to beware of interpreting His afflictive dispensations, which are designed for our well-being, as the persecution of an enemy; when judging of His justice, we are to beware of maintaining our own righteousness at the cost of the Divine, and of thus avoiding the penitent humbling of one's self under His well-meant chastisement. The twofold peculiarity of Elihu's speeches comes out in this fourth as prominently as in the first: (1) They demand of Job penitential submission, not by accusing him of coarse common sins as the three have done, but because even the best of men suffer for hidden moral

defects, which must be perceived by them in order not to perish on account of them. Elihu here does for Job just what in Bunyan (*Pilgrim's Progress*) the man in the Interpreter's house does, when he sweeps the room, so that Christian had been almost choked with the dust that flew about. Then (2) they teach that God makes use of just such sufferings, as Job's now are, in order to bring man to a knowledge of his hidden defects, and to bless him the more abundantly if he will be healed by them; that thus the sufferings of those who fear God are a wholesome medicine, disciplinary chastenings, and saving warnings; and that therefore true, not merely feigned, piety must be proved in the school of affliction by earnest self-examination, remorseful self-accusation, and humble submission.

Elihu therefore in this agrees with the rest of the book, that he frees Job's affliction from the view which accounts it the evil-doer's punishment (*vid.* ch. xxxii. 3). On the other hand, however, he nevertheless takes up a position apart from the rest of the book, by making Job's sin the cause of his affliction; while in the idea of the rest of the book Job's affliction has nothing whatever to do with Job's sin, except in so far as he allows himself to be drawn into sinful language concerning God by the conflict of temptation into which the affliction plunges him. For after Jehovah has brought Job over this his sin, He acknowledges His servant (ch. xlii. 7) to be in the right, against the three friends: his affliction is really not a merited affliction, it is not a result of retributive justice; it also had not chastisement as its design, it was an enigma, under which Job should have bowed humbly without striking against it—a decree, into the purpose of which the prologue permits us an insight, which however remains unexplained to Job, or is only explained to him so far as the issue teaches him that it should be to him the way to a so much the more glorious testimony on the part of God Himself.

With that criticism of Job, which the speeches of Jehovah consummate, the criticism which lies before us in the speeches of Elihu is irreconcilable. The older poet, in contrast with the false doctrine of retribution, entirely separates sin and punishment or chastisement in the affliction of Job, and teaches that there is an affliction of the righteous, which is solely designed to prove and test them. His thema, not Elihu's (as Simson<sup>1</sup> with Hengstenberg thinks), is *the mystery of the Cross*. For the Cross according to its proper notion is suffering *ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης* (or what in New Testament language is the same, *ἕνεκεν Χριστοῦ*). Elihu, however, leaves sin and suffering together as inseparable, and opposes the false doctrine of retribution by the distinction between disciplinary chastisement and judicial retribution. The Elihu section, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> has sprung from the endeavour to moderate the bewildering boldness with which the older poet puts forth his idea. The writer has felt in connection with the book of Job what every Christian must feel. Such a maintaining of his own righteousness in the face of friendly exhortations to penitence, as we perceive it in Job's speeches, is certainly not possible where "the dust of the room has flown about." The friends have only failed in this, that they made Job more and more an evil-doer deservedly undergoing punishment. Elihu points him to vain-glorying, to carnal security, and in the main to those defects from which the most godly cannot and dare not claim exemption. It is not contrary to the spirit of the drama that Job holds his peace at these exhortations to penitence. The similarly expressed admonition to penitence with which Eliphaz, ch. iv. sq., begins, has not effected it. In the meanwhile, however, Job is become more softened and composed, and in remembrance of his unbecoming language concerning God,

<sup>1</sup> *Zur Kritik des B. Hiob*, 1861, S. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid. Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie*, art. *Hiob*, S. 119.

he must feel that he has forfeited the right of defending himself. Nevertheless this silent Job is not altogether the same as the Job who, in ch. xl. and xlii., forces himself to keep silence, whose former testimony concerning himself, and whose former refusal of a theodicy which links sin and calamity together, Jehovah finally sets His seal to.

On the other hand, however, it must be acknowledged, that what the introduction to Elihu's speeches, ch. xxxii. 1-5, sets before us, is consistent with the idea of the whole, and that such a section as the introduction leads one to expect, may be easily understood really as a member of the whole, which carries forward the dramatic development of this idea; for this very reason one feels urged to constantly new endeavours, if possible, to understand these speeches as a part of the original form. But they are without result, and, moreover, many other considerations stand in our way to the desired goal; especially, that Elihu is not mentioned in the epilogue, and that his speeches are far behind the artistic perfection of the rest of the book. It is true the writer of these speeches has, in common with the rest of the book, a like Hebræo-Arabic, and indeed Hauranitish style, and like mutual relations to earlier and later writings; but this is explained from the consideration that he has completely blended the older book with himself (as the points of contact of the fourth speech with ch. xxviii. and the speeches of Jehovah, show), and that to all appearance he is a fellow-countryman of the older poet. There are neither linguistic nor any other valid reasons in favour of assigning it to a much later period. He is the second issuer of the book, possibly the first, who brought to light the hitherto hidden treasure, enriched by his own insertion, which is inestimable in its relation to the history of the perception of the plan of redemption.

We now call to mind that in the last (according to our

view) strophe of Job's last speech, ch. xxxi. 35-37, Job desires, yea challenges, the divine decision between himself and his opponents. His opponents have explained his affliction as the punishment of the just God; he, however, is himself so certain of his innocence, and of his victory over divine and human accusation, that he will bind the indictment of his opponents as a crown upon his brow, and to God, whose hand of punishment supposedly rests upon him, will he render an account of all his steps, and go forth as a prince to meet Him. That he considers himself a צדיק is in itself not censurable, for he is such: but that he is מצדק נפשו מאלהים, *i.e.* considers himself to be righteous in opposition to God, who is now angry with him and punishes him; that he maintains his own righteousness to the prejudice of the Divine; and that by maintaining his own right, places the Divine in the shade,—all this is explainable as the result of the false idea which he entertains of his affliction, and in which he is strengthened by the friends; but there is need of censure and penitence. For since by His nature God can never do wrong, all human wrangling before God is a sinful advance against the mystery of divine guidance, under which he should rather humbly bow. But we have seen that Job's false idea of God as his enemy, whose conduct he cannot acknowledge as just, does not fill his whole soul. The night of temptation in which he is enshrouded, is broken in upon by gleams of faith, in connection with which God appears to him as his Vindicator and Redeemer. Flesh and spirit, nature and grace, delusion and faith, are at war within him. These two elements are constantly more definitely separated in the course of the controversy; but it is not yet come to the victory of faith over delusion, the two lines of conception go unreconciled side by side in Job's soul. The last monologues issue on the one side in the humble confession that God's wisdom is unsearchable, and the fear of God is the share of wisdom appointed to man;

on the other side, in the defiant demand that God may answer for his defence of himself, and the vaunting offer to give Him an account of all his steps, and also then to enter His presence with the high feeling of a prince. If now the issue of the drama is to be this, that God really reveals Himself as Job's Vindicator and Redeemer, Job's defiance and boldness must be previously punished in order that lowliness and submission may attain the victory over them. God cannot acknowledge Job as His servant before he penitently acknowledges as such the sinful weakness under which he has proved himself to be God's servant, and so exhibits himself anew in his true character which cherishes no known sin. This takes place when Jehovah appears, and in language not of wrath but of loving condescension, and yet earnest reproof, He makes the Titan quite puny in his own eyes, in order then to exalt him who is outwardly and inwardly humbled.

## THE UNRAVELMENT IN THE CONSCIOUSNESS.—

## CHAP. XXXVIII.—XLII. 6.

*The First Speech of Jehovah, and Job's Answer.—*

Chap. xxxviii.—xl. 5.

*Schema* : 4. 8. 8. 8. 12. 12. 6. 6. 10. 7. | 8. 8. 8. 12. 15. 10. | 2. 4.

[Then Jehovah answered Job out of the storm, and said:]

2 *Who then darkeneth counsel*

*With words without knowledge?*

3 *Gird up now thy loins as a man:*

*I will question thee, and inform thou me!*

"May the Almighty answer me!" Job has said, ch. xxxi. 35; He now really answers, and indeed out of the storm (*Chethib*, according to a mode of writing occurring only here and ch. xl. 6, מנהסרה, arranged in two words by the *Keri*), which

is generally the forerunner of His self-manifestation in the world, of that at least by which He reveals Himself in His absolute awe-inspiring greatness and judicial grandeur. The *art.* is to be understood generically, but, with respect to Elihu's speeches, refers to the storm which has risen up in the meanwhile. It is not to be translated: Who is he who . . . , which ought to be *המחשיך*, but: Who then is darkening; *וְ* makes the interrogative *מִי* more vivid and demonstrative, Ges. § 122, 2; the *part.* *מִחֲשִׁיךְ* (instead of which it might also be *יִחֲשִׁיךְ*) favours the assumption that Job has uttered such words immediately before, and is interrupted by Jehovah, without an intervening speaker having come forward. It is intentionally *עֲצָה* for *עֲצָתִי* (comp. *עַם* for *עַמִּי*, Isa. xxvi. 11), to describe that which is spoken of according to its quality: it is nothing less than a decree or plan full of purpose and connection which Job darkens, *i.e.* distorts by judging it falsely, or, as we say: places in a false light, and in fact by meaningless words.<sup>1</sup>

When now Jehovah condescends to negotiate with Job by question and answer, He does not do exactly what Job wished (ch. xiii. 22), but something different, of which Job never thought. He surprises him with questions which are intended to bring him indirectly to the consciousness of the wrong and absurdity of his challenge—questions among which “there are many which the natural philosophy of the present day can frame more scientifically, but cannot satisfactorily solve.”<sup>2</sup> Instead of *בְּנֶפֶר* (the received reading of Ben-Ascher), Ben-Naphtali's text offered *בֶּנֶ* (as Ezek. xvii. 10), in order not to allow two so similar, aspirated *mutæ* to come together.

<sup>1</sup> The correct accentuation is *מחשיך* with *Mercha*, *עצה* with *Athnach*, *במלץ* with *Rebia mugrasch*, *בלי* (without *Makkeph*) with *Munach*.

<sup>2</sup> Alex. v. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii. 48 (1st edition), comp. Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften*, i. 354.

- 4 *Where wast thou when I established the earth ?  
Say, if thou art capable of judging !*  
5 *Who hath determined its measure, if thou knowest it,  
Or who hath stretched the measuring line over it ?*  
6 *Upon what are the bases of its pillars sunk in,  
Or who hath laid its corner-stone,*  
7 *When the morning stars sang together  
And all the sons of God shouted for joy ?*

The examination begins similarly to ch. xv. 7 sq. In opposition to the censurer of God as such the friends were right, although only negatively, since their conduct was based on self-delusion, as though they were in possession of the key to the mystery of the divine government of the world. יָדַע בִּינָה signifies to understand how to judge, to possess a competent understanding, 1 Chron. xii. 32, 2 Chron. ii. 12, or (יָדַע taken not in the sense of *novisse*, but *cognoscere*) to appropriate to one's self, Prov. iv. 1, Isa. xxix. 24. בִּי, ver. 5a, interchanges with אִם (comp. ver. 18b), for בִּי יָדַע signifies: suppose that thou knowest it, and this *si forte scias* is almost equivalent to *an forte scis*, Prov. xxx. 4. The founding of the earth is likened altogether to that of a building constructed by man. The question: upon what are the bases of its pillars or foundations sunk (טָבַע, according to its radical signification, to press with something flat upon something, comp. طَبَق, to lay two flat things on one another, then both to form or stamp by pressure, *vid.* i. 377, note, and to press into soft pliant stuff, or let down into, *immergere*, or to sink into, *immergi*), points to the fact of the earth hanging free in space, ch. xxvi. 7. Then no human being was present, for man was not yet created; the angels, however, beheld with rejoicing the founding of the place of the future human family, and the mighty acts of God in accordance with the decree of His love (as at the building of



the temple, the laying of the foundation, Ezra iii. 10, and the setting of the head-stone, Zech. iv. 7, were celebrated), for the angels were created before the visible world (*Psychol.* p. 78; *Genesis*, S. 105), as is indeed not taught here, but still (*vid.* on the other hand, Hofmann, *Schriftbew.* i. 400) is assumed. For אֲלֹהִים are, as in ch. i. ii., the angels, who proceeded from God by a mode of creation which is likened to begetting, and who with Him form one πατριά (*Genesis*, S. 121). The "morning stars," however, are mentioned in connection with them, because between the stars and the angels, which are both comprehended in צבא השמים (*Genesis*, S. 128), a mysterious connection exists, which is manifoldly attested in Holy Scripture (*vid.* on the other hand, Hofm. *ib.* S. 318). כּוֹכַב בֹּקֶר is the morning star which in Isa. xiv. 12 is called הַיָּלֵל (as extra-bibl. נִיָּה) from its dazzling light, which exceeds all other stars in brightness, and בֶּן־שָׁחַר, son of the dawn, because it swims in the dawn as though it were born from it. It was just the dawn of the world coming into being, which is the subject spoken of, that gave rise to the mention of the morning star; the *plur.*, however, does not mean the stars which came into being on that morning of the world collectively (Hofm., Schlottm.), but Lucifer with the stars his peers, as בְּסִילִים, Isa. xiii. 10, Orion and the stars his peers.

سَهِيل (Canopus) is used similarly as a generic name for stars of remarkable brilliancy, and in general *suhêl* is to the nomads and the Hauranites the symbol of what is brilliant, glorious, and beautiful;<sup>1</sup> so that even the beings of light of the first rank among the celestial spirits might be understood by כּוֹכַב בֹּקֶר. But if this ought to be the meaning, ver. 7a

<sup>1</sup> A man or woman of great beauty is called *suhêli*, *suheliye*. Thus I heard a Hauranitish woman say to her companion: *nahâr el-jôm nedâ, shuft ledsch* (لک) *wâhid Suhêli*, To-day is dew, I saw a *Suhêli*, i.e. a very handsome man, for thee.—WETZST.

and 7b would be in an inverted order. They are actual stars, whether it is intended of the sphere belonging to the earth or to the higher sphere comprehended in השמים, Gen. i. 1. Joy and light are reciprocal notions, and the scale of the tones of joy is likened to the scale of light and colours; therefore the fulness of light, in which the morning stars shone forth all together at the founding of the earth, may symbolize one grandly harmonious song of joy.

- 8 *And [who] shut up the sea with doors,  
When it broke through, issued from the womb,*  
9 *When I put clouds round it as a garment,  
And thick mist as its swaddling clothes,*  
10 *And I broke for it my bound,  
And set bars and doors,*  
11 *And said: Hitherto come, and no further,  
And here be thy proud waves stayed! ?*

The state of תהו ובהו was the first half, and the state of תהום the second half of the primeval condition of the forming earth. The question does not, however, refer to the תהום, in which the waters of the sky and the waters of the earth were as yet not separated, but, passing over this intermediate condition of the forming earth, to the sea, the waters of which God shut up as by means of a door and bolt, when, first enshrouded in thick mist (which has remained from that time one of its natural peculiarities), and again and again manifesting its individuality, it broke forth (יָצָא of the foetus, as Ps. xxii. 10) from the bowels of the, as yet, chaotic earth. That the sea, in spite of the flatness of its banks, does not flow over the land, is a work of omnipotence which broke over it, *i.e.* restraining it, a fixed bound (חֵץ as ch. xxvi. 10, Prov. viii. 29, Jer. v. 22, = גְּבִיל, Ps. civ. 9), viz. the steep and rugged walls of the basin of the sea, and which thereby established a firm barrier behind which it should be kept.

Instead of **וַיִּבֶן**, Josh. xviii. 8, ver. 11b has the *Chethib* **וַיִּבֶן**. **וַיִּבֶן** is to be understood with **וַיִּשֶׁת**, and "one set" is equivalent to the passive (Ges. § 137\*): let a bound be set (comp. **וַיִּשֶׁת**, Hos. vi. 11, which is used directly so) against the proud rising of thy waves.

- 12 *Hast thou in thy life commanded a morning,  
Caused the dawn to know its place,*
- 13 *That it may take hold of the ends of the earth,  
So that the evil-doers are shaken from it?*
- 14 *That it changeth like the clay of a signet-ring,  
And everything fashioneth itself as in a garment.*
- 15 *Their light is removed from the evil-doers,  
And the out-stretched arm is broken.*

The dawn of the morning, spreading out from one point, takes hold of the carpet of the earth as it were by the edges, and shakes off from it the evil-doers, who had laid themselves to rest upon it the night before. **וַיִּעַר**, combining in itself the significations to thrust and to shake, has the latter here, as in the Arab. *nā'ûra*, a water-wheel, which fills its compartments below in the river, to empty them out above. Instead of **וַיִּדְעָתָה שְׁחַר** with *He otians*, the *Keri* substitutes **וַיִּדְעָתָה שְׁחַר**. The earth is the subj. to ver. 14a: the dawn is like the signet-ring, which stamps a definite impress on the earth as the clay, the forms which floated in the darkness of the night become visible and distinguishable. The subj. to ver. 14b are not morning and dawn (Schult.), still less the ends of the earth (Ew. with the conjecture: **וַיִּתְּבִיזוּ**, "they become dazzlingly white"), but the single objects on the earth: the light of morning gives to everything its peculiar garb of light, so that, hitherto overlaid by a uniform darkness, they now come forth independently, they gradually appear in their variegated diversity of form and hue. In **וַיִּבְרָא לְבָרִשׁ**, **לְבָרִשׁ** is conceived as accusative (Arab. *kemâ*

*libāsan*, or *thauban*), while in בִּלְבוּשׁ (Ps. civ. 6, *instar vestis*) it would be genitive. To the end of the strophe everything is under the logical government of the ל of purpose in ver. 13a. The light of the evil-doers is, according to ch. xxiv. 17, the darkness of the night, which is for them in connection with their works what the light of day is for other men. The sunrise deprives them, the enemies of light in the true sense (ch. xxiv. 13), of this light *per antiphrasin*, and the carrying out of their evil work, already prepared for, is frustrated. The ע of רָשָׁעִים, vers. 13 and 15, is עֵין תְּלוּיָה [Ayin suspensum], which is explained according to the Midrash thus: the רָשָׁעִים, now עֲשִׂירִים (rich), become at a future time רְשִׁים (poor); or: God deprives them of the עֵין (light of the eye), by abandoning them to the darkness which they loved.

- 16 *Hast thou reached the fountains of the sea,  
And hast thou gone into the foundation of the deep?*
- 17 *Were the gates of death unveiled to thee,  
And didst thou see the gates of the realm of shades?*
- 18 *Hast thou comprehended the breadth of the earth?  
Speak, in so far as thou knowest all this!*
- 19 *Which is the way to where the light dwelleth,  
And darkness, where is its place,*
- 20 *That thou mightest bring it to its bound,  
And that thou mightest know the paths of its house?*
- 21 *Thou knowest it, for then wast thou born,  
And the number of thy days is great!—*

The root נב has the primary notion of obtruding itself upon the senses (*vid.* Genesis, S. 635), whence נבך in Arabic of a rising country that pleases the eye (*nabaka*, a hill, a hill-side), and here (cognate in root and meaning נבע, Syr. Talmud. נבג, نبع, نبط, *scaturire*) of gushing and bubbling water. Hitzig's conjecture, approved by Olsh., נבלי, sets aside a word

that is perfectly clear so far as the language is concerned. On *הִקָּר* *vid.* on ch. xi. 7. The question put to Job in ver. 17, he must, according to his own confession, ch. xxvi. 6, answer in the negative. In order to avoid the collision of two aspirates, the interrogative *וְ* is wanting before *הִתְבַּנֵּת*, Ew. § 324, *b*; *הִתְבַּנֵּן עַד* signifies, according to ch. xxxii. 12, to observe anything carefully; the meaning of the question therefore is, whether Job has given special attention to the breadth of the earth, and whether he consequently has a comprehensive and thorough knowledge of it. *בְּלֵהָ* refers not to the earth (Hahn, Olsh., and others), but, as neuter, to the preceding points of interrogation. The questions, ver. 19, refer to the principles of light and darkness, *i.e.* their final causes, whence they come forth as cosmical phenomena. *יִשְׁכַּח-אֹר* is a relative clause, Ges. § 123, 3, *c*; the noun that governs (the *Regens*) this virtual genitive, which ought in Arabic to be without the *art.* as being determined by the *regens*, is, according to the Hebrew syntax, which is freer in this respect, *הַיָּרֵךְ* (comp. Ges. § 110, 2). That which is said of the bound of darkness, *i.e.* the furthest point at which darkness passes away, and the paths to its house, applies also to the light, which the poet perhaps has even prominently (comp. ch. xxiv. 13) before his mind: light and darkness have a first cause which is inaccessible to man, and beyond his power of searching out. The admission in ver. 21 is ironical: Verily! thou art as old as the beginning of creation, when light and darkness, as powers of nature which are distinguished and bounded the one by the other (*vid.* ch. xxvi. 10), were introduced into the rising world; thou art as old as the world, so that thou hast an exact knowledge of its and thine own cotemporaneous origin (*vid.* ch. xv. 7). On the *fut.* joined with *אֵף* regularly in the signification of the *aorist*, *vid.* Ew. § 136, *b*. The attraction in connection with *מִסְפָּר* is like ch. xv. 20, xxi. 21.

- 22 *Hast thou reached the treasures of the snow,  
And didst thou see the treasures of the hail,*  
23 *Which I have reserved for a time of trouble,  
For the day of battle and war?*  
24 *Which is the way where the light is divided,  
Where the east wind is scattered over the earth?*  
25 *Who divideth a course for the rain-flood  
And the way of the lightning of thunder,*  
26 *That it raineth on the land where no one dwelleth,  
On the tenantless steppe,*  
27 *To satisfy the desolate and the waste,  
And to cause the tender shoot of the grass to spring forth?*

The idea in ver. 22 is not that—as for instance the peasants of *Menîn*, four hours' journey from Damascus, garner up the winter snow in a cleft of the rock, in order to convey it to Damascus and the towns of the coast in the hot months—God treasures up the snow and hail above to cause it to descend according to opportunity. *אֲצִירֹת* (comp. Ps. cxxxv. 7) are the final causes of these phenomena which God has created—the form of the question, the design of which (which must not be forgotten) is ethical, not scientific, is regulated according to the infancy of the perception of natural phenomena among the ancients; but at the same time in accordance with the poet's task, and even, as here, in the choice of the agents of destruction, not merely hail, but also snow, according to the scene of the incident. Wetzstein has in his possession a writing of Muhammed el-Chafîb el-Bosrâwi, in which he describes a fearful fall of snow in Hauran, by which, in February 1860, innumerable herds of sheep, goats, and camels, and also many human beings perished.<sup>1</sup> *עֵת־צָר* might, according to ch.

<sup>1</sup> Since the Hauranites say of snow as of fire: *jahrîk*, it burns (*brûlant* in French is also used of extreme cold), ch. i. 16 might also be understood of a fall of snow; but the tenor of the words there requires it to be understood of actual fire.

xxiv. 1, xix. 11, signify a time of judgment for the oppressor, *i.e.* adversary; but it is better to be understood according to ch. xxxvi. 16, xxi. 30, a time of distress: heavy falls of snow and tempestuous hail-storms bring hard times for men and cattle, and sometimes decide a war as by a divine decree (Josh. x. 11, comp. Isa. xxviii. 17, xxx. 30, Ezek. xiii. 13).

In ver. 24*a* it is not, as in ver. 19*a*, the place whence light issues, but the mode of the distribution of light over the earth, that is intended; as in ver. 24*b*, the laws according to which the east wind flows forth, *i.e.* spreads over the earth. אור is not lightning (Schlottm.), but light in general: light and wind (instead of which the east wind is particularized, *vid.* p. 77) stand together as being alike untraceable in their courses. נִפְּחָה, *se diffundere*, as Ex. v. 12, 1 Sam. xiii. 8, Ges. § 53, 2. In ver. 25*a* the descent of torrents of rain inundating certain regions of the earth is intended—this earthward direction assigned to the water-spouts is likened to an aqueduct coming downwards from the sky—and it is only in ver. 25*b*, as in ch. xxviii. 26, that the words have reference to the lightning, which to man is untraceable, flashing now here, now there. This guiding of the rain to chosen parts of the earth extends also to the tenantless steppe. לֹא-אִישׁ (for אִישׁ) is virtually an adj. (*vid.* on ch. xii. 24). The superlative combination שָׁמָּה וְשָׁמָּה (from שָׁמָּה = שָׁמָּה, to be desolate, and to give forth a heavy dull sound, *i.e.* to sound desolate, *vid.* on ch. xxxvii. 6), as ch. xxx. 3 (which see). Not merely for the purposes of His rule among men does God direct the changes of the weather contrary to human foresight; His care extends also to regions where no human habitations are found.

- 28 *Hath the rain a father,  
Or who begetteth the drops of dew?*  
29 *Out of whose womb cometh the ice forth,*

*And who bringeth forth the hoar-frost of heaven?*

30 *The waters become hard like stone,*

*And the face of the deep is rolled together.*

Rain and dew have no created father, ice and hoar-frost no created mother. The parallelism in both instances shows that *מִי הוֹלִיד* asks after the one who begets, and *מִי יִלְדוּ* the one who bears (*vid.* Hupfeld on Ps. ii. 7). *בֶּטֶן* is *uterus*, and meton. (at least in Arabic) *progenies uteri*; *ex utero cujus* is *מִבֶּטֶן מִי*, in distinction from *מֵאֵי-רוּחַ בֶּטֶן*, *ex quo utero*. *אֶגְלֵי-טָל* is excellently translated by the LXX., *Codd. Vat. and Sin.*, *βώλους* (with *Omega*) *δρόσου*; Ges. and Schlottm. correct to *βόλους*, but *βώλος* signifies not merely a clod, but also a lump and a ball. It is the particles of the dew holding together (LXX., *Cod. Alex.*: *συνοχὰς καὶ βω. δρ.*) in a globular form, from *אָגַל*, which does not belong to *אָגַל*, but to *أَجَلَ*, *retinere*, II. *colligere* (whence *agil*, standing water, *ma'gal*, a pool, pond); *אֶגְלֵי* is *constr.*, like *עֲנֵלֵי* from *עָנַל*. The waters "hide themselves," by vanishing as fluid, therefore: freeze. The surface of the deep (LXX. *ἀσεβοῦς*, for which Zwingli has *in marg.* *ἀβύσσου*) "takes hold of itself," or presses together (comp. Arab. *lekda*, crowding, *synon. hugúm*, a striking against) by forming itself into a firm solid mass (*continuum*, ch. xli. 9, comp. xxxvii. 10). Moreover, the questions all refer not merely to the analysis of the visible origin of the phenomena, but to their final causes.

31 *Canst thou join the twistings of the Pleiades,*

*Or loose the bands of Orion?*

32 *Canst thou bring forth the signs of the Zodiac at the right time,*

*And canst thou guide the Bear with its children?*

33 *Knowest thou the laws of heaven,*

*Or dost thou define its influence on the earth?*



That מַעְרְנוֹת here signifies the bindings or twistings (from עָרַ = עָנַר, ch. xxxi. 36) is placed beyond question by the unanimous translations of the LXX. (δεσμόν) and the Targ. (שִׁירָ = σειράς), the testimony of the Masora, according to which the word here has a different signification from 1 Sam. xv. 32, and the language of the Talmud, in which מַעְרֵינִי, *Kelim*, c. 20, signifies the knots at the end of a mat, by loosing which it comes to pieces, and *Succa*, 13*b*, the bands (formed of rushes) with which willow-branches are fastened together above in order to form a booth (*succa*); but מַדְאֵי, *Sabbat*, 33*a*, signifies a bunch of myrtle (to smell on the Sabbath). מַעְרְנוֹת בִּימָה is therefore explained according to the Persian comparison of the Pleiades with a bouquet of jewels, mentioned on ch. ix. 9, and according to the comparison with a necklace (*iqd-eth-thurajja*), e.g. in Sadi in his *Gulistan*, p. 8 of Graf's translation: "as though the tops of the trees were encircled by the necklace of the Pleiades." The Arabic name *thurajja* (diminutive feminine of *tharwân*) certainly signifies the richly-adorned, clustered constellation. But בִּימָה signifies without doubt the clustered group,<sup>1</sup> and Beigel (in Ideler, *Sternnamen*, S. 147) does not translate badly: "Canst thou not arrange together the rosette of

<sup>1</sup> The verb כּוּם is still in general use in the *Piel* (to heap up, form a heap, *part. mukauwam*, heaped up) and *Hithpa.* (to accumulate) in Syria, and *kôm* is any village desolated in days of yore whose stones form a desolate heap [comp. Fleischer, *De Glossis Habichtianis*, p. 41 sq.]. If, according to Kamus, in old Jemanic *kîm* in the sense of *mukâwim* signifies a confederate (synon. *chilt*, *gils*), the בִּימָה would be a confederation, or a heap, assemblage (coetus) of confederates. Perhaps the בִּימָה was regarded as a troop of camels; the Beduins at least call the star directly before the seven-starred constellation of the Pleiades the *hâdi*, i.e. the singer riding before the procession, who cheers the camels by the sound of the *hadwa* (הַדְוָה), and thereby urges them on.—WETZST.

On *πλειάδες*, which perhaps also bear this name as a compressed group (figuratively *βότρυς*) of several stars (ὅτι πλείους ὁμοῦ κατὰ συναγωγὴν εἰσι), *vid.* Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* vi. 282–285.

diamonds (chain would be better) of the Pleiades?" As to כְּסִיל, we firmly hold that it denotes Orion (according to which the Greek versions translate Ὠρίων, the Syriac *gaboro*, the Targ. גַּבּוֹרָא or גַּבְרִיאֵל, the Giant). Orion and the Pleiades are visible in the Syrian sky longer in the year than with us, and there they come about 17° higher above the horizon than with us. Nevertheless the figure of a giant chained to the heavens cannot be rightly shown to be Semitic, and it is questionable whether כְּסִיל is not rather, with Saad., Gecat., Abulwalid, and others, to be regarded as the *Suhêl*, i.e. Canopus, especially as this is placed as a sluggish helper (כְּסִיל, Hebr. a fool, Arab. the slothful one, *ignavus*) in mythical relation to the constellation of the Bear, which here is called עֵישׁ, as ch. ix. 9 עֵשׁ, and is regarded as a bier, נַעֲשׂ (even in the present day this is the name in the towns and villages of Syria), with the sons and daughters forming the attendants upon the corpse of their father, slain by *Gedî*, the Pole-star. Understood of Orion, מִשְׁכּוֹת (with which مَسَك, *tenere*, *detinere*, is certainly to be compared) are the chains (مَسَكَة, *compes*), with which he is chained to the sky; understood of *Suhêl*, the restraints which prevent his breaking away too soon and reaching the goal.<sup>1</sup> מִקְלוֹת is not distinct from מִזְרוֹת,

<sup>1</sup> In June 1860 I witnessed a quarrel in an encampment of *Mo'gil*-Beduins, in which one accused the others of having rendered it possible for the enemy to carry off his camels through their negligence; and when the accused assured him they had gone forth in pursuit of the marauders soon after the raid, and only turned back at sunset, the man exclaimed: Ye came indeed to my assistance as *Suhêl* to *Gedî* (פועתם לי פוע סהיל). I asked my neighbour what the words meant, and was informed they are a proverb which is very often used, and has its origin as follows: The *Gedî* (i.e. the Pole-star, called *mismâr*, מִשְׁמָר, in Damascus) slew the *Na'sh* (נַעֲשׂ), and is accordingly encompassed every night by the children of the slain *Na'sh*, who are determined to take vengeance on the murderer. The sons (on which account poets usually say *benî* instead of *benât Na'sh*) go first with the corpse of their father, and the daughters follow. One of the latter is called *waldâne*, a lying-in woman; she has

2 Kings xxiii. 5 (comp. מַזְלָךְ, "Thy star of fortune," on Cilician coins), and denotes not the twenty-eight *menâzil* (from نزل, to descend, turn in, lodge) of the moon,<sup>1</sup> but the twelve signs of the Zodiac, which were likewise imagined as *menâzil*, i.e. lodging-houses or *burûg*, strongholds, in which one after another the sun lodges as it describes the circle of the year.<sup>2</sup> The later usage of the language transferred מַזְל also to the planets, which, because they lie in the equatorial plane of the sun, as the sun (although more irregularly), run through the constellations of the Zodiac. The question in ver. 32a therefore means: canst thou bring forth the appointed zodiacal sign for each month, so that (of course with the variation which is limited to about two moon's diameters by the daily progress of the sun through the Zodiac) it becomes visible after sunset and is visible before sunset? On ver. 33 *vid.* on Gen. i. 14-19. מִשְׁטָר is construed after the analogy of מִשְׁלַל, עֶצֶר, רָרָה, with בָּ; and שָׁמַיִם is treated as *sing.* (Ew. § 318, a).

only recently given birth to a child, and carries her child in her bosom, and she is still pale from her lying-in. (The clear atmosphere of the Syrian sky admits of the child in the bosom of the *waldâne* being distinctly seen.) In order to give help to the *Gedi* in this danger, the *Suhêl* appears in the south, and struggles towards the north with a twinkling brightness, but he has risen too late; the night passes away ere he reaches his goal. Later I frequently heard this story, which is generally known among the Hauranites.—WETZST.

We add the following by way of explanation. The Pleiades encircle the Pole-star as do all stars, since it stands at the axis of the sky, but they are nearer to it than to Canopus by more than half the distance. This star of the first magnitude culminates about three hours later than the Pleiades, and rises, at the highest, only ten moon's diameters above the horizon of Damascus—a significant figure, therefore, of ineffectual endeavour.

<sup>1</sup> Thus A. Weber in his *Abh. über die vedischen Nachrichten von den nazatra* (halting-places of the moon), 1860 (comp. *Lit. Centralbl.* 1859, col. 665), refuted by Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliographie*, 1861, Nr. 22, S. 93 f.

<sup>2</sup> The names "the Ram, the Bull," etc., are, according to Epiphanius, *Opp.* i. p. 34 sq. (*ed. Petav.*), transferred from the Greek into the Jewish astrology, *vid.* *Wissenschaft Kunst Judenthum*, S. 220 f.

- 34 *Dost thou raise thy voice to the clouds  
That an overflow of waters may cover thee?*  
 35 *Dost thou send forth lightnings, and they go,  
And say to thee: Here we are?*  
 36 *Who hath put wisdom in the reins,  
Or who hath given understanding to the cock?*  
 37 *Who numbereth the strata of the clouds with wisdom,  
And the bottles of heaven, who emptieth them,*  
 38 *When the dust flows together into a mass,  
And the clods cleave together?*

As ver. 25*b* was worded like ch. xxviii. 26, so ver. 34*b* is worded like ch. xxii. 11; the ך of חֶסֶךְ is dageshed in both passages, as ch. xxxvi. 2, 18, Hab. ii. 17. What Jehovah here denies to the natural power of man is possible to the power which man has by faith, as the history of Elijah shows: this, however, does not come under consideration here. In proof of divine omnipotence and human feebleness, use is constantly made of the rain and the thunder-storm with the lightning, which is at the bidding of God. Most moderns since Schultens therefore endeavour, with great violence, to make מַחֹחַ and שָׁבִי׳ mean meteors and celestial phenomena. Eichl. (Hirz., Hahn) compares the Arabic name for the clouds, *tachâ* (*tachwa*), Ew. ضَحَّح, sunshine, with the former; the latter, whose root is שָׁבַח (סִבַּח), *spectare*, is meant to be something that is remarkable in the heavens: an atmospheric phenomenon, a meteor (Hirz.), or a phenomenon caused by light (Ew., Hahn), so that *e.g.* Umbr. translates: "Who hath put wisdom in the dark clouds, and given understanding to the meteor?" But the meaning which is thus extorted from the words in favour of the connection borders closely upon absurdity. Why, then, shall מַחֹחַ, from מוֹחַ, طَيِّح, *oblinere, adipe obducere*, not signify here, as in Ps. li. 8, the

reins (embedded in a cushion of fat), and in fact as the seat of the predictive faculty, like פְּלִיטָה, ch. xix. 27, as the seat of the innermost longing for the future; and particularly since here, after the constellations and the influences of the stars have just been spoken of, the mention of the gift of divination is not devoid of connection; and, moreover, as a glance at the next strophe shows, the connection which has been hitherto firmly kept to is already in process of being resolved?

If שְׁכָנִי signifies the reins, it is natural to interpret שְׁכָנִי also psychologically, and to translate the intellect (Targ. I., Syr., Arab.), or similarly (Saad., Gecat.), as Ges., Carey, Renan, Schlottm. But there is another rendering handed down which is worthy of attention, although not once mentioned by Rosenm., Hirz., Schlottm., or Hahn, according to which שְׁכָנִי signifies a cock, *gallum*. We read in *b. Rosch ha-Schana*, 26a: "When I came to Techûm-Kên-Nishraja, R. Simeon b. Lakish relates, the bride was there called נִינְפִי and the cock שְׁכָנִי, according to which Job xxxviii. 36 is to be interpreted: שְׁכָנִי = תִּרְנָנִל." The Midrash interprets in the same way, *Jalkut*, § 905, beginning: "R. Levi says: In Arabic the cock is called סְכָנָא." We compare with this, *Wajikra rabba*, c. 1: "סוכו is Arabic; in Arabia a prophet is called סְכָנָא;" whence it is to be inferred that שְׁכָנִי, as is assumed, describes the cock as a seer, as a prophet.

As to the formation of the word, it would certainly be without parallel (Ew., Olsh.) if the word had the tone on the *penult.*, but Codd. and the best old editions have the *Munach* by the final syllable; Norzi, who has overlooked this, at least notes שְׁכָנִי with the accent on the *ult.* as a various reading. It is a secondary noun, Ges. § 86, 5, a so-called relative noun (De Sacy, *Gramm. Arabe*, § 768): שְׁכָנִי, *speculator*, from שָׁכַן (שָׁכַח, שָׁכַח), *speculatio*, as פִּלְאִי, Judg. xiii. 18 (comp. Ps. cxxxix. 6), *miraculosus*, from פָּלַא, a cognate form to the Chald. סְכָנָא (סְכָנָא), of similar meaning. In connection

with this primary signification, *speculator*, it is intelligible how סבוי in Samaritan (*vid.* Lagarde on Proverbs, S. 62) can signify the eye; here, however, in a Hebrew poet, the cock, of which *e.g.* Gregory says: *Speculator semper in altitudine stat, ut quidquid venturum sit longe prospiciat*. That this signification *speculator* = *gallus*<sup>1</sup> was generally accepted at least in the Talmudic age, the *Beracha* prescribed to him who hears the cock crow: "Blessed be He who giveth the cock (שבוֹי) knowledge to distinguish between day and night!" shows. In accordance with this, Targ. II. translates: who has given understanding לְתַרְגְּמַל בִּרְאָה, *gallo sylvestri* (whereas Targ. I. לְלִבָּא, *cordi, scil. hominis*), to praise his Lord? and Jer.: (*quis posuit in visceribus hominis sapientiam*) *et quis dedit gallo intelligentiam*. This traditional rendering, condemned as *talmudicum commentum* (Ges.), we follow rather than the "phenomenon" of the moderns who guess at a meaning. What is questioned in Cicero, *de divin.* ii. 26: *Quid in mentem venit Callistheni dicere, Deos gallis signum dedisse cantandi, quum id vel natura vel casus efficere potuisset*, Jehovah here claims for Himself. The weather-prophet κατ' ἐξοχήν among animals appropriately appears in this astrologico-meteorological connection by the side of the reins as, according to the Semitic view, a medium of augury (*Psychol.* p. 316 sq.). The Koran also makes the cock the watchman who wakes up the heavenly hosts to their duty; and Masius, in his *Studies of Nature*, has shown how high the cock is placed as being prophetically (for divination) gifted. Moreover, the worship of cocks in the idolatry of the Semites was a service rendered to the stars: the Sabians offered cocks, probably (*vid.* Chwolsohn, ii. 87) as the white cock of the Jezides,

<sup>1</sup> No Arab. word offers itself here for comparison: *tuchaj*, a cock, has different consonants, and if شكا in the sense of شاك, *fortem esse*, were to be supposed, שבוֹי would be a synonym. of נִבְרַר, which is likewise a name of the cock.

regarded by them as a symbol of the sun (*Deutsch. Morgenländ. Zeitschr.* 1862, S. 365 f.).

In ver. 37*b* Jerome translates: *et concentum cœlorum quis dormire faciet*; נִבְלִי, however, does not here signify harps, but bottles; and הַשִּׁבְיִיב is not: to lay to rest, but to lay down = to empty, pour out, which the *Kal* also, like the Arab. *sakaba*, directly signifies. בָּצַקָה might be taken actively: when it pours, but according to 1 Kings xxii. 35 the intransitive rendering is also possible: when the dust pours forth, *i.e.* flows together, לְמִצָּק, to what is poured out, *i.e.* not: to the fluid, but in contrast: to a molten mass, *i.e.* as cast metal (to be explained not according to ch. xxii. 16, but according to ch. xxxvii. 18), for the dry, sandy, dusty earth is made firm by the downfall of the rain (Arab. رَصَدَتْ, *firmata est terra imbre*, comp. لَبَدَ, *pluviam emisit donec arena cohæreret*). רִגְבִים, *glebæ*, as ch. xxi. 33, from רָגַב, رَجَب, in the primary signification, which as it seems must be supposed: to bring together, from which the significations branch off, to thicken, become firm (*muraggab*, supported), and to be seized with terror.

- 39 *Dost thou hunt for the prey of the lioness*  
*And still the desire of the young lions,*  
 40 *When they couch in the dens,*  
*Sit in the thicket lying in wait for prey?*  
 41 *Who provideth for the raven its food,*  
*When its young ones cry to God,*  
*They wander about without food?*

On the wealth of the Old Testament language in names for the lion, *vid.* on ch. iv. 10 sq. לָבִיא can be used of the lioness; the more exact name of the lioness is לָבִיָּה, for לָבִיא is = לָבִי, whence לָבִיָּאִים, lions, and לָבִיָּאוֹת, lionesses. The lioness is mentioned first, because she has to provide for her young

ones (נִיּוֹרִים); then the lions that are still young, but yet are left to themselves, בְּפִי־רִים. The phrase מֵלֵא הָיָה (comp. הָיָה of life that needs nourishment, ch. xxxiii. 20) is equivalent to מֵלֵא נֶפֶשׁ, Prov. vi. 30 (*Psychol.* p. 242 *med.*). The book of Psalms here furnishes parallels to every word: comp. on ver. 39b, Ps. civ. 21; on יָשָׁחוּ, Ps. x. 10;<sup>1</sup> on מְעוֹנוֹת, *lustra*, Ps. civ. 22 (compared on ch. xxxvii. 8 already); on כָּפָה, כֶּסֶף, which is used just in the same way, Ps. x. 9, Jer. xxv. 38. The picture of the crying ravens has its parallel in Ps. cxlvii. 9. קִי, *quum*, is followed by the *fut.* in the signif. of the *pres.*, as Ps. xi. 3. As here, in the Sermon on the Mount in Luke xii. 24 the ravens, which by their hoarse croaking make themselves most observed everywhere among birds that seek their food, are mentioned instead of the fowls of heaven.

Ch. xxxix. 1 *Dost thou know the bearing time of the wild goats of the rock?*

*Observe thou the circles of the hinds?*

2 *Dost thou number the months which they fulfil,  
And knowest thou the time of their bringing forth?*

3 *They bow down, they let their young break through,  
They cast off their pains.*

4 *Their young ones gain strength, grow up in the  
desert,*

*They run away and do not return.*

The strophe treats of the female chamois or steinbocks, *ibices* (perhaps including the certainly different kinds of chamois), and stags. The former are called יַעֲלִים, from יָעַל,

<sup>1</sup> The Semitic is rich in such words as describe the couching posture of beasts of prey lying in wait for their prey, which then in general signify to lie in wait, lurk, wait (רָבַץ, רָבִץ, רָבַץ, רָבַץ); (وَكَّدَ, لَبَدَ, رَبَصَ, رَبِصَ); (وَكَّدَ, لَبَدَ, رَبَصَ, رَبِصَ); *subsedit ei*, i.e. *insidiatus est ei*, which corresponds to יִשְׁכֹּן, ver. 40b, also belongs here, comp. *Psalter*, i. 500, note.



על (a secondary formation from עלה, על), to mount, therefore: rock-climbers. חולל is *inf. Pil.*: τὸ ὠδίνειν, comp. the *Pul.* ch. xv. 7. שָׁמַר, to observe, exactly as Eccl. xi. 4, 1 Sam. i. 12, Zech. xi. 11. In ver. 2 the question as to the expiration of the time of bearing is connected with that as to the time of bringing forth. תִּסְפּוֹר, *plene*, as ch. xiv. 16; לִרְתָּנָה (*littána*, like עֵת = עֵרָת, *vid.* p. 16, note) with an euphonic termination for לִרְתָּן, as Gen. xlii. 36, xxi. 29, and also out of pause, Ruth i. 19, Ges. § 91, 1, rem. 2. Instead of תִּפְלְחָנָה Olsh. wishes to read תִּפְלִטָנָה, but this (synon. תַּמְלִטָנָה) would be: they let slip away; the former (synon. תַּבְקַעָנָה): they cause to divide, i.e. to break through (comp. Arab. *feláh*, the act of breaking through, freedom, prosperity). On קָרַע, to kneel down as the posture of one in travail, *vid.* 1 Sam. iv. 19. "They cast off their pains" is not meant of an easy working off of the after-pains (Hirz., Schlottm.), but קָבַל signifies in this phrase, as Schultens has first shown, meton. directly the foetus, as Arab. حَبْلٌ, plur. *ahbál*, and ὠδίν, even of a child already grown up, as being the fruit of earlier travail, e.g. in Æschylus, *Agam.* 1417 sq.; even the like phrase, ῥίψαι ὠδίνα = *edere fætum*, is found in Euripides, *Ion* 45. Thus born with ease, the young animals grow rapidly to maturity (תָּלַם, *pinguescere, pubescere*, whence תָּלַם, a dream as the result of puberty, *vid. Psychol.* p. 332), grow in the desert (בִּצְרָה, Targ. = בְּחֵרִין, *vid.* i. 329, note), seek the plain, and return not again לָמוֹ, *sibi h. e. sui juris esse volentes* (Schult.), although it might also signify *ad eas*, for the Hebr. is rather confused on the question of the distinction of gender, and even in הַבְּלִיָּה and בְּנֵיהֶם the *masc.* is used ἐπικολύωσ. We, however, prefer to interpret according to ch. vi. 19, xxiv. 16. Moreover, Bochart is right: *Non hic agitur de otiosa et mere speculativa cognitione, sed de ea cognitione, quæ Deo propria est, qua res omnes non solum novit, sed et dirigit atque gubernat.*

- 5 *Who hath sent forth the wild ass free,  
And who loosed the bands of the wild ass,*  
6 *Whose house I made the steppe,  
And his dwelling the salt country?*  
7 *He scorneth the tumult of the city,  
He heareth not the noise of the driver.*  
8 *That which is seen upon the mountains is his pasture,  
And he sniffeth after every green thing.*

On the wild ass (not: ass of the forest), *vid.* p. 19, note.<sup>1</sup> In Hebr. and Arab. it is פָּרָא (ferâ or himâr el-wahsh, i.e. *asinus ferus*), and Aram. עֲרִיר; the former describes it as a swift-footed animal, the latter as an animal shy and difficult to be tamed by the hand of man; "Kulan" is its Eastern Asiatic name. LXX. correctly translates: τίς δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἀφ' αἰῶνος ὄνον ἄγριον ἐλεύθερον. פָּרָא is the *acc.* of the predi-

<sup>1</sup> It is a dirty yellow with a white belly, single-hoofed and long-eared; its hornless head somewhat resembles that of the gazelle, but is much larger; its hair has the dryness of the hair of the deer, and the animal forms the transition from the stag and deer genus to the ass. It is entirely distinct from the mahâ or baqar el-wahsh, wild ox, whose large soft eyes are so much celebrated by the poets of the steppe. This latter is horned and double-hoofed, and forms the transition from the stag to the ox [distinct from the ri'm, ראם, therefore perhaps an antelope of the kind of the Indian nilgau, blue ox, *Portax tragocamelus*]. I have not seen both kinds of animals alive, but I have often seen their skins in the tents of the Ruwalâ. Both kinds are remarkable for their very swift running, and it is especially affirmed of the ferâ that no rider can overtake it. The poets compare a troop of horsemen that come rushing up and vanish in the next moment to a herd of ferâ. In spite of its difficulty and hazardousness, the nomads are passionately given to hunting the wild ass, and the proverb cited by the Kâmûs: kull es-sêd bigôf el-ferâ (every hunt sticks in the belly of the ferâ, i.e. compared with that, every other hunt is nothing), is perfectly correct. When the approach of a herd, which always consists of several hundred, is betrayed by a cloud of dust which can be seen many miles off, so many horsemen rise up from all sides in pursuit that the animals are usually scattered, and single ones are obtained by the dogs and by shots. The herd is called gemile, and its leader is called 'anûl (עֲנִיל), as with gazelles.—WETZST.

cate (comp. Gen. xxxiii. 2, Jer. xxii. 30). Parallel with עֲרֶבָה (according to its etymon perhaps, land of darkness, *terra incognita*) is מִלְחָה, salt [*adj.*] or (*sc.* אֶרֶץ) a salt land, i.e. therefore unfruitful and incapable of culture, as the country round the Salt Sea of Palestine: that the wild ass even gladly licks the salt or natron of the desert, is a matter of fact, and may be assumed, since all wild animals that feed on plants have a partiality, which is based on chemical laws of life, for licking salt. On ver. 8a Ew. observes, to render יְהוֹר as “what is espied” is insecure, “on account of the structure of the verse” (*Gramm.* S. 419, Anm.). This reason is unintelligible; and in general there is no reason for rendering יְהוֹר, after LXX., Targ., Jer., and others, as an Aramaic 3 *fut.* with a mere half vowel instead of Kametz before the tone = יְהוֹר, which is without example in Old Testament Hebrew (for יְהוֹר, Eccl. xi. 3, follows the analogy of יְהִי), but יְהוֹר signifies either *abundantia* (after the form יְבִילָה ch. xx. 23, from יָתַר, p. 148) or *investigabile*, what can be searched out (after the form יָקִים, that which exists, from יָקַר, to go about, look about), which, with Olsh. § 212, and most expositors, we prefer.

- 9 Will the oryx be willing to serve thee,  
Or will he lodge in thy crib?
- 10 Canst thou bind the oryx in the furrow with a leading rein,  
Or will he harrow the valleys, following thee?
- 11 Wilt thou trust him because his strength is great,  
And leave thy labour to him?
- 12 Wilt thou confide in him to bring in thy sowing,  
And to garner thy threshing-floor?

In correct texts יָרִים has a *Dagesh* in the *Resh*, and יְיָאֲבָה the accent on the *penult.*, as Prov. xi. 21 יִנָּקָה רֵעַ, and Jer. xxxix. 12 קִאֲוָמָה רֵעַ. The tone retreats according to the rule, Ges. § 29, 3, *b*; and the *Dagesh* is, as also when the second

word begins with an aspirate,<sup>1</sup> *Dag. forte conj.*, which the *Resh* also takes, Prov. xv. 1 מַעֲנִיה־רֶשֶׁת, exceptionally, according to the rule, Ges. § 20, 2, *a*. In all, it occurs thirteen times with *Dagesh* in the Old Testament—a relic of a mode of pointing which treated the ר (as in Arabic) as a letter capable of being doubled (Ges. § 22, 5), that has been supplanted in the system of pointing that gained the ascendancy. רִים (Ps. xxii. 22, רִם) is contracted from רִאִם (Ps. xcii. 11, *plene*, רִאִים), which (= רִאִם) is of like form with رَمَّ (Olsh. § 154, *a*).<sup>2</sup>

Such, in the present day in Syria, is the name of the gazelle that is for the most part white with a yellow back and yellow stripes in the face (*Antilope leucoryx*, in distinction from عَفْرِی, 'ifri, the earth-coloured, dirty-yellow *Antilope oryx*, and حَمْرِی, himri, the deer-coloured *Antilope dorcas*); the Talmud also (*b. Zebachim*, 113*b*; *Bathra*, 74*b*) combines ראִימָא and אַרְוִילָא or אַרְוִילָא, a gazelle (غَزَال), and therefore reckons the *reēm* to the antelope genus, of which the gazelle is a species; and

<sup>1</sup> The National Grammarians call this exception to the rule, that the *muta* is aspirated when the preceding word ends with a vowel, אַתִּי מְרַחֵק (*veniens e longinquo*), i.e. the case, where the word ending with a vowel is *Milel*, whether from the very first, or, when the second word is a monosyllable or has the tone on the *penult.*, on account of the accent that has retreated (in order to avoid two syllables with the chief tone coming together); in this case the aspirate, and in general the initial letter (if capable of being doubled) of the second monosyllabic or *penultima*-accented word, takes a *Dagesh*; but this is not without exceptions that are quite as regular. Regularly, the second word is not dageshed if it begins with וּ, בּ, לּ, or if the first word is only a bare verb, e.g. עָשָׂה לוֹ, or one that has only וּ before it, e.g. וְעָשָׂה פָסַח; the tone of the first word in both these examples retreats, but without the initial of the second being doubled. This is supplementary, and as far as necessary a correction, to what is said in *Psalter*, i. 392, Anm.

<sup>2</sup> Since *ra'ima*, inf. *ri'mân*, has the signification *assuescere*, ראִים, ראִם (Targ.) might describe the oryx as a gregarious animal, although all ruminants have this characteristic in common. On רִאִם, רִם, *vid.* Seetzen's *Reise*, iii. S. 393, Z 9ff., and also iv. 496.

the question, ver. 10*b*, shows that an animal whose home is on the mountains is intended, viz., as Bochart, and recently Schlottm. (making use of an academic treatise of Lichtenstein on the antelopes, 1824), has proved, the oryx, which the LXX. also probably understands when it translates *μονοκέρω*s; for the Talmud. קרש, mutilated from it, is, according to Chullin, 59*b*, a one-horned animal, and is more closely defined as טביא דבי עילאי, “gazelle (antelope) of Be (Beth)-Illâi” (comp. Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 1858, § 146). The oryx also appears on Egyptian monuments sometimes with two horns, but mostly with one variously curled; and both Aristotle<sup>1</sup> and Pliny describe it as a one-horned cloven-hoof; so that one must assent to the supposition of a one-horned variety of the oryx (although as a fact of natural history it is not yet fully established), as then there is really tolerably certain information of a one-horned antelope both in Upper Asia and in Central Africa;<sup>2</sup> and therefore there is sufficient ground for seeking the origin of the tradition of the unicorn in an antelope,—perhaps rather like a horse,—with one horn rising out of the two points of ossification over the frontal suture. The proper buffalo, *Bos bubalus*, cannot therefore

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Sundevall, *Die Thierarten des Aristoteles* (Stockholm, 1863), S. 64 f.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. von Müller (*Das Einhorn von gesch. u. naturwiss. Standpunkte betrachtet*, 1852) believed that in a horn in the Ambras Collection at Vienna he recognised a horn of the Monocerôs (comp. Fechner's *Centralblatt*, 1854, Nr. 2), but he is hardly right. J. W. von Müller, Francis Galton (*Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 1853), and other travellers have heard the natives speak ingenuously of the unicorn, but without seeing it themselves. On the other hand, Huc and Gabet (*Journeyings through Mongolia and Thibet*, Germ. edition) tell us “a horn of this animal was sent to Calcutta: it was 50 centimetres long and 11 in circumference; from the root it ran up to a gradually diminishing point. It was almost straight, black, etc. . . . Hodgson, when English consul at Nepal, had the good fortune to obtain an unicorn. . . . It is a kind of antelope, which in southern Thibet, that borders on Nepal, is called *Tschiru*. Hodgson sent a skin and horn to Calcutta; they came from an unicorn that died in the menagerie of the Raja of Nepal.” The

be intended, because it only came from India to Western Asia and Europe at a more recent date, but also not any other species whatever of this animal (Carey and others), which is recognisable by its flat horns, which are also near together, and its forbidding, staring, bloodshot eyes; for it is tameable, and is (even in modern Syria) used as a domestic animal. On the other hand there are antelopes which somewhat resemble the horse, others the ox (whence *βούβαλος*, *βούβαλις*, is a name for the antelope), others the deer and the ass. Schultens erroneously considers *דנר* to be the buffalo, being misled by a passage in the Divan of the Hudheilites, which gives the *ri'm* the by-name of *dhu chadam*, i.e. oxen-like white-footed, which exactly applies to the *A. oryx* or even the *A. leucoryx*; for the former has white feet and legs striped lengthwise with black stripes, the latter white feet and legs. Just as little reason is there for imagining the rhinoceros after *Aquila* (and in part Jerome); *ῥινοκέρωσ* is nothing but an unhappy rendering of the *μονοκέρωσ* of the LXX. The question in ver. 10*b*, as already observed, requires an animal that inhabits the mountains.

On *דנר*, to be willing = to take up, receive, *vid.* p. 125, detailed description follows, and the suggestion is advanced that this *Antilope Hodgsonii*, as it has been proposed to call the *Tschiru*, is the one-horned oryx of the ancients. The existence of one-horned wild sheep (not antelopes), attested by R. von Schlagintweit (*Zoologischer Garten*, 1st year, S. 72), the horn of which consists of two parts gradually growing together, covered by one horn-sheath, does not depreciate the credibility of the account given by Huc-Gabet (to which Prof. Will has called my attention as being the most weighty testimony of the time). Another less minute account is to be found in the Arabic description of a journey (communicated to me by Prof. Fleischer) by Selim Bisteris (Beirût, 1856): In the menagerie of the Viceroy of Egypt he saw an animal of the colour of a gazelle, but the size and form of an ass, with a long straight horn between the ears, and (what, as he says, seldom go together) with hoofs, viz.—and as the expression *حافر*, horse's hoof (not *خف*, a camel's hoof), also implies—proper, uncloven hoofs,—therefore an one-horned and at the same time one-hoofed antelope.

note. The "furrow (חֵלֶם, *sulcus*, not *porca*, the ridge between the furrows, *vid.* p. 198) of his cord" is that which it is said to break up by means of the ploughshare, being led by a rein. אֶחָדָם refers to the leader, who goes just before or at the side; according to Hahn, to one who has finished the sowing which precedes the harrowing; but it is more natural to imagine the leader of the animal that is harrowing, which is certainly not left to itself. On כִּי, *ver.* 12*a*, as an exponent of the obj., *vid.* Ew. § 336, *b*. The *Chethib* here uses the *Kal* שָׁב transiti-vely: to bring back (*viz.* that which was sown as harvested), which is possible (*vid.* ch. xlii. 10). גִּרְנֶךָ, *ver.* 12*b*, is either a locative (into thy threshing-floor) or *acc.* of the obj. *per synecd. continentis pro contento*, as Ruth iii. 2, Matt. iii. 12. The position of the question from beginning to end assumes an animal outwardly resembling the yoke-ox, as the רֶאֱם is also elsewhere put with the ox, Deut. xxxiii. 17, Ps. xxix. 6, Isa. xxxiv. 7. But the conclusion at length arrived at by Hahn and in Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, that on this very account the buffalo is to be understood, is a mistake: *A. oryx* and *leucoryx* are both (for this very reason not distinguished by the ancients) entirely similar to the ox; they are not only ruminants, like the ox, with a like form of the hoof, but also of a plump form, which makes them appear to be of the ox tribe.

- 13 *The wing of the ostrich vibrates joyously,  
Is she pious, wing and feather?*
- 14 *No, she leaveth her eggs in the earth  
And broodeth over the dust,*
- 15 *Forgetting that a foot may crush them,  
And the beast of the field trample them.*
- 16 *She treateth her young ones harshly as if they were not hers;  
In vain is her labour, without her being distressed.*
- 17 *For Eloah hath caused her to forget wisdom,  
And gave her no share of understanding.*

18 *At the time when she lasheth herself aloft,  
She derideth the horse and horseman.*

As the wild ass and the ox-like oryx cannot be tamed by man, and employed in his service like the domestic ass and ox, so the ostrich, although resembling the stork in its stilt-like structure, the colour of its feathers, and its gregarious life, still has characteristics totally different from those one ought to look for according to this similarity. רַנְנִים, a wail, prop. a tremulous shrill sound (*vid.* ver. 23), is a name of the female ostrich, whose peculiar cry (*vid.* p. 171) is called in Arabic *zimâr* (زِمَار). נָעַלְם (from עָלַם, which in comparison with עָלַץ, rarely occurs) signifies to make gestures of joy. אַם, ver. 13*b*, is an interrogative *an*; הִסְדִּירָה, *pia*, is a play upon the name of the stork, which is so called: *pia instar ciconiae* (on this figure of speech, comp. Mehren's *Rhetorik der Araber*, S. 178). כִּי, ver. 14*a*, establishes the negation implied in the question, as *e.g.* Isa. xxviii 28. The idea is not that the hen-ostrich abandons the hatching of her eggs to the earth (עֹבֵב לְ as Ps. xvi. 10), and makes them "glow over the dust" (Schlottm.), for the maturing energy compensating for the sitting of the parent bird proceeds from the sun's heat, which ought to have been mentioned; one would also expect a *Hiph.* instead of the *Piel* הִתְחַמָּם, which can be understood only of hatching by her own warmth. The hen-ostrich also really broods herself, although from time to time she abandons the חֲמָם to the sun.<sup>1</sup> That which contrasts with the φιλοστοργία of the stork, which is here made prominent, is that she lays her eggs in a hole in the ground, and partly, when the nest is full, above round about it, while חֲסִידָה בְּרוּשִׁים בֵּיתָה, Ps. civ. 17. רַנְנִים is

<sup>1</sup> It does, however, as it appears, actually occur, that the female leaves the work of hatching to the sun by day, and to the male at night, and does not sit at all herself; *vid.* Funke's *Naturgeschichte*, revised by Taschenberg (1864), S. 243 f.



construed in accordance with its meaning as *fem. sing.*, Ew. § 318, *a*. Since she acts thus, what next happens consistently therewith is told by the not aoristic but only consecutive *וַתִּשְׁכַּח*: and so she forgets that the foot may crush (*וַיִּרָץ*, to press together, break by pressure, as *הַוּוּרָה*, Isa. lix. 5 = *הַוּוּרָה*, that which is crushed, comp. *לָנָה* = *לָנָה*, Zech. v. 4) them (*i.e.* the eggs, Ges. § 146, 3), and the beast of the field may trample them down, crush them (*דָּאָס* as *דָּאָשׁ*, to crush by treading upon anything, to tread out).

Ver. 16. The difficulty of *הַקָּשִׁיחַ* (from *קָשַׁח*, *تسح*, hardened from *קָשָׁה*, *قسا*) being used of the hen-ostrich in the *masc.*, may be removed by the pointing *הַקָּשִׁיחַ* (Ew.); but this alteration is unnecessary, since the Hebr. also uses the *masc.* for the *fem.* where it might be regarded as impossible (*vid.* ver. 3*b*, and comp. *e.g.* Isa. xxxii. 11 sq.). Jer. translates correctly according to the sense: *quasi non sint sui*, but *לֹא* is not directly equivalent to *בֶּן* (*vid.* vol. i. pp. 325, 398, note 1); what is meant is, that by the harshness of her conduct she treats her young as not belonging to her, so that they become strange to her, Ew. § 217, *d*. In ver. 16*b* the accentuation varies: in vain (*לֹא־רִיק* with *Rebia mugrasch*) is her labour that is devoid of anxiety; or: in vain is her labour (*לֹא־רִיק* with *Tarcha*, *יָגִיעָה* with *Munach vicarium*) without anxiety (on her part); or: in vain is her labour (*לֹא־רִיק* with *Mercha*, *יָגִיעָה* with *Rebia mugrasch*), yet she is without anxiety. The middle of these renderings (*לֹא־רִיק* in all of them, like Isa. xlix. 4 = *לֹא־רִיק*, Isa. lxxv. 23 and freq.) seems to us the most pleasing: the labour of birth and of the brooding undertaken in places where the eggs are put beyond the danger of being crushed, is without result, without the want of success distressing her, since she does not anticipate it, and therefore also takes no measures to prevent it. The eggs that are only just covered with earth, or that lie round about the nest, actually become a prey to the jackals, wild-cats, and other animals; and men can get

them for themselves one by one, if they only take care to prevent their footprints being recognised; for if the ostrich observes that its nest is discovered, it tramples upon its own eggs, and makes its nest elsewhere (Schlottm., according to Lichtenstein's *Südafrik. Reise*). That it thus abandons its eggs to the danger of being crushed and to plunder, arises, according to ver. 17, from the fact that God has caused it to forget wisdom, *i.e.* as ver. 17*b* explains, has extinguished in it, deprived it of, the share thereof (ב as Isa. liii. 12*a*, LXX. *év*, as Acts viii. 21) which it might have had. It is only one of the stupidities of the ostrich that is made prominent here; the proverbial *ahmaq min en-na'âme*, "more foolish than the ostrich," has its origin in more such characteristics. But if the care with which other animals guard their young ones is denied to it, it has in its stead another remarkable characteristic: at the time when (בָּעֵת here followed by an elliptical relative clause, which is clearly possible, just as with בָּעֵת, ch. vi. 17) it stretches (itself) on high, *i.e.* it starts up with alacrity from its ease (on the radical signification of הִמְרִיא = הִמְרָה, *vid.* p. 2, note), and hurries forth with a powerful flapping of its wings, half running half flying, it derides the horse and its rider—they do not overtake it, it is the swiftest of all animals; wherefore أَعَدَى مِنَ الظَّلِيمِ (*zalim*, equivalent to *delim* according to a less exact pronunciation, *supra*, p. 171, note) and أَنْفَر مِنَ النِّعَامَةِ, fleetier than the ostrich, is just as proverbial as the above أَحْمَقُ مِنَ النِّعَامَةِ; and "on ostrich's wings" is equivalent to driving along with incomparable swiftness. Moreover, on תִּמְרִיא and תִּשְׁחֶק, which refer to the female, it is to be observed that she is very anxious, and deserts everything in her fright, while the male ostrich does not forsake his young, and flees no danger.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We take this remark from Dumas, *Horse of the Sahara*. The following contribution from Wetzstein only came to hand after the exposition was completed: "The female ostriches are called רִנְנִיָּם not from

- 19 *Dost thou give to the horse strength?  
Dost thou clothe his neck with flowing hair?*
- 20 *Dost thou cause him to leap about like the grasshopper?  
The noise of his snorting is a terror!*
- 21 *He paweth the ground in the plain, and boundeth about with  
strength.  
He advanceth to meet an armed host.*
- 22 *He laugheth at fear, and is not affrighted,  
And turneth not back from the sword.*
- 23 *The quiver rattleth over him,  
The glittering lance and spear.*
- 24 *With fierceness and rage he swalloweth the ground,  
And standeth not still, when the trumpet soundeth.*

the whirring of their wings when flapped about, but from their piercing screeching cry when defending their eggs against beasts of prey (chiefly hyænas), or when searching for the male bird. Now they are called *rubd*, from sing. *rubda* (instead of *rabdâ*), from the black colour of their long wing-feathers; for only the male, which is called חֵיק (pronounce *hêish*),

has white. The ostrich-tribe has the name of בֵּית הַיַּעֲנָה (بَيْتُ الْوَعْنَةِ), 'inhabitant of the desert,' because it is only at home in the most lonely parts of the steppe, in perfectly barren deserts. *Neshwân* the Himjarite, in his '*Shems el-'olâm*' (mss. in the Royal Library at Berlin, *sectio Wetzst. I.* No. 149, Bd. i. f. 110b), defines the word *el-wa'na* by: אֶרֶץ שֵׁיִא בֵּיצָה לֹא תִבְנֶה שֵׁיִא, a white (chalky or sandy) district, which brings forth nothing; and the *Kâmûs* explains it by אֶרֶץ צִלְפָּה, a hard (unfruitful) district. In perfect analogy with the Hebr. the Arabic calls the ostrich *abu* (and *umm*) *es-sahârâ*, 'possessor of the sterile deserts.' The name יַעֲנִים, Lam. iv. 3, is perfectly correct, and corresponds to the form

יַעֲנִים (steinbocks); the form פֶּעַל (فَعْل) is frequently the *Nisbe* of פֶּעַל and פֶּעֻלָּה, according to which יַעֲנִי = בֵּית הַיַּעֲנָה and פֶּעֻלָּה = בֵּית הַיַּעֲנָה, 'inhabitant of the inaccessible rocks.' Hence, says *Neshwân* (against the non-Semite *Firûzâbâdi*), *wa'l* (יַעַל and *wa'la*) is exclusively the high place of the rocks, and *wa'il* (יַעֲל) exclusively the steinbock. The most common Arabic name of the ostrich is *na'ame*, نَعَمَة, collective *na'am*, from the softness (*nu'ama*, نَعْمَة) of its feathers, with which the Arab women (in Damascus frequently) stuff cushions and pillows. *Umm*

25 *He saith at every blast of the trumpet: Ha, ha!*  
*And from afar he scenteth the battle,*  
*The thundering of the captains and the shout of war.*

After the ostrich, which, as the Arabs say, is composed of the nature of a bird and a camel, comes the horse in its heroic beauty, and impetuous lust for the battle, which is likewise an evidence of the wisdom of the Ruler of the world—a wisdom which demands the admiration of men. This passage of the book of Job, says K. Löffler, in his *Gesch. des Pferdes* (1863), is the oldest and most beautiful description of the horse. It may be compared to the praise of the horse in Hammer-Purgstall's *Duftkörner*; it deserves more

*thelâthin*, 'mother of thirty,' is the name of the female ostrich, because as a rule she lays thirty eggs. The ostrich egg is called in the steppe *dahwa*, דַּחְוָה (coll. *dahâ*), a word that is certainly very ancient. Nevertheless the Hauranites prefer the word *medha*, מִדְּחָה. A place hollowed out in the ground serves as a nest, which the ostrich likes best to dig in the hot sand, on which account they are very common in the sandy tracts of *Ard el-Dehânâ* (דְּהַנָּא), between the *Shemmar* mountains and the *Sawâd* (Chaldæa). Thence at the end of April come the ostrich hunters with their spoil, the hides of the birds together with the feathers, to Syria. Such an unplucked hide is called *gizze* (גִּזֶּה). The hunters inform us that the female sits alone on the nest from early in the day until evening, and from evening until early in the morning with the male, which wanders about throughout the day. The statement that the ostrich does not sit on its eggs, is perhaps based on the fact that the female frequently, and always before the hunters, forsakes the eggs during the first period of brooding. Even vers. 14 and 15 do not say more than this. But when the time of hatching (called *el-fags*, פִּקֵּץ) is near, the hen no longer leaves the eggs. The same observation is also made with regard to the partridge of Palestine (*el-hagel*, חֲגֵל), which has many other characteristics in common with the ostrich. That the ostrich is accounted stupid (ver. 17) may arise from the fact, that when the female has been frightened from the eggs she always seeks out the male with a loud cry; she then, as the hunters unanimously assert, brings him forcibly back to the nest (hence its Arabic name *zalim*, 'the violent one'). During the interval the hunter has buried himself in the sand, and on their arrival, by a good shot often kills both together in the nest. It may also be

than this latter the praise of majestic simplicity, which is the first feature of classic superiority. Jer. falsely renders ver. 19*b*: *aut circumdabis collo ejus hinnitum*; as Schlottm., who also wishes to be so understood: Dost thou adorn his neck with the voice of thunder? The neck (צִוָּר, prop. the twister, as Persic *gerdân*, *gerdan*, from צָוַר, صار, to twist by pressure, to turn, bend, as Pers. from *gerdâden*, to turn one's self, twist) has nothing to do with the voice of neighing. But רָעֵמָה also does not signify dignity (Ew. 113, *d*), but the mane, and is not from רָעַם = רָאם = רָם, the hair of the mane, as being above, like λοφία, but from רָעַם, *tremere*, the mane as quivering, trembling (Eliz. Smith: the shaking mane);

accounted as stupidity, that, when the wind is calm, instead of flying before the riding hunters, the bird tries to hide itself behind a mound or in the hollows of the ground. But that, when escape is impossible, it is said to try to hide its head in the sand, the hunters regard as an absurdity. If the wind aids it, the fleeing ostrich spreads out the feathers of its tail like a sail, and by constantly steering itself with its extended wings, it escapes its pursuers with ease. The word הִמְרִיץ, ver. 18, appears to be a hunting expression, and (without an *accus. objecti*) to describe this spreading out of the feathers, therefore to be perfectly synonymous with the הִעָרִישׁ (تعريش) of the ostrich hunters of the present day. Thus sings the poet *Râshid* of the hunting race of the *Sulubât*: 'And the head (of the bride with its loosened locks) resembles the (soft and black) feathers of the ostrich-hen, when she spreads them out (*'arrashannâ*). | They saw the hunter coming upon them where there was no hiding-place, | And stretched their legs as they fled.' The prohibition to eat the ostrich in the Thora (Lev. xi. 16; Deut. xiv. 15) is perhaps based upon the cruelty of the hunt; for it is with the rarest exceptions always killed only on its eggs. The female, which, as has been said already, does not flee towards the end of the time of brooding, stoops on the approach of the hunter, inclines the head on one side and looks motionless at her enemy. Several Beduins have said to me, that a man must have a bard heart to fire under such circumstances. If the bird is killed, the hunter covers the blood with sand, puts the female again upon the eggs, buries himself at some distance in the sand, and waits till evening, when the male comes, which is now shot likewise, beside the female. The Mosaic law might accordingly have forbidden the hunting of the ostrich from the same feeling of humanity which unmistakeably regulated it in other decisions (as Ex. xxiii. 19, Deut. xxii. 6 sq., Lev. xxii. 28, and freq.).

like *φόβη*, according to Kuhn, cogn. with *σόβη*, the tail, from *φοβεῖν* (*σοβεῖν*), to wag, shake, scare, comp. *ἀτσοεσθαι* of the mane, *Il.* vi. 510.

Ver. 20a. The motion of the horse, which is intended by *תַּרְעִישָׁנוּ* (*רַעַשׁ*, *رَعَسَ*, *رعش*, *tremere*, *trepidare*), is determined according to the comparison with the grasshopper: what is intended is a curved motion forwards in leaps, now to the right, now to the left, which is called the caracol, a word used in horsemanship, borrowed from the Arab. *hargala-l-farasu* (comp. *תַּרְזֵל*), by means of the Moorish Spanish; moreover, *رَعَسَ* is used of the run of the ostrich and the flight of the dove in such "successive lateral and oblique motions" (Carey). *נָהַר*, ver. 20b, is not the neighing of the horse, but its snorting through the nostrils (comp. Arab. *nachûr*, snoring, a rattling in the throat), Greek *φρύαγμα*, Lat. *fremitus* (comp. Æschylus, *Septem c. Th.* 374, according to the text of Hermann: *ἵππος χαλινῶν δ' ὥς κατασθμαίνων βρέμει*); *הוֹר*, however, might signify pomp (his pompous snorting), but perhaps has its radical signification, according to which it corresponds to the Arab. *hawîd*, and signifies a loud strong sound, as the peal of thunder (*hawîd er-ra'd*), the howling of the stormy wind (*hawîd er-rijâh*), and the like.<sup>1</sup> The substantival clause is intended to affirm that its dull-toned snort causes or spreads terror. In ver. 21a the

<sup>1</sup> A verse of a poem of Ibn-Dûchî in honour of Dôkân ibn-Gendel runs: Before the crowding (*lekdata*) of *Taijâr* the horses fled repulsed, | And thou mightest hear the sound of the bell-carriers (*hawîda mubershemât*) of the warriors (*el-menâûr*, prop. one who thrusts with the lance). Here *hawîd* signifies the sound of the bells which those who wish to announce themselves as warriors hang about their horses, to draw the attention of the enemy to them. *Mubershemât* are the mares that carry the *burêshimân*, i.e. the bells. The meaning therefore is: thou couldst hear this sound, which ought only to be heard in the fray, in flight, when the warriors consecrated to death fled as cowards. *Taijâr* (*Têjâr*) is *Sâlûh* the son of Cana'an (died about 1815), mentioned in vol. i. p. 390, note 1, a great warrior of the wandering tribe of the 'Aneze.—WETZST.

*plur.* alternates with the *sing.*, since, as it appears, the representation of the many pawing hoofs is blended with that of the pawing horse, according to the well-known line,

*Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum*  
(VIRGIL, *Æn.* viii. 596);

or, since this is said of the galloping horse, according to the likewise Virgilian line,

*Cavatque*  
*Tellurem, et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu*  
(Georg. iii. 87 sq.).

פָּרָה is, as the Arab. *hâfir*, hoof, shows, the proper word for the horse's impatient pawing of the ground (whence it then, as in ver. 29, signifies *rimari*, *scrutari*). עָמַק is the plain as the place of contest; for the description, as now becomes still more evident, refers to the war-horse. The verb שָׂשׂ (שׂוּשׂ) has its radical signification *exsultare* (comp. شَاس, σκιπτάν, of the foetus) here; and since בָּבַח, not בָּבַח, is added to it, it is not to be translated: it rejoices in its strength, but: it prances or is joyous with strength, LXX. γαυριᾷ ἐν ἰσχυρί. The difference between the two renderings is, however, scarcely perceptible. נֶשֶׁק, armament, ver. 21b, is meton. the armed host of the enemy; אֶשְׁפָּה, "the quiver," is, however, not used metonymically for the arrows of the enemy whizzing about the horse (Schult.), but ver. 23 is the concluding description of the horse that rushes on fearlessly, proudly, and impetuously in pursuit, under the rattle and glare of the equipment of its rider (Schlottm. and others). רָנָה (cogn. of רָנַן), of the rattling of the quiver, as Arab. *ranna*, *ranima*, of the whirring of the bow when the arrow is despatched; to point it רָנָה (Prov. i. 20, viii. 3), instead of הִרָנָה, would be to deprive the language of a word supported by the dialects (*vid.* Ges. *Thes.*). On ver. 24a we may compare the Arab. *iltahama-l-farasu-l-arda*, the horse swallows up the ground, whence *lahimm*, *lahim*, a swallower

= swift-runner; so here: with boisterous fierceness and angry impatience (בָּרַעַשׁ וְרָגַז) it swallows up the ground, *i.e.* passes so swiftly over it that long pieces vanish so rapidly before it, as though it greedily sucked them up (נָפַח intensive of נָפַח, whence נֶפֶחַ, the water-sucking papyrus); a somewhat differently applied figure is *nahab-el-arda*, *i.e.* according to Silius' expression, *rapuit campum*. The meaning of ver. 24b is, as in Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 83 sq.:

*Tum si qua sonum procul arma dedere,  
Stare loco nescit;*

and in Æschylus, *Septem*, 375: ὅστις βοὴν σάλπιγγος ὀρμαίνει (Hermann, ὀργαίνει) μένων (impatiently awaiting the call of the trumpet). הָאֵמֶן signifies here to show stability (*vid.* *Genesis*, S. 367f.) in the first physical sense (Bochart, Rosenm., and others): it does not stand still, *i.e.* will not be held, when (קָוָה, *quum*) the sound of the war-trumpet, *i.e.* when it sounds. שׁוֹפָר is the signal-trumpet when the army was called together, *e.g.* *Judg.* iii. 27; to gather the army that is in pursuit of the enemy, 2 Sam. ii. 28; when the people rebelled, 2 Sam. xx. 1; when the army was dismissed at the end of the war, 2 Sam. xx. 22; when forming for defence and for assault, *e.g.* *Amos* iii. 6; and in general the signal of war, *Jer.* iv. 19. As often as this is heard (בְּרִי, in sufficiency, *i.e.* happening at any time = *quotiescunque*), it makes known its lust of war by a joyous neigh, even from afar, before the collision has taken place; it scents (*præsaquit* according to Pliny's expression) the approaching conflict, (scents even in anticipation) the thundering command of the chiefs that may soon be heard, and the cry of battle giving loose to the assault. "Although," says Layard (*New Discoveries*, p. 330), "docile as a lamb, and requiring no other guide than the halter, when the Arab mare hears the war-cry of the tribe, and sees the quivering spear of her rider, her eyes glitter with fire, her blood-red nostrils open



wide, her neck is nobly arched, and her tail and mane are raised and spread out to the wind. The Bedouin proverb says, that a high-bred mare when at full speed should hide her rider between her neck and her tail."

- 26 *Doth the hawk fly by thy wisdom,  
Doth it spread its wings towards the south?*  
27 *Or is it at thy command that the eagle soareth aloft,  
And buildeth its nest on high?*  
28 *It inhabiteth the rock, and buildeth its nest  
Upon the crag of the rock and fastness.*  
29 *From thence it seeketh food,  
Its eyes see afar off.*  
30 *And its young ones suck up blood;  
And where the slain are, there is it.*

The ancient versions are unanimous in testifying that, according to the signification of the root, נָצַח signifies the hawk (which is significant in the Hieroglyphics): the soaring one, the high-flyer (comp. נָצַח, to rise, struggle forwards, and נָצַח, to raise the wings for flight). The *Hiph.* יִנָּצֵחַ (jussive form in the question, as ch. xiii. 27) might signify: to get feathers, *plumescere* (Targ., Jer.), but that gives a tame question; wherefore Gregory understands the *plumescit* of the Vulgate of moulting, for which purpose the hawk seeks the sunny side. But הִנָּצֵחַ alone, by itself, cannot signify "to get new feathers;" moreover, an annual moulting is common to all birds, and prominence is alone given to the new feathering of the eagle in the Old Testament, Ps. ciii. 5, Mic. i. 16, comp. Isa. xl. 31 (LXX. *περοφύσσουσιν ὡς ἀετοί*).<sup>1</sup> Thus, then, the point of the question will lie in לִתְיָמֶן: the hawk is

<sup>1</sup> Less unfavourable to this rendering is the following, that יִנָּצֵחַ signifies the long feathers, and יִנָּצֵחַ the wing that is composed of them

a bird of passage, God has endowed it with instinct to migrate to the south as the winter season is approaching.

In vers. 27 sqq. the circle of the native figures taken from animal life, which began with the lion, the king of quadrupeds, is now closed with the eagle, the king of birds. It is called נִשֵּׁר, from נִשֵּׁר, نَسَرَ, *vellere*; as also *vultur* (by virtue of a strong power of assimilation = *vultor*) is derived from *vellere*, —a common name of the golden eagle, the lamb's vulture, the carrion-kite (*Cathartes peregrinator*), and indeed also of other kinds of kites and falcons. There is nothing to prevent our understanding the eagle κατ' ἐξοχήν, viz. the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), in the present passage; for even to this, corpses, though not already putrified, are a welcome prey. In ver. 27b we must translate either: and is it at thy command that . . . ? or: is it so that (as in הֲכִי) at thy command . . . ? The former is more natural here. כְּמִצְוָה, ver. 28b, signifies prop. *specula* (from צוּר, to spy); then, however, as Arab. *masād* (referred by the original lexicons to *masada*), the high hill, and the mountain-top. The rare form יִעְלֶע, for which Ges., Olsh., and others wish to read יִעְלֶע or יִעְלֶע (from לָעַע, *deglutire*), is to be derived from עָלַע, a likewise secondary form out of עָלַע (from עָל, to suck, to give suck<sup>1</sup>),

like שָׁרַשׁ out of שָׁרַשׁ (from שָׁרַר, שָׁרַר, to make firm), Ew. § 118, a, comp. Fürst, *Handwörterbuch*, sub עָל, since instances

(perhaps, since the Talm. אֶבְרִים signifies wings and limbs, *artus*, from אָבַר = הִבַּר, הִבַּר, to divide, furnish with joints), although נֹצֵה (from נָצַח, to fly) is the more general designation of the feathers of birds.

<sup>1</sup> The Arab. *alla* does not belong here: it gains the signification *iterum bibere* from the primary signification of "coming over or upon anything," which branches out in various ways: to take a second, third, etc., drink after the first. More on this point on Isa. iii. 4.

Supplementary note: The quadriliteral יִעְלֶע to be supposed, is not to be derived from יִעְלֶע, and is not, as it recently has been, to be compared with עָל, "to drink." This Arab. verb does not signify "to drink" at all,

are wanting in favour of עלע being formed out of לעלע (*Jesurun*, p. 164). Schult. not inappropriately compares even גלג = גלגל in גלגלתא, Γολγοθᾶ = גלגלתא. The concluding words, ver. 30b, are perhaps echoed in Matt. xxiv. 28. High up on a mountain-peak the eagle builds its eyrie, and God has given it a remarkably sharp vision, to see far into the depth below the food that is there for it and its young ones. Not merely from the valley in the neighbourhood of its eyrie, but often from distant plains, which lie deep below on the other side of the mountain range, it seizes its prey, and rises with it even to the clouds, and bears it home to its nest.<sup>1</sup> Thus does God work exceeding strangely, but wondrously, apparently by contradictions, but in truth most harmoniously and wisely, in the natural world.

[Then Jehovah answered Job, and said:]

Ch. xl. 2 *Will now the censurer contend with the Almighty?*

*Let the instructor of Eloah answer it!*

With ver. 1, ch. xxxviii. 1 is again taken up, because the speech of Jehovah has now in some measure attained the end which was assigned to it as an answer to Job's outburst of censure. רב is *inf. abs.*, as Judg. xi. 25; it is left to the hearer to give to the simple verbal notion its syntactic relation in accordance with the connection; here it stands in the sense of the *fut.* (comp. 2 Kings iv. 43): *num litigabit*, Ges. § 131, 4, b. The *inf. abs.* is followed by פִּסֹּר as subj., which

but, among many other branchings out of its general primary signification, related to עלה, לא, also signifies: "to take a second, third, etc., drink after the first," concerning which more details will be given elsewhere. עלע goes back to עלג, *lactare*, with the middle vowel, whence also עֵיִל, ch. xvi. 11, xii. 18, xxi. 11 (which see). The Hauran dialect has 'âlâl (plur. 'awâlîl), like the Hebr. עֵלִיל (עֵלִיל = מְעֵלִיל), in the signification *juvenis*, and especially *juvencus* (comp. *infra*, p. 359, note 1, "but they are heifers," Arab. illâ 'awâlîl).

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* the beautiful description in Charles Boner's *Forest Creatures*, 1861.

(after the form שׁוֹכֵחַ) signifies a censurer and fault-finder, *μωμητής*. The question means, will Job persist in this contending with God? He who sets God right, as though he knew everything better than He, shall answer the questions put before him.

[Then Job answered Jehovah, and said:]

4 *Behold, I am too mean: what shall I answer Thee?*

*I lay my hand upon my mouth.*

5 *Once have I spoken, and will not begin again;*

*And twice—I will do it no more.*

He is small, *i.e.* not equal to the task imposed, therefore he keeps his mouth firmly closed (comp. ch. xxi. 5, xxix. 9), for whatever he might say would still not be to the point. Once he has dared to criticise God's doings; a second time (שׁוֹכֵחַ = שׁוֹכֵחַ, Ges. § 120, 5) he ventures it no more, for God's wondrous wisdom and all-careful love dazzle him, and he gladly bows.

But how? Is not the divine speech altogether different from what one ought to expect? One expects to hear from the mouth of Jehovah something unheard of in the previous course of the drama, and in this expectation we find ourselves disappointed at the outset. For one need only look back and read ch. ix. 4–10, where Job acknowledges and describes God as a wise and mighty Lord over the natural world, especially as an irresistible Ruler over everything great in it; ch. xii. 7–10, where he refers to the creatures of the sky and deep as proofs of God's creative power; ch. xii. 11–25, where he sketches the grandest picture of God's terrible doings in nature and among men; ch. xxvi. 5–14, where he praises God as the Creator and Lord of all things, and describes what he says concerning Him as only a faint echo of the thunder of His might; ch. xxviii. 23 sqq., where he ascribes absolute wisdom to Him as the Creator and Ruler of the

world. If one ponders these passages of Job's speeches, he will not be able to say that the speech of Jehovah, in the exhibition of the creative power and wisdom of God, which is its theme, would make Job conscious of anything which was previously unknown to him; and it is accordingly asked, What, then, is there that is new in the speech of Jehovah by which the great effect is brought about, that Job humbles himself in penitence, and becomes ready for the act of redemption which follows?

It has indeed never occurred to Job to desire to enter into a controversy with God concerning the works of creation; he is far from the delusion of being able to stand such a test; he knows in general, that if God were willing to contend with him, he would not be able to answer God one in a thousand, ch. ix. 3. And yet God thus closely questioned him, and thereby Job comes to the perception of his sin—how comes it to pass? Has the plot of the drama perhaps failed in this point? Has the poet made use of means unsuited to the connection of the whole, to bring about the needful effect, viz. the repentance of Job,—because, perhaps, the store of his thoughts was exhausted? But this poet is not so poor, and we shall therefore be obliged to try and understand the disposition of the speech of Jehovah before we censure it.

When one of Job's last words before the appearing of Jehovah was the word שָׁרִי יַעֲנֵנִי, Job thereby desired God's decision concerning the testimony of his innocence. This wish is in itself not sinful; yea, it is even a fruit of his hidden faith, when he casts the look of hope away from his affliction and the accusation of the friends, into the future to God as his Vindicator and Redeemer. But that wish becomes sinful when he looks upon his affliction as a *de facto* accusation on the part of God, because he cannot think of suffering and sin as separable, and because he is conscious of his innocence, looks upon it as a decree of God, his opponent and his enemy,

which is irreconcilable with the divine justice. This Job's condition of conflict and temptation is the prevailing one; his faith is beclouded, and breaks through the night which hangs over him only in single rays. The result of this condition of conflict is the sinful character which that wish assumes: it becomes a challenge to God, since Job directs against God Himself the accusation which the friends have directed against him, and asserts his ability to carry through his good cause even if God would enter with him into a judicial contention; he becomes a *מוכיח אלוה* and *יסור*, and raises himself above God, because he thinks he has Him for an enemy who is his best friend. This defiance is, however, not common godlessness; on the contrary, Job is really the innocent servant of God, and his defiant tone is only the result of a false conception which the tempted one indulges respecting the Author of his affliction. So, then, this defiance has not taken full possession of Job's mind; on the contrary, the faith which lays firm hold on confidence in the God whom he does not comprehend, is in conflict against it; and this conflict tends in the course of the drama, the nearer it comes to the catastrophe, still nearer to the victory, which only awaits a decisive stroke in order to be complete. Therefore Jehovah yields to Job's longing *שְׂרִי יַעֲנֵנִי*, in as far as He really answers Job; and even that this takes place, and that, although out of the storm, it nevertheless takes place, not in a way to crush and destroy, but to instruct and convince, and displaying a loving condescension, is an indirect manifestation that Job is not regarded by God as an evil-doer mature for judgment. But that folly and temerity by which the servant of God is become unlike himself must notwithstanding be destroyed; and before Job can realize God as his Witness and Redeemer, in which character his faith in its brighter moments has foreseen Him, his sinful censuring and blaming of God must be blotted out by penitence; and with it at the

same time his foolish imagination, by which his faith has been almost overwhelmed, must be destroyed, viz. the imagination that his affliction is a *hostile* dispensation of God.

And by what means is Job brought to the penitent recognition of his gloomy judgment concerning the divine decree, and of his contending with God? Is it, perhaps, by God's admitting to him what really is the case: that he does not suffer as a sinner the punishment of his sin, but showing at the same time that the decree of suffering is not an unjust one, because its design is not hostile? No, indeed, for Job is not worthy that his cause should be acknowledged on the part of God before he has come to a penitent recognition of the wrong by which he has sinned against God. God would be encouraging self-righteousness if He should give Job the testimony of his innocence, before the sin of vain-glory, into which Job has fallen in the consciousness of his innocence, is changed to *humility*, by which all uprightness that is acceptable with God is tested. Therefore, contrary to expectation, God begins to speak with Job about totally different matters from His justice or injustice in reference to his affliction. Therein already lies a deep humiliation for Job. But a still deeper one in God's turning, as it were, to the *abecedarium naturæ*, and putting the censurer of His doings to the blush. That God is the almighty and all-wise Creator and Ruler of the world, that the natural world is exalted above human knowledge and power, and is full of marvellous divine creations and arrangements, full of things mysterious and incomprehensible to ignorant and feeble man, Job knows even before God speaks, and yet he must now hear it, because he does not know it rightly; for the nature with which he is acquainted as the herald of the creative and governing power of God, is also the preacher of humility; and exalted as God the Creator and Ruler of the natural world is above Job's censure, so is He also as the Author of

his affliction. That which is new, therefore, in the speech of Jehovah, is not the proof of God's exaltation in itself, but the relation to the mystery of his affliction, and to his conduct towards God in this his affliction, in which Job is necessitated to place perceptions not in themselves strange to him. He who cannot answer a single one of those questions taken from the natural kingdom, but, on the contrary, must everywhere admire and adore the power and wisdom of God—he must appear as an insignificant fool, if he applies them to his limited judgment concerning the Author of his affliction.

The fundamental tone of the divine speech is the thought, that the divine working in nature is infinitely exalted above human knowledge and power, and that consequently man must renounce all claim to better knowledge and right of contention in the presence of the divine dispensations. But at the same time, within the range of this general thought, it is also in particular shown how nature reflects the goodness of God as well as His wisdom (He has restrained the destructive power of the waters, He also sendeth rain upon the steppe, though untenanted by man); how that which accomplishes the purposes for which it was in itself designed, serves higher purposes in the moral order of the world (the dawn of day puts an end to the works of darkness, snow and hail serve as instruments of divine judgments); how divine providence extends to all creatures, and always according to their need (He provides the lion its prey, He satisfies the ravens that cry to Him); and how He has distributed His manifold gifts in a way often paradoxical to man, but in truth worthy of admiration (to the steinbock ease in bringing forth and growth without toil, to the wild ass freedom, to the antelope untameable fleetness, to the ostrich freedom from anxiety about its young and swiftness, to the horse heroic and proud lust for the battle, to the hawk the instinct of



migration, to the eagle a lofty nest and a piercing sight). Everywhere the wonders of God's power and wisdom, and in fact of His goodness abounding in power, and His providence abounding in wisdom, infinitely transcend Job's knowledge and capacity. Job cannot answer one of all these questions, but yet he feels to what end they are put to him. The God who sets bounds to the sea, who refreshes the desert, who feeds the ravens, who cares for the gazelle in the wilderness and the eagle in its eyrie, is the same God who now causes him seemingly thus unjustly to suffer. But if the former is worthy of adoration, the latter will also be so. Therefore Job confesses that he will henceforth keep silence, and solemnly promises that he will now no longer contend with Him. From the marvellous in nature he divines that which is marvellous in his affliction. His humiliation under the mysteries of nature is at the same time humiliation under the mystery of his affliction; and only now, when he penitently reveres the mystery he has hitherto censured, is it time that its inner glory should be unveiled to him. The bud is mature, and can now burst forth, in order to disclose the blended colours of its matured beauty.

*The Second Speech of Jehovah, and Job's Second Penitent Answer.*—Chap. xl. 6—xlii. 6.

*Schema:* 6. 10. 9. 12. 10. 9. | 4. 6. 6. 8. 8. 8. 10. | 6. 6.

[Then Jehovah answered Job out of the storm, and said:]

This second time also Jehovah speaks to Job out of the storm; not, however, in wrath, but in the profound condescension of His majesty, in order to deliver His servant from dark imaginings, and to bring him to free and joyous knowledge. He does not demand blind subjection, but free submission; He does not extort an acknowledgment of His greatness, but it is effected by persuasion. It becomes manifest

that God is much more forbearing and compassionate than men. Observe the friends, the defenders of the divine honour, these sticklers for their own orthodoxy, how they rave against Job! How much better is it to fall into the hands of the living God, than into the hands of man! For God is truth and love; but men have at one time love without truth, at another truth without love, since they either connive at one or anathematize him. When a man who, moreover, like Job, is a servant of God, fails in one point, or sins, men at once condemn him altogether, and admit nothing good in him; God, however, discerns between good and evil, and makes the good a means of freeing the man from the evil. He also does not go rashly to work, but waits, like an instructor, until the time of action arrives. How long He listens to Job's bold challenging, and keeps silence! And then, when He does begin to speak, He does not cast Job to the ground by His authoritative utterances, but deals with him as a child; He examines him from the catechism of nature, and allows him to say for himself that he fails in this examination. In this second speech He acts with him as in the well-known poem of Hans Sachs with St Peter: He offers him to take the government of the world for once instead of Himself. Here also He produces conviction; here also His mode of action is a deep lowering of Himself. It is Jehovah, the God, who at length begets Himself in humanity, in order to convince men of His love.

7 *Gird up thy loins manfully:*

*I will question thee, and do thou answer me!*

8 *Wilt thou altogether annul my right,*

*Condemn me, that thou mayest be righteous?*

9 *And hast thou then an arm like God,*

*And canst thou thunder with a voice like Him?*

The question with וְשִׁאֵלְךָ stands to ch. xl. 2 in the relation of

a climax: Job contended not alone with God, which is in itself wrong, let it be whatsoever it may; he went so far as to lose sight of the divine justice in the government of the world, and in order not to be obliged to give up his own righteousness, so far as to doubt the divine. וַיִּשָּׁא, ver. 9a, is also interrogative, as ch. viii. 3, xxi. 4, xxxiv. 17, comp. xxxix. 13, not expressive of a wish, as ch. xxxiv. 16. In the government of the world, God shows His arm, He raises His voice of thunder: canst thou perhaps—asks Jehovah—do the like, thou who seemest to imagine thou couldst govern the world more justly, if thou hadst to govern it? וַיִּבְקֹל כְּמוֹהוּ are to be combined: of like voice to Him; the translation follows the accents (וּבְקוֹל with *Rebia mugrasch*).

- 10 *Deck thyself then with pomp and dignity,  
And in glory and majesty clothe thyself!*
- 11 *Let the overflowings of thy wrath pour forth,  
And behold all pride, and abase it!*
- 12 *Behold all pride, bring it low,  
And cast down the evil-doers in their place;*
- 13 *Hide them in the dust together,  
Bind their faces in secret:*
- 14 *Then I also will praise thee,  
That thy right hand obtaineth thee help.*

He is for once to put on the robes of the King of kings (עָרָה, comp. עָטָה, to wrap round, Ps. civ. 2), and send forth his wrath over pride and evil-doing, for their complete removal. הִפִּיץ, *effundere, diffundere*, as Arab. *afâda*, vid. ch. xxxvii. 11. עֲבָרוֹת, or rather, according to the reading of Ben-Ascher, עֲבָרוֹת, in its prop. signif. oversteppings, i.e. overflowings. In connection with vers. 11–13, one is directly reminded of the judgment on everything that is high and exalted in Isa. ii., where טָמִימִים בְּעֶפֶר also has its parallel (Isa. ii. 10). Not less, however, does ver. 14b recall Isa. lix. 16, lxiii. 5

(comp. Ps. xcvi. 1); Isaiah I. and II. have similar descriptions to the book of Job. The ἀπ' λεγ. הַדָּכָה is Hebræo-Arab.; *hadaka* signifies, like *hadama*, to tear, pull to the ground. In connection with טָמִין (from טָמַן; Aram., Arab., טָמַר), the lower world, including the grave, is thought of (comp. Arab. *mat-murât*, subterranean places); הַבִּשָּׁר signifies, like حبس IV., to chain and to imprison. Try it only for once—this is the collective thought—to act like Me in the execution of penal justice; I would praise thee. That he cannot do it, and yet ventures with his short-sightedness and feebleness to charge God's rule with injustice, the following pictures of foreign animals are now further intended to make evident to him:—

- 15 *Behold now the behémóth,*  
*Which I have made with thee:*  
*He eateth grass like an ox.*
- 16 *Behold now, his strength is in his loins,*  
*And his force in the sinews of his belly.*
- 17 *He bendeth his tail like a cedar branch,*  
*The sinews of his legs are firmly interwoven.*
- 18 *His bones are like tubes of brass,*  
*His bones like bars of iron.*

הַבְּהֵמוֹת הַלְלוֹת (after the manner of the intensive *plur.* הַלְלוֹת, which play the part of the abstract termination), which sounds like a *plur.*, but without the numerical plural signification, considered as Hebrew, denotes the beast κατ' ἐξοχήν, or the giant of beasts, is however Hebraized from the Egyptian *p-ehe-mau*, (*muau*), i.e. the (*p*) ox (*ehe*) of the water (*mau* as in the Hebraized proper name מִנְיָה). It is, as Bochart has first of all shown, the so-called river or Nile horse, *Hippopotamus amphibius* (in Isa. xxx. 6, בְּהֵמוֹת נִיב, as emblem of Egypt, which extends its power, and still is active in the interest of others), found in the rivers of Africa, but no longer found in the Nile, which is not inappropriately called a horse; the Arab. water-

hog is better, Italian *bomarino*, Engl. sea-cow [?], like the Egyptian *p-ehe-mau*. The change of *p* and *b* in the exchange of Egyptian and Semitic words occurs also elsewhere, e.g. *pug'* and בּוּג, *harpu* and חָרַב (*ḥarab*), *Apriu* and עֲבִירִים (according to Lauth). Nevertheless *p-ehe-mau* (not *mau-t*, for what should the post-positive fem. art. do here?) is first of all only the *בהמות* translated back again into the Egyptian by Jablonsky; an instance in favour of this is still wanting. In Hieroglyph the Nile-horse is called *apet*; it was honoured as divine. Brugsch dwelt in Thebes in the temple of the *Apet*.<sup>1</sup> In ver. 15 *b* עִפָּה signifies nothing but "with thee," so that thou hast it before thee. This water-ox eats קִצִּיר, green grass, like an ox. That it prefers to plunder the produce of the fields—in Arab. *chadîr* signifies, in particular, green barley—is accordingly self-evident. Nevertheless, it has gigantic strength, viz. in its plump loins and in the sinews (שָׁרִיר, properly the firm constituent parts,<sup>2</sup> therefore: ligaments and muscles) of its clumsy belly. The brush of a tail, short in comparison with the monster itself, is compared to a cedar (a branch of it), *ratione glabritiei, rotunditatis, spissi-*

<sup>1</sup> In the astronomical representations the hippopotamus is in the neighbourhood of the North Pole in the place of the dragon of the present day, and bears the name of *hes-mut*, in which *mut* = *t. mau*, "the mother." *Hes* however is obscure; Birch explains it by: raging.

<sup>2</sup> Starting from its primary signification (made firm, fast), שָׁרִיר can signify e.g. also things put together from wood: a throne, a hand-barrow, bedstead and cradle, metaphor. the foundation. Wetzt. otherwise: "The שָׁרִירֵי הַבָּטֵן are not the sinews and muscles, still less 'the private parts' of others, but the four bearers of the animal body = *arkân el-batn*, viz. the bones of the מִתְנֵים, ver. 16a, together with the two shoulder-blades. The Arab. *sarîr* is that on which a thing is supported or rests, on which it stands firmly, or moves about. *Neshwân* (i. 280) says: '*sarîr* is the substratum on which a thing rests,' and the *sarîr er-ra's*, says the same, is the place where the head rests upon the nape of the neck. The *Kâmûs* gives the same signification *primo loco*, which shows that it is general; then follows in gen. عَضَائِج, "the support of a thing."

*tudinis et firmitatis* (Bochart); since the beast is in general almost without hair, it looks like a stiff, naked bone, and yet it can bend it like an elastic cedar branch; חֲפִץ is Hebræo-Arab., حَفْض <sup>1</sup> is a word used directly of the bending of wood (*el-ûd*). Since this description, like the whole book of Job, is so strongly Arabized, פֶּהַר, ver. 17b, will also be one word with the Arab. *fachidh*, the thigh; as the Arabic version also translates: 'urûku *afchâdhihi* (the veins or strings of its thigh). The Targ., retaining the word of the text here, <sup>2</sup> has פֶּהַרִּין in Lev. xxi. 20 for אֶשְׁפִּי, a testicle, prop. *inguina*, the groins; we interpret: the sinews of its thighs or legs<sup>3</sup> are intertwined after the manner of intertwined vine branches, שְׂרִיגִים.<sup>4</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> Wetzst. otherwise: One may compare the Arab. خَفَضَ, *fut. i*, to adhere firmly, sit, lie (in one place), from which the signification of desiring, longing, has been developed, since in the Semitic languages the figure of fixing (*ta'alluq*) the heart and the eye on any desired object is at the basis of this notion (wherefore such verbs are joined with the *præp.* בְּ).

According to this, it is to be explained, "his tail is immovable like (the short and thick stem of) the cedar," for the stunted tail of an animal is a mark of its strength to a Semite. In 1860, as I was visiting the neighbouring mountain fortress of *el-Hosn* with the octogenarian *Fêjâd*, the sheikh of *Fîk* in *Gôlân*, we rode past *Fêjâd*'s ploughmen; and as one of them was letting his team go slowly along, the sheikh cried out to him from a distance: Faster! faster! They (the steers with which thou plougest) are not oxen weak with age, nor are they the dower of a widow (who at her second marriage receives only a pair of weak wretched oxen from her father or brother); but they are heifers (3-4 year-old steers) with stiffly raised tails (*wadhujûluhin muqashmare*, מִקְשָׁמֶר, an intensive מִקְשָׁר or קִשָּׁר [comp. שְׂלֵאֲנָן, ch. xxi. 23]).

<sup>2</sup> Another Targ., which translates גְּבִרְיָהּ וְשַׁעֲבֻזָּהּ, *penis et testiculî ejus*, vid. Aruch s.v. שַׁעֲבָן.

<sup>3</sup> According to Fleischer, *fachidh* signifies properly the thick-leg (= thigh), from the root *fach*, with the general signification of being puffed out, swollen, thick.

<sup>4</sup> In the choice of the word יִשְׂרָגִי, the *mushâgarat ed-dawâli* (from שָׂרַג = שָׁרַג, "the interweaving of the vine branches" was undoubtedly before the poet's eye; comp. *Deutsch. Morgenl. Zeitschr.* xi. 477: "On all sides in this delightful corner of the earth (the *Ghûta*) the vine left to itself, in diversified ramifications, often a dozen branches resembling so many huge snakes entangled together, swings to and fro upon the

why is פִּהְרִי pointed thus, and not פִּהְרִי (as e.g. שְׁעָרַי)? It is either an Aramaizing (with אֲשָׁרַי it has another relationship) pointing of the *plur.*, or rather, as Köhler has perceived, a regularly-pointed *dual* (like רִגְלָי), from פִּהְרִים (like פְּעִמִּים), which is equally suitable in connection with the signification *femora* as *testiculi*. מְטִיל, ver. 18b, is also Hebræo-Arab.; for مَطْل signifies to forge, or properly to extend by forging (hammering), and to lengthen, undoubtedly a secondary formation of טָל, *tāla*, to be long, as *makuna* of *kāna*, *madana* of *dāna*, *massara* (to found a fortified city) of *sāra*, chiefly (if not always) by the intervention of such nouns as *makān*, *medīne*, *misr* (= מִצּוֹר), therefore in the present instance by the intervention of this *metīl* (= *mementūl*<sup>1</sup>), whence probably μέταλλον (metal), properly iron in bars or rods, therefore metal in a wrought state, although not yet finished.<sup>2</sup> Its bones are like tubes of brass, its bones (נִרְקָיו, the more Aram. word) like forged rods of iron—what an appropriate description of the comparatively thin but firm as iron skeleton by which the plump mass of flesh of the gigantic boar-like grass-eater is carried!

shining stem of the lofty white poplar." And *ib.* S. 491: "a twisted vine almost the thickness of a man, as though formed of rods of iron (comp. ver. 18)."

<sup>1</sup> The noun מְטִיל is also found in the Lexicon of *Neshwān*, i. 63: "מְטִיל is equivalent to מְמַטֵּל, viz. that which is hammered out in length, used of iron and other metals; and one says חֲדָרָה מְטִילָה of a piece of iron that has been hammered for the purpose of stretching it." The verb *Neshwān* explains: "מְטִיל said of iron signifies to stretch it that it may become long." The verb מטל can be regarded as a fusion of the root מדר (מַטַּל, comp. מוֹטָה, and مَوَّط Beduin: to take long steps) with the root טל, to be long.—WETZST. The above explanation of the origin of the verb מטל seems to us more probable.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn-Koreisch in Pinsker, *Likkute*, p. קנא, explains it without exactness by *sebikat hadid*, which signifies a smelted and formed piece of iron.

- 19 *He is the firstling of the ways of God ;  
He, his Maker, reached to him his sword.*
- 20 *For the mountains bring forth food for him,  
And all the beasts of the field play beside him.*
- 21 *Under the lote-trees he lieth down,  
In covert of reeds and marsh.*
- 22 *Lote-trees cover him as shade,  
The willows of the brook encompass him.*
- 23 *Behold, if the stream is strong, he doth not quake ;  
He remaineth cheerful, if a Jordan breaketh forth upon his  
mouth.*
- 24 *Just catch him while he is looking,  
With snares let one pierce his nose !*

God's ways is the name given to God's operations as the Creator of the world in ver. 19a (comp. ch. xxvi. 14, where His acts as the Ruler of the world are included); and the firstling of these ways is called the Behêmôth, not as one of the first in point of time, but one of the hugest creatures, *un chef-d'œuvre de Dieu* (Bochart); רֵאשִׁית not as Prov. viii. 22, Num. xxiv. 20, of the priority of time, but as Amos vi. 1, 6, of rank. The *art.* in עָשָׂה is, without the pronominal *suff.* being meant as an accusative (Ew. § 290, *d*), equal to a demonstrative pronoun (comp. Ges. § 109, *init.*): this its Creator (but so that "this" does not refer back so much as upwards). It is not meant that he reached His sword to behêmôth, but (on which account לו is intentionally wanting) that He brought forth, *i.e.* created, its (behêmôth's) peculiar sword, viz. the gigantic incisors ranged opposite one another, with which it grazes upon the meadow as with a sickle: ἀρούρησιν κακὴν ἐπιβάλλεται ἄρπην (Nicander, *Theriac.* 566), ἄρπη is exactly the sickle-shaped Egyptian sword (*harpu* = הַרְבֵּ). Vegetable food (to which its teeth are adapted) is appointed to the behêmôth: "for the mountains produce



food for him ;" it is the herbage of the hills (which is scanty in the lower and more abundant in the upper valley of the Nile) that is intended, after which this uncouth animal climbs (*vid.* Schlottm.). בָּל is neither a contraction of יָבֵל (Ges.), nor a corruption of it (Ew.), but Hebræo-Arab. = *baul*, produce, from *bála*, to beget, comp. *aballa*, to bear fruit (prop. seed, *bulal*), root בָּל, to soak, wet, mix.<sup>1</sup> Ver. 20*b* describes how harmless, and if unmolested, inoffensive, the animal is ; עֹפֶה there, viz. while it is grazing.

In ver. 21*a* Saadia correctly translates: تحت الصال; and ver. 22*a*, Abulwalid: يغطيهِ الصل مظلاً له, *tegīt eum lotus obumbrans eum*, by interpreting الصل, more correctly الصال, with *es-sidr el-berrī*, i.e. *Rhamnus silvestris* (*Rhamnus Lotus*, Linn.), in connection with which Schultens' observation is to be noticed: *Cave intelligas lotum Ægyptiam s. plantam Niloticam quam Arabes نوfer*. The fact that the wild animals of the steppe seek the shade of the lote-tree, Schultens has supported by passages from the poets. The lotus is found not only in Syria, but also in Egypt, and the whole of Africa.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Whether בָּלָל, *ch.* vi. 5, xxiv. 6, signifies mixed provender (*farrago*), or perhaps ripe fruit, i.e. grain, so that *jabol*, Judg. xix. 21, in the signification "he gave dry provender consisting of barley-grain," would be the opposite of the *jahushsh* (יֶהֱשֵׁה) of the present day, "he gives green provender consisting of green grass or green barley, *hashish*," as Wetzst. supposes, *vid.* on Isa. xxx. 24.

<sup>2</sup> The זֶאֵל or *Dûm*-tree, which likes hot and damp valleys, and hence is found much on the northern, and in great numbers on the eastern, shores of the Sea of Galilee, is called in the present day *sidra*, collect. *sidr*; and its fruit, a small yellow apple, *dûma*, collect. *dâm*, perhaps "the not ending, perennial," because the fruit of the previous year only falls from the tree when that of the present year is ripe. Around Bagdad, as they told me, the *Dûm*-tree bears twice a year. In Egypt its fruit is called *nebq* (נֶבֶק, not *nibq* as in Freytag), and the tree is there far stronger and taller than in Syria, where it is seldom more than about four and twenty feet high. Only in the *Wâdî 's-sidr* on the mountains of Judæa have I seen several unusually large trunks. The *Kâmûs* places the signification

*plur.* is formed from the primary form צָלַל, as שָׁקַמִּים from שָׁקַם, Olsh. § 148, *b*; the single tree was perhaps called צָלָלָה (= ضَالَة), as שָׁקַמָּה (Ew. § 189, *h*). Ammianus Marc. xxii. 15 coincides with ver. 21*b*: *Inter arundines celsas et squalentes nimia densitate hæc bellua cubilia ponit.* צָלָל, ver. 22*a* (resolved from צָלַל, as צָלָלָה, ch. xx. 7, from צָלָלָה), is in apposition with the subj.: Lote-trees cover it as its shade (shading it). The double play of words in ver. 22 is [not] reproduced in the [English] translation. וְ, ver. 23*a*, pointing to something possible, obtains almost the signification of a conditional particle, as ch. xii. 14, xxiii. 8, Isa. liv. 15. The Arabic version appropriately translates ان طغى النهر, for طغى denotes exactly like עָשַׁק, excessive, insolent behaviour, and is then, as also ظَلَمَ, عَتَا, and other verbs given by Schultens, transferred from the sphere of ethics to the overflow of a river beyond its banks, to the rush of raging waters, to the rising and bursting forth of swollen streams. It does "the sweet Dûm-tree" first of all to ضَال, and then "the wild D." In hotter regions there may also be a superior kind with fine fruit, in Syria it is only wild—*Neshuân* (ii. 192) says: "*dâla*, collect. *dâl*, is the wild Dûm-tree,"—yet I have always found its fruit sweet and pleasant to the taste.—WETZST.

<sup>1</sup> Forms like צָלָל, צָלָל, are unknown to the language, because it was more natural for ease of pronunciation to make the primary form כָּבַב into כָּב than into כָּבַב; צָלָל (*vid.* i. 377), צָלָל, might more readily be referred to צָלָל, צָלָל (in which the first *a* is a helping vowel, and the second a root vowel); but although the form קָטַל and the segolate forms completely pass into one another in inflection, still there does not exist a safe example in favour of the change of vowels of קָטַל into קָטַלִּי; wherefore we have also derived אָנַל, ch. xxxviii. 28, from אָנַל, not from אָנַל, although, moreover, *ē* frequently enough alternates with *ī* (*e.g.* יִשְׁעָה), and a transition into *ē* of the *ī* weakened from *ā* (*e.g.* יִרְכֵם) also occurs. But there are no forms like נָטַפִּי = נָטַפִּי from נָטַף in reality, although they would be possible according to the laws of vowels. In *Ges. Handwörterb.* (1863) צָלָל stands under צָלָל (according to the form לָבַב, which, however, forms לָבַבִּי) and צָלָל under צָלָל (a rare noun-form, which does not occur at all from verbs double *Ayin*).

not, however, terrify the behemoth, which can live as well in the water as on the land; לֹא יִחַפּוֹ, properly, it does not spring up before it, is not disturbed by it. Instead of the Jordan, ver. 23b, especially in connection with גִּיחַ, the 'Gaihûn (the Oxus) or the 'Gaihân (the Pyramus) might have been mentioned, which have their names from the growing force with which they burst forth from their sources (גִּיחַ, גִּיחַ, comp. 'gâcha, to wash away). But in order to express the notion of a powerful and at times deep-swelling stream, the poet prefers the יַרְדֵּן of his fatherland, which, moreover, does not lie so very far from the scene, according to the conception at least, since all the wadis in its neighbourhood flow directly or indirectly (as *Wâdi el-Meddân*, the boundary river between the district of *Suwêl* and the *Nukra* plain) into the Jordan. For יַרְדֵּן (perhaps from יָרַד<sup>1</sup>) does not here signify a stream (rising in the mountain) in general; the name is not deprived of its geographical definiteness, but is a particularizing expression of the notion given above.

The description closes in ver. 24 with the ironical challenge: in its sight (בְּעֵינָיו as Prov. i. 17) let one (for once) catch it; let one lay a snare which, when it goes into it, shall spring together and pierce it in the nose; i.e. neither the open force nor the stratagem, which one employs with effect with other animals, is sufficient to overpower this monster. מוֹקְשִׁים is generally rendered as equal to חַתִּים, Isa. xxxvii. 29, Ezek. xix. 4, or at least to the cords drawn through them, but contrary to the uniform usage of the language. The description of the hippopotamus<sup>2</sup> is now followed by that of the crocodile, which also elsewhere form a pair, e.g. in Achilles Tatius,

<sup>1</sup> Certainly one would have expected גִּרְדֵּן like יַרְדֵּן, while יַרְדֵּן like יַעֲבִין, יַעֲזֹר, appears formed from יַרְדֵּן; nevertheless יַרְדֵּן (with changeable *Ssere*) can be understood as a change of vowel from יַרְדֵּן (comp. יַשֵּׁב for יֵשֵׁב).

<sup>2</sup> *Vgl.* Brehm, *Aus dem Leben des Nilpferds, Gartenlaube* 1859, Nr 48, etc.

iv. 2, 19. Behemoth and leviathan, says Herder, are the pillars of Hercules at the end of the book, the *non plus ultra* of another world [distant from the scene]. What the same writer says of the poet, that he does not "mean to furnish any contributions to Pennant's *Zoologie* or to Linnæus' *Animal Kingdom*," the expositor also must assent to.

- 25 *Dost thou draw the crocodile by a hoop-net,  
And dost thou sink his tongue into the line?!*
- 26 *Canst thou put a rush-ring into his nose,  
And pierce his cheeks with a hook?*
- 27 *Will he make many supplications to thee,  
Or speak flatteries to thee?*
- 28 *Will he make a covenant with thee,  
To take him as a perpetual slave?*
- 29 *Wilt thou play with him as a little bird,  
And bind him for thy maidens?*

In ch. iii. 8, לִיָּתָן signified the celestial dragon, that causes the eclipses of the sun (according to the Indian mythology, *râhu* the black serpent, and *ketu* the red serpent); in Ps. civ. 26 it does not denote some great sea-saurian after the kind of the hydrarchus of the primeval world,<sup>1</sup> but directly the whale, as in the Talmud (Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talm.* § 178 sq.). Elsewhere, however, the crocodile is thus named, and in fact as תַּנִּין also, another appellation of this natural wonder of Egypt, as an emblem of the mightiness of Pharaoh (*vid.* on Ps. lxxiv. 13 sq.), as once again the crocodile itself is called in Arab. *el-fir'aunu*. The Old Testament language possesses no proper name for the crocodile; even the Talmudic makes use of קְרוֹקוֹתָא = *κροκόδειλος* (Lewysohn, § 271). לִיָּתָן is the generic name of twisted, and תַּנִּין long-extended monsters. Since the Egyptian name of the crocodile has not been Hebraized, the poet contents himself in תַּמְשֵׁן with

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Grässe, *Beiträge*, S. 94 ff.

making a play upon its Egyptian, and in *تمساح*, *tinsáh*,<sup>1</sup> Arabized name (Ew. § 324, *a*). To wit, it is called in Coptic *temsah*, Hierogl. (without the *art.*) *msuh* (*emsuh*), as an animal that creeps “out of the egg (*suh*).”<sup>2</sup> In ver. 25*b*, Ges. and others falsely translate: Canst thou press its tongue down with a cord; *עֲשֵׂה* does not signify *demergere* = *deprimere*, but *immergere*: canst thou sink its tongue into the line, *i.e.* make it bite into the hook on the line, and canst thou thus draw it up? Ver. 25*b* then refers to what must happen in order that the *עֲשֵׂה* of the *msuh* may take place. Herodotus (and after him Aristotle) says, indeed, ii. 68, the crocodile has no tongue; but it has one, only it cannot stretch it out, because the protruding part has grown to the bottom of the mouth, while otherwise the saurians have a long tongue, that can be stretched out to some length. In ver. 26 the order of thought is the same: for first the Nile fishermen put a ring through the gills or nose of valuable fish; then they draw a cord made of rushes (*σχοῖνον*) through it, in order to put them thus bound into the river. “As a perpetual slave,” ver. 28*b* is intended to say: like one of the domestic animals.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus was acquainted with this name (*χάμψαι* = *προκοδείλοι*); thus is the crocodile called also in Palestine, where (as Tobler and Joh. Roth have shown) it occurs, especially in the river *Damûr* near *Tantûra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Les naturalistes*—says Chabas in his *Papyr. magique*, p. 190—*comptent cinq espèces de crocodiles vivant dans le Nil, mais les hieroglyphes rapportent un plus grand nombre de noms déterminés par le signe du crocodile*. Such is really the case, apart from the so-called land crocodile or *σκίγρος* (Arab. *isqanqûr*), the Coptic name of which, *hankelf* (according to Lauth *ha. n. kelf*, ruler of the bank), is not as yet indicated on the monuments. Among the many old Egyptian names for the crocodile, Kircher's *charuki* is, however, not found, which reminds one of the Coptic *karus*, as *προκοδείλος* of *κρόκος*, for *προκοδείλος* is the proper name of the *Lacerta viridis* (Herod. ii. 69). Lauth is inclined to regard *charuki* as a fiction of Kircher, as also the name of the phoenix, *αλλοη* (*vid.* p. 130). The number of names of the crocodile which remain even without *charuki*, leads one to infer a great variety of species, and crocodiles, which differ from all living species, have also actually been found in Egyptian tombs. *vid.* Schmarda, *Verbreitung der Thiere*, i. 89.

By צִפּוֹר, ver. 29a, can hardly be meant צִפּוֹרֵת הַכֶּרְמִים, the little bird of the vineyard, i.e. according to a Talmud. usage of the language, the golden beetle (*Jesurun*, p. 222), or a pretty eatable grasshopper (Lewysohn, § 374), but, according to the words of Catullus, *Passer deliciæ meæ puellæ*, the sparrow, Arab. 'asfûr—an example of a harmless living plaything (שִׁחַק אֶ, to play with anything, different from Ps. civ. 26, where it is not, with Ew., to be translated: to play with it, but: therein).

- 30 *Do fishermen trade with him,  
Do they divide him among the Canaanites?*  
31 *Canst thou fill his skin with darts,  
And his head with fish-spears?*  
32 *Only lay thy hand upon him—  
Remember the battle, thou wilt not do it again!*  
Ch. xli. 1 *Behold, every hope becometh disappointment:  
Is not one cast down even at the sight of him?*

The fishermen form a guild (صُنْف, *sunf*), the associated members of which are called הַכֶּרְמִים (distinct from תְּבָרִים). On בָּרָה עַל, *vid.* on ch. vi. 27. “When I came to the towns of the coast,” says R. Akiba, *b. Rosch ha-Schana*, 26b, “they called selling, which we call מכירה, *bירה*, there,” according to which, then, Gen. l. 5 is understood, as by the Syriac; the word is Sanscrito-Semitic, Sanscr. *kri*, Persic *chiriden* (*Jesurun*, p. 178). LXX. ἐμισιδοῦνται, according to 2 Kings vi. 23, to which, however, עָלִי is not suitable. כְּנַעֲנִים are Phœnicians; and then, because they were the merchant race of the ancient world, directly traders or merchants. The meaning of the question is, whether one sells the crocodile among them, perhaps halved, or in general divided up (*vid.* i. 409). Further, ver. 31: whether one can kill it בְּשִׁכּוֹת, with pointed missiles (Arab. *shauke*, a thorn, sting,

dart), or with fish-spears (צִלְצַל, so called from its whizzing, צִלַּל, *salla*). In ver. 32 the accentuation is the right indication: only seize upon him—remember the battle, *i.e.* thou wilt be obliged to remember it, and thou wilt have no wish to repeat it. זָכַר is a so-called *imperat. consec.*: if thou doest it, thou wilt . . . , Ges. § 130, 2. תּוֹפֵף is the pausal form of תּוֹפֵף (once *tōsp*, Prov. xxx. 6), of which it is the original form.

Ch. xli. 1. The *suff.* of תּוֹחֵלְתּוֹ refers to the assailant, not objectively to the beast (the hope which he indulges concerning it). נִבְּזָה, ch. xli. 1, is 3 *præt.*, like נִגְלָמָה, Isa. liii. 7 (where also the participial accenting as *Milra*, occurs in Codd.); Fürst's *Concord.* treats it as *part.*, but the participial form נִקְטָלָה, to be assumed in connection with it, along with נִקְטָלָה and נִקְטָלָה, does not exist. הָיָה, ver. 1b, is, according to the sense, equivalent to הָלָא נָם; *vid.* on ch. xx. 4. מְרָאִי (according to Ges., Ew., and Olsh., *sing.*, with the plural *suff.*, without a *plur.* meaning, which is natural in connection with the primary form מְרָאִי; or what is more probable, from the *plur.* מְרָאִים with a *sing.* meaning, as פָּנִים) refers to the crocodile, and יָטַל (according to a more accredited reading, יָטַל = יָטַל) to the hunter to whom it is visible.

What is said in ver. 30 is perfectly true; although the crocodile was held sacred in some parts of Egypt, in Elephantine and Apollonopolis, on the contrary, it was salted and eaten as food. Moreover, that there is a small species of crocodile, with which children can play, does not militate against ver. 29. Everywhere here it is the creature in its primitive strength and vigour that is spoken of. But if they also knew how to catch it in very early times, by fastening a bait, perhaps a duck, on a barb with a line attached, and drew the animal to land, where they put an end to its life with a lance-thrust in the neck (Uhlemann, *Thoth*, S. 241): this was angling on the largest scale, as is not meant in

ver. 25. If, on the other hand, in very early times they harpooned the crocodile, this would certainly be more difficult of reconciliation with ver. 31, than that mode of catching it by means of a fishing-hook of the greatest calibre with ver. 25. But harpooning is generally only of use when the animal can be hit between the neck and head, or in the flank; and it is very questionable whether, in the ancient times, when the race was without doubt of an unmanageable size, that has now died out, the crocodile hunt (ch. vii. 12) was effected with harpoons. On the whole subject we have too little information for distinguishing between the different periods. So far as the questions of Jehovah have reference to man's relation to the two monsters, they concern the men of the present, and are shaped according to the measure of power which they have attained over nature. The strophe which follows shows what Jehovah intends by these questions.

2 *None is so foolhardy that he dare excite him!*

*And who is it who could stand before Me?*

3 *Who hath given Me anything first of all, that I must requite it?*

*Whatsoever is under the whole heaven is Mine.*

One sees from these concluding inferences, thus applied, what is the design, in the connection of this second speech of Jehovah, of the reference to behemoth and leviathan, which somewhat abruptly began in ch. xl. 15. If even the strength of one of God's creatures admits no thought of being able to attack it, how much more should the greatness of the Creator deter man from all resistance! For no one has any claim on God, so that he should have the right of appearing before Him with a rude challenge. Every creature under heaven is God's; man, therefore, possesses nothing that was not God's property and gift, and he must humbly yield, whether God gives or takes away. **לֹא**, ver. 2a, is not directly equivalent to **אֵין**, but the clause is exclamatory. **עֵוִרִי** *Chethîb*,



יעירני *Kerî*, is the Palestine reading, the reverse the Babylonian; the authorized text (chiefly without a *Kerî*) is יעירני, from עיר in a transitive signification (*éyérpeuv*), as שׁוּב, ch. xxxix. 12, comp. xlii. 10. The meaning of הַקְדִּימָנִי is determined according to וַיִּשְׁלַם: to anticipate, viz. by gifts presented as a person is approaching the giver (Arab. *aqdama*). הוּא, ver. 3b, is neutral, as ch. xiii. 16, xv. 9, xxxi. 11, 28. הַחַת is virtually a subj.: that which is under . . . After these apparently epiphonematic verses (2 and 3), one might now look for Job's answer. But the description of the leviathan is again taken up, and in fact hitherto it was only the invincibility of the animal that was spoken of; and yet it is not so described that this picture might form the exact pendent of the preceding.

4 *I will not keep silence about his members,*

*The proportion of his power and the comeliness of his structure.*

5 *Who could raise the front of his coat of mail?*

*Into his double teeth—who cometh therein?*

6 *The doors of his face—who openeth them?*

*Round about his teeth is terror.*

The *Kerî* לוֹ authorized by the Masora assumes an interrogative rendering: as to it, should I be silent about its members (לוֹ at the head of the clause, as Lev. vii. 7-9, Isa. ix. 2),—what perhaps might appear more poetic to many. הַחֲרִישׁ (once, ch. xi. 3, to cause to keep silence) here, as usually: to be silent. בְּרִי, as ch. xviii. 13, vol. i. p. 323. בְּרִי signifies the relation of the matter, a matter of fact, as בְּרִי, facts, Ps. lxxv. 4, cv. 27, cxlv. 5. הֵן (compared by Ew. with הֵן, a measure) signifies grace, χάρις (as synonym. חֶסֶד), here delicate regularity, and is made easy of pronunciation from חֵן, just as the more usual הֵן; the language has avoided the form חֵן, as observed above. לְבִישׁ, clothing, we have

translated "coat of mail," which the Arab. *libās* usually signifies; *לְבִישׁוֹ פָּנָי* is not its face's covering (Schlottm.), which ought to be *לְבִישׁ פָּנָיו*; but *פָּנָי* is the upper or front side turned to the observer (comp. Isa. xxv. 7), as Arab. *وجه*, (*wag'h*), *si rem desuper spectes, summa ejus pars, si ex adverso, prima* (Fleischer, *Glossæ*, i. 57). That which is the "doubled of its mouth" (*רָסוֹ*, prop. a bit in the mouth, then the mouth itself) is its upper and lower jaws armed with powerful teeth. The "doors of the face" are the jaws; the jaws are divided back to the ears, the teeth are not covered by lips; the impression of the teeth is therefore the more terrible, which the substantival clause, ver. 6b (comp. ch. xxxix. 20), affirms. *וְצִנֹּרָהּ* *gen. subjecti*: the circle, *ἔρκος*, which is formed by its teeth (Hahn).

- 7 *A pride are the furrows of the shields,*  
*Shut by a rigid seal.*
- 8 *One joineth on to the other,*  
*And no air entereth between them.*
- 9 *One upon another they are arranged,*  
*They hold fast together, inseparably.*

Since the writer uses *רָסוֹ* both in the signif. *robustus*, ch. xii. 12, and *canalis*, ch. xl. 18, it is doubtful whether it must be explained *robusta (robora) scutorum* (as e.g. Ges.), or *canales scutorum* (Hirz., Schlottm., and others). We now prefer the latter, but so that "furrows of the shields" signifies the square shields themselves bounded by these channels; for only thus is the *רָסוֹ*, which refers to these shields, considered each one for itself, suitably attached to what precedes. *חֻתָּם צָר* is an *acc.* of closer definition belonging to it: closed is (each single one) by a firmly attached, and therefore firmly closed, seal. LXX. remarkably *ὡσπερ σμυρίτης λίθος*, i.e. emery (*vid.* Krause's *Pyrogeteles*, 1859, S. 228). Six rows of knotty scales and four scales of the neck cover

the upper part of the animal's body, in themselves firm, and attached to one another in almost impenetrable layers, as is described in vers. 7 sq. in constantly-varying forms of expression (where *נִשְׁנִי* with *Pathach* beside *Athnach* is the correct reading),—a *נִשְׁנִי*, i.e. an equipment of which the animal may be proud. Umbr. takes *נִשְׁנִי*, with Bochart, = *נִי*, the back; but although in the language much is possible, yet not everything.

- 10 *His sneezing sendeth forth light,*  
*And his eyes are like the eyelids of the dawn;*
- 11 *Out of his mouth proceed flames,*  
*Sparks of fire escape from him;*
- 12 *Out of his nostrils goeth forth smoke*  
*Like a seething pot and caldron;*
- 13 *His breath kindleth coals,*  
*And flames go forth out of his mouth.*

That the crocodile delights to sun itself on the land, and then turns its open jaws to the sunny side, most Nile travellers since Herodotus have had an opportunity of observing;<sup>1</sup> and in connection therewith the reflex action of sneezing may occur, since the light of the sun produces an irritation on the retina, and thence on the vagus; and since the sun shines upon the fine particles of watery slime cast forth in the act of sneezing, a meteoric appearance may be produced. This delicate observation of nature is here compressed into three words; in this concentration of whole, grand thoughts and pictures, we recognise the older poet. *שִׁנִּי* is the usual

<sup>1</sup> Dieterici, *Reisebilder*, i. 194: "We very often saw the animal lying in the sand, its jaws wide open and turned towards the warm sunbeams, while little birds, like the slender white water-wagtail, march quietly about in the deadly abyss, and pick out worms from the watery jaws." Herodotus, ii. 68, tells exactly the same story; as the special friend of the crocodile among little birds, he mentions *τὸν τροχίλον* (the sand-piper, *Pluvianus Ægyptius*).

Semitic word for "sneezing" (synon. נָחַץ, 2 Kings iv. 35). לִחַץ shortened from לִחָץ, ch. xxxi. 26, *Hiph.* of לָחַץ (comp. p. 47). The comparison of the crocodile's eyes with נִחֲשֵׁי-עֵצִים (as ch. iii. 9, from נִחֲשָׁה, to move with quick vibrations, to wink, *i.e.* tremble), or the rendering of the same as εἶδος ἑωςφόρου (LXX.), is the more remarkable, as, according to Horus, i. 68, two crocodile's eyes are the hieroglyph<sup>1</sup> for dawn, ἀνατολή: ἐπειδήπερ (probably to be read ἐπειδὴ πρὸ) παντός σώματος ζῶον οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναφαίνονται. There it is the peculiar brilliancy of the eyes of certain animals that is intended, which is occasioned either by the iris being furnished with a so-called lustrous substance, or there being in the pupil of the eye (as *e.g.* in the ostrich) that spot which, shining like metal, is called *tapetum lucidum*. For ἀναφαίνεσθαι of the eyes ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ, is the lustre of the pupil in the depth of the eye. The eyes of the crocodile, which are near together, and slanting, glimmer through the water, when it is only a few feet under water, with a red glow.

Nevertheless the comparison in ver. 10b might also be intended differently. The inner (third) eyelid<sup>2</sup> of the croco-

<sup>1</sup> The eyes of the crocodile alone by themselves are no hieroglyph: how could they have been represented by themselves as *crocodile's eyes*? But in the Ramesseum and elsewhere the crocodile appears with a head pointing upwards in company with couching lions, and the *eyes* of the crocodile are rendered specially prominent. Near this group it appears again in a curved position, and quite small, but this time in company with a scorpion which bears a disc of the sun. The former (κροκοδείλου δύο ὀφθαλμοί) seems to me to be a figure of the longest night, the latter (κροκοδείλος κεκυφώς in Horapollo) of the shortest, so that consequently ἀνατολή and δύσις do not refer to the rising and setting of the sun, but to the night as prevailing against or succumbing to the day (communicated by Lauth from his researches on the astronomical monuments). But since the growth of the day begins with the longest night, and *vice versâ*, the notions ἀνατολή and δύσις can, as it seems to me, retain their most natural signification; and the crocodile's eyes are, notwithstanding, a figure of the light shining forth from the darkness, as the crocodile's tail signifies black darkness (and Egypt as the black land).

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Will refers the figure not to the third eyelid or the *membrana*

dile is itself a rose red ; and therefore, considered in themselves, its eyes may also be compared with the "eyelids of the dawn." What is then said, vers. 11-13, of the crocodile, Achilles Tattius, iv. 2, says of the hippopotamus : *μυκτῆρ ἐπὶ μέγα κεχρηῶς καὶ πνέων πυρώδη καπνὸν ὡς ἀπὸ πηγῆς πυρός*. Bartram has observed on the alligator, that as it comes on the land a thick smoke issues from its distended nostrils with a thundering sound. This thick, hot steam, according to the credible description which is presented here, produces the impression of a fire existing beneath, and bursting forth. The subjective truth of this impression is faithfully but poetically reproduced by the poet. On כִּירוֹר (root כר, *excudere*), *vid.* i. 408. הִתְמַלֵּט signifies no more than to disentangle one's self, here therefore : to fly out in small particles. אֲנָמֹן, ver. 12b, is rendered by Saad., Gecat., and others, by *qumqum* (קומקום), a caldron ; the modern expositors derive it from אָגַם = *agama*, to glow, and understand it of a "heated caldron." But the word signifies either heat or caldron ; the latter signification, however, cannot be linguistically established ; one would look for אֲנָגָה (Arab. *iggâne*, a copper [Germ. *Waschkessel*]). The noun אֲנָמֹן signifies, ch. xl. 26, the reed *σχοῖνος*, and in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Sota* ix. 12, some menial service (comp. Arab. *ugum*) ; Ew. rightly retains the former signification, like a pot blown upon, *i.e.* fired, heated, and beside it (in combination with it) reeds as fuel, which in themselves, and especially together with the steaming water, produce a thick smoke. The *Waw* is to be compared to the Arabic *Waw concomitantia* (which governs the *acc.*).

*nictitans*, but to that spot on the *choroidea*, glistening with a metallic lustre, which the crocodile has in common with most animals of the night or the twilight, therefore to the brilliancy of its eye, which shines by virtue of its lustrous coating ; *vid.* the magnificent head of a crocodile in Schlegel's *Amphibien-Abbildungen* (1837-44).

- 14 *Great strength resteth upon his neck,  
And despair danceth hence before him.*  
 15 *The flanks of his flesh are thickly set,  
Fitting tightly to him, immoveable.*  
 16 *His heart is firm like stone,  
And firm like the nether millstone.*  
 17 *The mighty are afraid of his rising up;  
From alarm they miss their aim.*

Overpowering strength lodges on its neck, *i.e.* has its abiding place there, and before it despair, prop. melting away, dissolution (הִתְאַבָּה from יָאָב, זָאָב = דָּוָב *Hiph.*, זָאָב II., to bring into a loose condition, *synon.* הִתְאַבָּס), dances hence, *i.e.* springs up and away (יָרָץ, Arab. *jadisū*, to run away), *i.e.* it spreads before it a despondency which produces terror, and puts one to flight. Even the pendulous fleshy parts (מַפְלִי), especially of its belly, hang close together, רַבְּקִי, *i.e.* they are not flabby, but fit to it, like a metal casting, without moving, for the skin is very thick and covered with thick scales; and because the digestive apparatus of the animal occupies but little space, and the scales of the back are continued towards the belly, the tender parts appear smaller, narrower, and closer together than in other animals. יָצִיק here is not, as ch. xxviii. 2, xxix. 6, the *fut.* of יָצַק, but the *part.* of יָצַק, as also ver. 16*ab*: its heart is firm and obdurate, as though it were of cast brass, hard as stone, and in fact as the nether millstone (מִלֵּחַ from פָּלַח, *falacha*, to split, crush in pieces), which, because it has to bear the weight and friction of the upper, must be particularly hard. It is not intended of actual stone-like hardness, but only of its indomitable spirit and great tenacity of life: the activity of its heart is not so easily disturbed, and even fatal wounds do not so quickly bring it to a stand. מִשְׁתּוֹ (from שָׁת = שָׁאָת = שָׁאָה), primary form שָׁאָה, is better understood in the active sense: afraid of its rising, than the passive: of its exaltedness. אֵילִים (according

to another reading אֵלִים is not, with Ew., to be derived from אֵיל (Arab. *ijal*), a ram; but אֵילִים Ex. xv. 15, Ezek. xvii. 13 (comp. גִּירִים 2 Chron. ii. 16, גִּירִי 2 Sam. xxii. 29), אֵלִים Ezek. xxxi. 11, xxxii. 21, and אֵילִים *Cheth.* 2 Kings xxiv. 15, are only alternating forms and modes of writing of the participial adject., derived from אֵיל (אֵיל) first of all in the primary form *awil* (as גִּיר = *gawir*). The signif. assigned to the verb אֵיל: to be thick = fleshy, which is said then to go over into the signif. to be stupid and strong (*Ges. Handwörterb.*), rests upon a misconception: *āla* is said of fluids "to become thick," because they are condensed, since they go back, *i.e.* sink in or settle (*Ges.* correctly in *Thes.*: *notio crassitie a retrocedendo*). The verb *āla*, *ja'ūlu*, unites in itself the significations to go backward, to be forward, and to rule; the last two: *anterior* and *superior* *esse*, probably belong together, and אֵיל signifies, therefore, a possessor of power, who is before and over others. הִתְחַפֵּיתָ, ver. 17b, has the signif., which does not otherwise occur, to miss the mark (from חָטָא, חָטִי', to miss, *opp.* صَاب, to hit the mark), viz. (which is most natural where אֵילִים is the subject spoken of) since they had designed the slaughter and capture of the monster. נִשְׁבְּרִים is intended subjectively, as הִבְרִיא = פָּחַד Ex. xv. 16, Targ. II., and also as the Arab. *thubûr*, employed more in reference to the mind, can be used of pain.

- 18 *If one reacheth him with the sword—it doth not hold;  
Neither spear, nor dart, nor harpoon.*
- 19 *He esteemeth iron as straw,  
Brass as rotten wood.*
- 20 *The son of the bow doth not cause him to flee,  
Sling stones are turned to stubble with him.*
- 21 *Clubs are counted as stubble,  
And he laugheth at the shaking of the spear.*

כַּשִּׁינִיחַ, which stands first as *nom. abs.*, "one reaching him," is equivalent to, if one or whoever reaches him, Ew. § 357, c, to which תָּקוּם בְּלִי, it does not hold fast (בְּלִי with *v. fin.*, as Hos. viii. 7, ix. 16, *Chethib*), is the conclusion. חָרֵב is instrumental, as Ps. xvii. 13. מַפֵּעַ, from נָזַע, to move on, hasten on, signifies a missile, as Arab. *minz'a*, an arrow, *manz'a*, a sling. The Targ. supports this latter signification here (*funda quæ projicit lapidem*); but since קָלַע, the hand-sling, is mentioned separately, the word appears to mean missiles in general, or the catapult. In this combination of weapons of attack it is very questionable whether שִׁרְיָה is a cognate form of שִׁרְיָן (שִׁרְיָן), a coat of mail; probably it is equivalent to Arab. *sirwe* (*surwe*), an arrow with a long broad edge (comp. *seriye*, a short, round, as it seems, pear-shaped arrow-head), therefore perhaps a harpoon or a peculiarly formed dart.<sup>1</sup> "The son of the bow" (and of the אֶשְׁפָּה, *pharetra*) is the arrow. That the ἀπ. γερρ. תִּוְתָה signifies a club (war-club), is supported by the Arab. *watacha*, to beat. פִּירִין (*vid.* i. 408), in distinction from הַיָּתִית (a long lance), is a short spear, or rather, since רָעַשׁ implies a whistling motion, a javelin. Iron the crocodile esteems as תִּבְנוֹ, *tibn*, chopped straw; sling stones are turned with him into קֶשֶׁת. Such is the name here at least, not for stumps of cut stubble that remain standing, but the straw itself, threshed and easily driven before the wind (ch. xiii. 25), which is cut up for provender (Ex. v. 12), generally dried (and for that reason light) stalks (*e.g.* of grass), or even any remains of plants (*e.g.* splinters of wood).<sup>2</sup> The *plur.* נִהְשְׁבוּ, ver. 21a,

<sup>1</sup> On the various kinds of Egyptian arrows, *vid.* Klemm, *Culturgeschichte*, v. 371 f.

<sup>2</sup> The Egyptio-Arabic usage has here more faithfully preserved the ancient signification of the word (*vid.* Fleischer, *Glossæ*, p. 37) than the Syro-Arabic; for in Syria cut but still unthreshed corn, whether lying in swaths out in the field and weighted with stones to protect it against the whirlwinds that are frequent about noon, or corn already



does not seem to be occasioned by תותח being conceived collectively, but by the fact that, instead of saying תותח וּבִידֶן, the poet has formed וּבִידֶן into a separate clause. Parchon's (and Kimchi's) reading תֹּחָה is founded upon an error.

- 22 *His under parts are the sharpest shards,  
He spreadeth a threshing sledge upon the mire.*  
23 *He maketh the deep foam like a caldron,  
He maketh the sea like a pot of ointment.*  
24 *He lighteth up the path behind him,  
One taketh the water-flood for hoary hair.*  
25 *Upon earth there is not his equal,  
That is created without fear.*  
26 *He looketh upon everything high,  
He is the king over every proud beast.*

Under it, or, תַּחְתָּיו taken like תַּחַת, ch. xli. 3, as a virtual subject (*vid.* ch. xxviii. 5, p. 98): its under parts are the most pointed or sharpest shards, *i.e.* it is furnished with exceedingly pointed scales. חֲדִיד is the intensive form of חָדַר (Arab. *hadid*, sharpened = iron, p. 94, note), as חָלִיק, 1 Sam. xvii. 40, of חָלָק (smooth),<sup>1</sup> and the combination חֲדִידֵי הַחָרָשׁ (equal the combination חֲדִירֵי הַחָרָשִׁים, comp. ch. xxx. 6) is moreover superlative: in the domain of shards standing prominent as sharp ones, as Arab. *chairu unmatin*, the best people, prop. *bon en fait de peuple* (Ew. § 313, c, *Gramm. Arab.* § 532). LXX. ἡ σιδερωμένη αὐτοῦ ὀβελλίσκοι ὀξεῖς, by drawing יִרְפֹּר to ver. 22a, and so translating as though it were רִפְּרוֹתוֹ (Arab. *rifâde*, *stratum*). The verb רָפַד (*rafada*),

brought to the threshing-floors but not yet threshed, is called *qashsh*.—WETZST.

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic also this substantival form is intensive, *e.g.* *lebbân*, an exceedingly large kind of tile, dried in the open air, of which farm-yards are built, nearly eight times larger than the common tile, which is called *libne* (لَبْنَة).

cogn. כִּכְרִי, signifies *sternere* (ch. xvii. 13), and then also *fulcire*; what is predicated cannot be referred to the belly of the crocodile, the scales of which are smooth, but to the tail with its scales, which more or less strongly protrude, are edged round by a shallow cavity, and therefore are easily and sharply separated when pressed; and the meaning is, that when it presses its under side in the morass, it appears as though a threshing-sledge with its iron teeth had been driven across it.

The pictures in ver. 23 are true to nature; Bartram, who saw two alligators fighting, says that their rapid passage was marked by the surface of the water as it were boiling. With מְצוּלָה, a whirlpool, abyss, depth (from צָלַל = צָלַל, to hiss, clash; to whirl, surge), מַיְמֵי alternates; the Nile even in the present day is called *bahr* (sea) by the Beduins, and also compared, when it overflows its banks, to a sea. The observation that the animal diffuses a strong odour of musk, has perhaps its share in the figure of the pot of ointment (LXX. ὄσπερ ἐξάλειπτρον, which Zwingli falsely translates *spongia*); a double gland in the tail furnishes the Egyptians and Americans their (pseudo) musk. In ver. 24a the bright white trail that the crocodile leaves behind it on the surface of the water is intended; in ver. 24b the figure is expressed which underlies the descriptions of the foaming sea with πολίος, *canus*, in the classic poets. שֵׁיבָה, hoary hair, was to the ancients the most beautiful, most awe-inspiring whiteness. מְשָׁלִי, ver. 25a, understood by the Targ., Syr., Arab. version, and most moderns (e.g. Hahn: there is not on earth any mastery over it), according to Zech. ix. 10, is certainly, with LXX., Jer., and Umbr., not to be understood differently from the Arab. *mithlahu* (its equal); whether it be an inflexion of מְשָׁל, or what is more probable, of מְשָׁל (comp. ch. xvii. 6, where this *nomen actionis* signifies a proverb = word of derision, and הִתְמַשֵּׁל, to compare one's self, be equal, ch. xxx. 19). עַל-עָפָר

is also Hebr.-Arab.; the Arabic uses *turbe*, formed from *turáb* (*vid.* on ch. xix. 25), of the surface of the earth, and *et-tarbá-u* as the name of the earth itself. הָעָשׂוּי (for הָעָשׂוּי, as עָשׂוּי, ch. xv. 22, *Cheth.* = עָשׂוּי, resolved from עָשׂוּי, 'asúw, 1 Sam. xxv. 18, *Cheth.*) is the confirmatory predicate of the logical subj. described in ver. 25a as incomparable; and לְבַלְיַחַת (from בַּח, the *ā* of which becomes *ī* in inflexion), *absque terrore* (comp. ch. xxxviii. 41), is virtually a nom. of the predicate: the created one (becomes) a terrorless one (a being that is terrified by nothing). Everything high, as the לְבַלְיַחַת, ver. 26a, is more exactly explained, it looketh upon, *i.e.* remains standing before it, without turning away affrighted; in short, it (the leviathan) is king over all the sons of pride, *i.e.* every beast of prey that proudly roams about (*vid.* on ch. xxviii. 8).

[Then Job answered Jehovah, and said:]

Ch. xlii. 2 *Now I know that Thou canst do all things,  
And no plan is impracticable to Thee.*

3 "Who then hideth counsel—  
Without knowledge?"

*Thus have I judged without understanding,  
What was too wonderful for me, without knowing.*

He indeed knew previously what he acknowledges in ver. 2, but now this knowledge has risen upon him in a new divinely-worked clearness, such as he has not hitherto experienced. Those strange but wondrous monsters are a proof to him that God is able to put everything into operation, and that the plans according to which He acts are beyond the reach of human comprehension. If even that which is apparently most contradictory, rightly perceived, is so glorious, his affliction is also no such monstrous injustice as he thinks; on the contrary, it is a profoundly elaborated מְזִמָּה, a well-digested, wise עֵצָה of God. In ver. 3 he repeats to himself the

chastening word of Jehovah, ch. xxxviii. 2, while he chastens himself with it; for he now perceives that his judgment was wrong, and that he consequently has merited the reproof. With לָכֵן he draws a conclusion from this confession which the chastening word of Jehovah has presented to him: he has rashly pronounced an opinion upon things that lie beyond his power of comprehension, without possessing the necessary capacity of judging and perception. On the mode of writing יָדַעְתִּי, *Cheth.*, which recalls the Syriac form *jed'et* (with the pronominal *suff.* cast off), *vid.* Ges. § 44, rem. 4; on the expression ver. 2*b*, comp. Gen. xi. 6. The repetition of ch. xxxviii. 2 in ver. 3 is not without some variations according to the custom of authors noticed in *Psalter*, i. 330. הִנֵּנִי, "I have affirmed," *i.e.* judged, is, ver. 3*c*, a closed thought, which, however, then receives its object, ver. 3*d*, so that the notion of judging goes over into that of pronouncing a judgment. The clauses with לָכֵן are circumstantial clauses, Ew. § 341, *a*.

- 4 *O hear now, and I will speak:*  
*I will ask Thee, and instruct Thou me.*  
 5 *I had heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear,*  
*And now mine eye hath seen Thee.*  
 6 *Therefore I am sorry, and I repent*  
*In dust and ashes.*

The words employed after the manner of entreaty, in ver. 4, Job also takes from the mouth of Jehovah, ch. xxxviii. 3, xl. 7. Hitherto Jehovah has interrogated him, in order to bring him to a knowledge of his ignorance and weakness. Now, however, after he has thoroughly perceived this, he is anxious to put questions to Jehovah, in order to penetrate deeper and deeper into the knowledge of the divine power and wisdom. Now for the first time with him, the true, living perception of God has its beginning, being no longer

effected by tradition (י of the external cause: in consequence of the tidings which came to my ears, comp. Ps. xviii. 45, comp. Isa. xxiii. 5), but by direct communication with God. In this new light he can no longer deceive himself concerning God and concerning himself; the delusion of the conflict now yields to the vision of the truth, and only penitential sorrow for his sin towards God remains to him. The object to אָפָא is his previous conduct. נָחַם is the exact expression for μετανοεῖν, the godly sorrow of repentance not to be repented of. He repents (sitting) on dust and ashes after the manner of those in deep grief.

If the second speech of Jehovah no longer has to do with the exaltation and power of God in general, but is intended to answer Job's doubt concerning the justice of the divine government of the world, the long passage about the hippopotamus and the crocodile, ch. xl. 15-xli. 26, in this second speech seems to be devoid of purpose and connection. Even Eichhorn and Bertholdt on this account suppose that the separate portions of the two speeches of Jehovah have fallen into disorder. Stuhlmann, Bernstein, and De Wette, on the other hand, explained the second half of the description of the leviathan, ch. xli. 4-26, as a later interpolation; for this part is thought to be inflated, and to destroy the connection between Jehovah's concluding words, ch. xli. 2, 3, and Job's answer, ch. xlii. 2-6. Ewald forcibly rejected the whole section, ch. xl. 15-xli. 26, by ascribing it to the writer of Elihu's speeches,—an opinion which he has again more recently abandoned. In fact, this section ought to have had a third poet as its writer. But he would be the double (*Doppelgänger*) of the first; for, deducting the somewhat tame אֶל אַחֲרֵי־כֵן, ch. xli. 4,—which, however, is introduced by the interrupted description being resumed, in order now to begin in real earnest,—this section stands upon an equally exalted height with the rest of the book as a poetic production

and lofty description; and since it has not only, as also Elihu's speeches, an Arabizing tinge, but also the poetic genius, the rich fountain of thought, the perfection of technical detail, in common with the rest of the book; and since the writer of the book of Job also betrays elsewhere an acquaintance with Egypt, and an especial interest in things Egyptian, the authenticity of the section is by no means doubted by us, but we freely adopt the originality of its present position.

But before one doubts the originality of its position, he ought, first of all, to make an earnest attempt to comprehend the portion in its present connection, into which it at any rate has not fallen from pure thoughtlessness. The first speech of Jehovah, moreover, was surprisingly different from what was to have been expected, and yet we recognised in it a deep consistency with the plan; perhaps the same thing is also the case in connection with the second.

After Job has answered the first speech of Jehovah by a confession of penitence, the second can have no other purpose but that of strengthening the conviction, which urges to this confession, and of deepening the healthful tone from which it proceeds. The object of censure here is no longer Job's contending with Jehovah in general, but Job's contending with Jehovah on account of the prosperity of the evil-doer, which is irreconcilable with divine justice; that contending by which the sufferer, in spite of the shadow which affliction casts upon him, supported the assertion of his own righteousness. Here also, as a result, the refutation follows in the only way consistent with the dignity of Jehovah, and so that Job must believe in order to perceive, and does not perceive in order not to be obliged to believe. Without arguing the matter with Job, as to why many things in the government of the world are thus and not rather otherwise, Jehovah challenges Job to take the government of the

world into his own hand, and to give free course to his wrath, to cast down everything that is exalted, and to render the evil-doer for ever harmless. By thus thinking of himself as the ruler of the world, Job is obliged to recognise the cutting contrast of his feebleness and the divine rule, with which he has ventured to find fault; at the same time, however, he is taught, that—what he would never be able to do—God really punishes the ungodly, and must have wise purposes when, which He indeed might do, He does not allow the floods of His wrath to be poured forth immediately.

Thus far also Simson is agreed; but what is the design of the description of the two Egyptian monsters, which are regarded by him as by Ewald as out of place here? To show Job how little capable he is of governing the world, and how little he would be in a position to execute judgment on the evil-doer, two creatures are described to him, two unslain monsters of gigantic structure and invincible strength, which defy all human attack. These two descriptions are, we think, designed to teach Job how little capable of passing sentence upon the evil-doer he is, who cannot even draw a cord through the nose of the behemoth, and who, if he once attempted to attack the leviathan, would have reason to remember it so long as he lived, and would henceforth let it alone. It is perhaps an emblem that is not without connection with the book of Job, that these *בהמות* and *ליתן* (תנין), in the language of the Prophets and the Psalms, are the symbols of a worldly power at enmity with the God of redemption and His people. And wherefore should Job's confession, ch. xlii. 2, not be suitably attached to the completed description of the leviathan, especially as the description is divided into two parts by the utterances of Jehovah, ch. xli. 2, 3, which retrospectively and prospectively set it in the right light for Job?

## THE UNRAVELMENT IN OUTWARD REALITY.—

## CHAP. XLII. 7 SQQ.

Job's confession and tone of penitence are now perfected. He acknowledges the divine omnipotence which acts according to a wisely-devised scheme, in opposition to his total ignorance and feebleness. A world of divine wisdom, of wondrous thoughts of God, now lies before him, concerning which he knows nothing of himself, but would gladly learn a vast amount by the medium of divine instruction. To these mysteries his affliction also belongs. He perceives it now to be a wise decree of God, beneath which he adoringly bows, but it is nevertheless a mystery to him. Sitting in dust and ashes, he feels a deep contrition for the violence with which he has roughly handled and shaken the mystery,—now will it continue, that he bows beneath the enshrouded mystery? No, the final teaching of the book is not that God's rule demands *faith* before everything else; the final teaching is, that sufferings are for the righteous man the way to glory, and that his faith is the way to sight. The most craving desire, for the attainment of which Job hopes where his faith breaks forth from under the ashes, is this, that he will once more behold God, even if he should succumb to his affliction. This desire is granted him ere he yields. For he who hitherto has only heard of Jehovah, can now say: עתה עיני ראתך; his perception of God has entered upon an entirely new stage. But first of all God has only borne witness of Himself to him, to call him to repentance. Now, however, since the rust of pollution is purged away from Job's pure soul, He can also appear as his Vindicator and Redeemer. After all that was sinful in his speeches is blotted out by repentance, there remains only the truth of his innocence, which God Himself testifies to him, and the



truth of his holding fast to God in the hot battle of temptation, by which, without his knowing it, he has frustrated the design of Satan.

Ver. 7. *And it came to pass, after Jehovah had spoken these words to Job, that Jehovah said to Eliphaz the Temanite, My wrath is kindled against thee and thy two friends: for ye have not spoken what is correct in reference to Me, as My servant Job.*

In order that they may only maintain the justice of God, they have condemned Job against their better knowledge and conscience; therefore they have abandoned truth in favour of the justice of God,—a defence which, as Job has told the friends, God abhors. Nevertheless He is willing to be gracious.

Ver. 8. *And now take unto you seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to My servant Job, and offer an offering for yourselves, and Job My servant shall pray for you; only his person will I accept, that I recompense not unto you your folly: for ye have not spoken what is correct in reference to Me, as My servant Job.*

Schlottm., like Ew., translates נְכוֹנָה what is sincere, and understands it of Job's inward truthfulness, in opposition to the words of the friends contrary to their better knowledge and conscience. But נָכוֹן has not this signification anywhere: it signifies either *directum* = *rectum* or *erectum* = *stabile*, but not *sincerum*. However, objective truth and subjective truthfulness are here certainly blended in the notion "correct." The "correct" in Job's speeches consists of his having denied that affliction is always a punishment of sin, and in his holding fast the consciousness of his innocence, without suffering himself to be persuaded of the opposite. That denial was correct; and this truthfulness was more precious to God than

the untruthfulness of the friends, who were zealous for the honour of God.

After Job has penitently acknowledged his error, God decides between him and the friends according to his previous supplicatory wish, ch. xvi. 21. The heavenly Witness makes Himself heard on earth, and calls Job by the sweet name of עֲבָדִי. And the servant of Jehovah is not only favoured himself, but he also becomes the instrument of grace to sinners. As when his faith shone forth he became the prophet of his own and the friends' future, so now he is the priestly mediator between the friends and God. The friends against whom God is angry, but yet not as against רִשְׁעִים, but only as against those who have erred, must bring an offering as their atonement, in connection with which Job shall enter in with a priestly intercession for them, and only him (גִּי אִם, *non alium sed = non nisi*), whom they regarded as one punished of God, will God accept (comp. Gen. xix. 21)—under what deep shame must it have opened their eyes!

Here also, as in the introduction of the book, it is the עֹלָה which effects the atonement. It is the oldest and, according to its meaning, the most comprehensive of all the blood-offerings. Bulls and rams are also the animals for the whole burnt-offerings of the Mosaic ritual; the proper animal for the sin-offering, however, is the he-goat together with the she-goat, which do not occur here, because the age and scene are strange to the Israelitish branching off of the עֹלָה from the חַטָּאת. The double seven gives the mark of the profoundest solemnity to the offering that was to be offered. The three also obey the divine direction; for although they have erred, God's will is above everything in their estimation, and they cheerfully subordinate themselves as friends to the friend.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hence the Talmudic proverb (*vid.* Fürst's *Perlenschnüre*, S. 80): אוֹ חַיִּים אוֹ מֵיתוֹת, either a friend like Job's friends or death!

Ver. 9. *Then Eliphaz of Teman, and Bildad of Shuah, [and] Zophar of Naamah, went forth and did as Jehovah had said to them; and Jehovah accepted the person of Job.*

Jehovah has now risen up as a witness for Job, the spiritual redemption is already accomplished; and all that is wanting is, that He who has acknowledged and testified to Job as His servant should also act outwardly and visibly, and in mercy show Himself the righteous One.

Ver. 10. *And Jehovah turned the captivity of Job, when he prayed for his friends; and Jehovah increased everything that Job had possessed to the double.*

יָעָרָה is to be understood generally, as ch. xvi. 21, and the פְּ signifies not "because," but "when." The moment in which Job prayed for his friends became, as the climax of a life that is well-pleasing with God, the turning-point of glory to him. The Talmud has borrowed from here the true proverb: כֹּל-הַמִּתְפַּלֵּל בְּעַד חֲבֵרוֹ נִעְנָה חֲחֻלָּה, i.e. he who prays for his fellow-men always finds acceptance for himself first of all. The phrase שׁוּב שְׁבִיטָה (שְׁבִיטָה) signifies properly to turn captivity, then in general to make an end of misery; also in German, *elend*, old High Germ. *elilenti*, originally signified another, foreign country (*vid. Psalter*, ii. 192), since an involuntary removal from one's native land is regarded as the emblem of a lamentable condition. This phrase does not exactly stamp Job as the *Mashal* of the Israel of the Exile, but it favoured this interpretation. Now when Job was recovered, and doubly blessed by God, as is also promised to the Israel of the Exile, Isa. lxi. 7 and freq., sympathizing friends also appeared in abundance.

Ver. 11. *Then came to him all his brothers, and all his sisters, and all his former acquaintances, and ate bread with him*

*in his house, and expressed sympathy with him, and comforted him concerning all the evil which Jehovah had brought upon him; and each one gave him a Kesitá, and each a golden ring.*

Prosperity now brought those together again whom calamity had frightened away; for the love of men is scarcely anything but a number of coarse or delicate shades of selfishness. Now they all come and rejoice at Job's prosperity, viz. in order to bask therein. He, however, does not thrust them back; for the judge concerning the final motives of human love is God, and love which is shown to us is certainly more worthy of thanks than hatred. They are his guests again, and he leaves them to their own shame. And now their tongues, that were halting thus far, are all at once become eloquent: they mingle congratulations and comfort with their expressions of sorrow at his past misfortune. It is now an easy matter, that no longer demands their faith. They even bring him each one a present. In everything it is manifest that Jehovah has restored His servant to honour. Everything is now subordinated to him, who was accounted as one forsaken of God. קְשִׁיטָה is a piece of metal weighed out, of greater value than the shekel, moreover indefinite, since it is nowhere placed in the order of the Old Testament system of weights and measures, adapted to the patriarchal age, Gen. xxxiii. 19, in which Job's history falls.<sup>1</sup> נְזָמִים are rings for the nose and ear; according to Ex. xxxii. 3, an ornament of the women and men.

The author now describes the manner of Job's being blessed.

<sup>1</sup> According to *b. Rosch ha-Schana*, 26a, R. Akiba found the word קְשִׁיטָה in Africa in the signification טַעֲמָה (coin), as a Targ. (*vid.* Aruch, s.v. קְשִׁיטָה) also translates; the Arab. *qist* at least signifies balances and weight.

Ver. 12. *And Jehovah blessed Job's end more than his beginning; and he had fourteen thousand sheep and six thousand camels, and a thousand yoke of oxen and a thousand she-asses.*

The numbers of the stock of cattle, ch. i. 3,<sup>1</sup> now appear doubled, but it is different with the children.

Ver. 13. *And he had seven sons and three daughters.*

Therefore, instead of the seven sons and three daughters which he had, he receives just the same again, which is also so far a doubling, as deceased children also, according to the Old Testament view, are not absolutely lost, 2 Sam. xii. 23. The author of this book, in everything to the most minute thing consistent, here gives us to understand that with men who die and depart from us the relation is different from that with things which we have lost. The pausal נִבְעָנָה (instead of נִבְעָנָה), with paragogic *âna*, which otherwise is a *fem. suff.* (Ges. § 91, rem. 2), here, however, standing in a

<sup>1</sup> Job, like all the wealthier husbandmen in the present day, kept she-asses, although they are three times dearer than the male, because they are useful for their foals; it is not for the sake of their milk, for the Semites do not milk asses and horses. Moreover, the foals are also only a collateral gain, which the poor husbandman, who is only able to buy a he-ass, must forego. What renders this animal indispensable in husbandry is, that it is the common and (since camels are extremely rare among the husbandmen) almost exclusive means of transport. How would the husbandman, e.g., be able to carry his seed for sowing to a field perhaps six or eight miles distant? Not on the plough, as our farmers do, for the plough is transported on the back of the oxen in Syria. How would he be able to get the corn that was to be ground (*tachne*) to the mill, perhaps a day's journey distant; how carry wood and grass, how get the manure upon the field in districts that require to be manured, if he had not an ass? The camels, on the other hand, serve for harvesting (*ragâd*), and the transport of grain (*ghalle*), chopped straw (*tibn*), fuel (*hatab*), and the like, to the large inland towns, and to the seaports. Those village communities that do not possess camels for this purpose, hire them of the Arabs (nomads).—WETZST.

prominent position, is an embellishment somewhat violently brought over from the style of the primeval histories (Gen. xxi. 29; Ruth i. 19): a septiad of sons. The names of the sons are passed over in silence, but those of the daughters are designedly given.

Ver. 14. *And the one was called Jemîma, and the second Keziâ, and the third Keren ha-pûch.*

The subject of יְמִימָה is each and every one, as Isa. ix. 5 (comp. *supra*, ch. xli. 24, *existimaverit quis*). The one was called יְמִימָה (Arab. *jemâme*, a dove) on account of her dove's eyes; the other קֶרֶן הַפִּיחַ, cassia, because she seemed to be woven out of the odour of cinnamon; and the third קֶרֶן הַפִּיחַ, a horn of paint (LXX. Hellenizing: *κέρας ἀμαλθείας*), which is not exactly beautiful in itself, but is the principal cosmetic of female beauty (*vid.* Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, transl.): the third was altogether the most beautiful, possessing a beauty heightened by artificial means. They were therefore like three graces. The writer here keeps to the outward appearance, not disowning his Old Testament standpoint. That they were what their names implied, he says in

Ver. 15. *And in all the land there were not found women so fair as the daughters of Job: and their father gave them inheritance among their brothers.*

On מְצָאָה, followed by the *acc.*, *vid.* Ges. § 143, 1, *b.* מְצָאָה, etc., referring to the daughters, is explained from the deficiency in Hebrew in the distinction of the genders. Ver. 15*b* sounds more Arabian than Israelitish, for the Thora only recognises a daughter as heiress where there are no sons, Num. xxvii. 8 sqq. The writer is conscious that he is writing an extra-Israelitish pre-Mosaic history. The equal distribution of the property again places before our eyes the

pleasing picture of family concord in the commencement of the history; at the same time it implies that Job will not have been wanting in sons-in-law for his fair, richly-dowried daughters,—a fact which ver. 16 establishes:

*And Job lived after this a hundred and forty years, and saw his children and his children's children to four generations.*

In place of וַיֵּחַי, the *Keri* gives the unusual Aorist form וַיֵּחַיֵּה, which, however, does also occur elsewhere (e.g. 1 Sam. xvii. 42). The style of the primeval histories, which we here everywhere recognise, Gen. i. 23 (comp. Isa. liii. 10), is retained to the last words.

Ver. 17. *And Job died, old, and weary of life.*

In the very same manner Genesis, xxv. 8, xxxv. 29, records the end of the patriarchs. They died satiated of life; for long life is a gift of God, but neither His greatest nor His final gift.

A New Testament poet would have closed the book of Job differently. He would have shown us how, becoming free from his inward conflict of temptation, and being divinely comforted, Job succumbs to his disease, but waves his palm of victory before the throne of God among the innumerable hosts of those who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. The Old Testament poet, however, could begin his book with a celestial scene, but not end it with the same. True, in some passages, which are like New Testament luminous points in the Old Testament poem, Job dares to believe and to hope that God will indeed acknowledge him after death. But this is a purely individual aspiration of faith—the extreme of hope, which comes forth against the extreme of fear. The unravelment does not correspond to this aspiration. The view of heaven

which a Christian poet would have been able to give at the close of the book is only rendered possible by the resurrection and ascension of Christ. So far, what Oehler in his essay on the Old Testament Wisdom (1854, S. 28) says, in opposition to those who think the book of Job is directed against the Mosaic doctrine of retribution, is true: that, on the contrary, the issue of the book sanctions the present life phase of this doctrine anew. But the comfort which this theologically and artistically incomparable book presents to us is substantially none other than that of the New Testament. For the final consolation of every sufferer is not dependent upon the working of good genii in the heavens, but has its seat in God's love, without which even heaven would become a very hell. Therefore the book of Job is also a book of consolation for the New Testament church. From it we learn that we have not only to fight with flesh and blood, but with the prince of this world, and to accomplish our part in the conquest of evil, to which, from Gen. iii. 15 onwards, the history of the world tends; that faith and avenging justice are absolutely distinct opposites; that the right kind of faith clings to divine love in the midst of the feeling of wrath; that the incomprehensible ways of God always lead to a glorious issue; and that the suffering of the present time is far outweighed by the future glory—a glory not always revealed in this life and visibly future, but the final glory above. The nature of faith, the mystery of the cross, the right practice of the care of souls,—this, and much besides, the church learns from this book, the whole teaching of which can never be thoroughly learned and completely exhausted.





# APPENDIX.

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## THE MONASTERY OF JOB IN HAURAN, AND THE TRADITION OF JOB.

(WITH A MAP OF THE DISTRICT.)

BY J. G. WETZSTEIN.

THE oral tradition of a people is in general only of very subordinate value from a scientific point of view when it has reference to an extremely remote past; but that of the Arabs especially, which is always combined with traditions and legends, renders the simplest facts perplexing, and wantonly clothes the images of prominent persons in the most wonderful garbs, and, in general, so rapidly disfigures every object, that after a few generations it is no longer recognisable. So far as it has reference to the personality of Job, whose historical existence is called in question or denied by some expositors, it may be considered as altogether worthless, but one can recognise when it speaks of Job's native country. By the אֶרֶץ יוֹב the writer of the book of Job meant a definite district, which was well known to the people for whom he wrote; but the name has perished, like many others, and all the efforts of archæologists to assign to the land its place in the map of Palestine have been fruitless. Under these circumstances the matter is still open to discussion, and the tradition respecting Job has some things to authorize it.

True, it cannot of itself make up for the want of an historical testimony, but it attains a certain value if it is old, *i.e.* if it can be traced back about to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, when reliable information was still obtainable respecting that district, although its name was no longer in use.

In all the larger works of travel on Palestine and Syria, we find it recorded that *Haurán* is there called Job's fatherland. In Hauran itself the traveller hears this constantly; if any one speaks of the fruitfulness of the whole district, or of the fields around a village, he is always answered: Is it not the land of Job (*bilád Êjúb*)? Does it not belong to the villages of Job (*diá Êjúb*)? Thus to Seetzen<sup>1</sup> *Bosrá* was pointed out as a city of Job; and to Eli Smith<sup>2</sup> even the country lying to the east of the mountains was called the land of Job. In *Kanawát*, a very spacious building, belonging to the Roman or Byzantine period, situated in the upper town, was pointed out to me as the summer palace of Job (the inscription 8799 in *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* is taken from it). The shepherds of *Dá'il*, with whom I passed a night on the *Wádi el-Lebwe*, called the place of their encampment Job's pasture-ground. In like manner, the English traveller Buckingham, when he wandered through the *Nukra*, was shown in the distance the village of *Gherbi* (*i.e.* *Chirbet el-ghazale*, which from its size is called *el-chirbe* κατ' ἐξοχήν) as the birthplace and residence of Job,<sup>3</sup> and it seems altogether as though Hauran and the Land of Job are synonymous. But if one inquires particularly for that part of the country in which Job himself dwelt, he is directed to the central point of Hauran, the plain of Hauran (*sahl*

<sup>1</sup> Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, etc., i. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Robinson, *Palästina*, iii. 911 [Germ. edit.].

<sup>3</sup> C. Ritter, *Geogr. von Syr. u. Pal.* ii. 842 [= *Erdkunde*, xv. Pt. 2, p. 842].

*Haurân*),<sup>1</sup> and still more exactly to the district between the towns of *Nawâ* and *Edréât*, which is accounted the most fertile portion of the country, covered with the ruins of villages, monasteries, and single courts, and is even now comparatively well cultivated. Among the nomads as well as among the native agricultural population, this district is called from its formation *Nukra* or *Nukrat esh-Shâm*,<sup>2</sup> a name by which this highly-favoured plain is known and celebrated by the poets in the whole Syrian desert, as far as *Irâk* and *Higâz*.

But even the national writers are acquainted with and frequently make mention of the Hauranitish tradition of Job; yet they do not call Job's home *Nukra*,—for this word, which belongs only to the idiom of the steppe, is unknown to the literature of the language,—but *Bethenûje* (*Batanæa*). It is so called in a detailed statement of the legends of Job:<sup>3</sup> After the death of his father, Job journeyed into Egypt<sup>4</sup> to marry *Rahme* (רַחֲמֵה) the daughter of Ephraim, who had inherited from her grandfather Joseph the robe of beauty; and after he had brought her to his own country, he received from God a mission as prophet to his countrymen, viz. to the inhabitants of Haurân and *Batanæa* (بعثه الله). The historian of Jerusalem, *Mugîr ed-dîn el-Hambeli*, in the chapter on the legends of the prophets, says: "Job came from *el-Ês*,

<sup>1</sup> Whether the word מִישֹׁר, Deut. iii. 10, only signifies the plain of Hauran or its southern continuation, the eastern *Belkâ*, may be doubtful, because in that passage both the Amorite kingdoms are spoken of. But since it is the "cities" of the plain, of which the eastern *Belkâ* can have had but few or none, that are spoken of, מִישֹׁר will surely exclude the latter.

<sup>2</sup> On this name, which belongs to the modern geography of the country, comp. my *Reisebericht über Hauran u. d. Trachonen*, S. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Catalogue of Arab. mss. collected in Damascus by J. G. Wetzstein. Berlin 1863, No. 46, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> [The connection with Egypt, in which these legends place Job, is worthy of observation.—DEL.]

and the Damascene province of *Batanæa* was his property." In like manner, in the *Geography* of *Jâkût el-Hamawî*,<sup>1</sup> under the art. *Bethênje*, it is said: "and in this land lived Job (*wakân Êjûb minhâ*)."

Modern exegetes, as is known, do not take the plain of Hauran, but the mountain range of Hauran with its eastern slope, as the *Provincia Batanæa*. I have sought elsewhere<sup>2</sup> to show the error of this view, and may the more readily confine myself to merely referring to it, as one will be convinced of the correctness of my position in the course of this article. One thing, however, is to be observed here, that the supposition that Basan is so called as being the land of basalt rocks, is an untenable support of this error. The word basalt may be derived from *Βασάντις*, or a secondary formation, *Βασάλτις*, because Basan is exclusively volcanic;<sup>3</sup> but we have no more right to reverse the question, than to say that Damascus may have received its name from the manufacture of damask.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orient. mss. in the Royal Library in Berlin, Sect. Sprenger, No. 7-10.

<sup>2</sup> *Reisebericht*, S. 83-87.

<sup>3</sup> *Vid.* vol. ii. p. 91, comp. p. 93, note 2, of the foregoing Commentary.

<sup>4</sup> In the fair at *Muzêrib* we again saw the sheikh of the *Wêsiye*-Beduins, whose guest we had been a week before at the Springs of Joseph in western *Gôlân*, where he had pitched his tent on a wild spot of ground that had been traversed by lava-streams. In answer to our question whether he still sojourned in that district, he said: "No, indeed! *Nâzîlin el-jôm bi-ard bethêne shêle* (we are now encamped in a district that is completely *bethêne*)."

I had not heard this expression before, and inquired what it meant. The sheikh replied: *bethêne* (بَيْتْنَة) is a stoneless plain covered with rich pasture. I often sought information respecting this word, since I was interested about it on account of the Hebrew word בֶּתְנֵה, and always obtained the same definition. It is a diminutive form, without having exactly a diminutive signification, for in the language of the nomads it is an acknowledged fact that such a form takes the place of the usual form. The usual form is either *bathne* or *bathane*. The *Kâmûs* gives the former signification, "a level country." That the explanation of the *Kamus* is too restricted, and that of the Sheikh of *Wêsiye* the more complete, may be shown from the *Kamus*

The home of Job is more definitely described in the following passages. *Muhammed el-Makdeshi*<sup>1</sup> says, p. 81 of his geography: "And in *Haurân* and *Batanæa* lie the villages of Job and his home (*diâ' Êjûb wa-diârûh*). The chief place (of the district) is *Nawâ*, rich in wheat and other cereals." The town of *Nawâ* is still more definitely connected with Job by *Jâkût el-Hamawi* under the article *Nawâ*: "Between *Nawa* and *Damascus* is two days' journey; it belongs to the district of *Haurân*,<sup>2</sup> and is, according to some, the

itself. In one place it says, The word moreover signifies (a) the thick of the milk (cream); (b) a tender maiden; (c) repeated acts of benevolence. These three significations given are, however, manifestly only figurative applications, not indeed of the signification which the *Kamus* places *primo loco*, but of that which the Sheikh of the *Wêsije* gave; for the likening of a "voluptuously formed maiden," or of repeated acts of benevolence, to a luxurious meadow, is just as natural to a nomad, as it was to the shepherd *Amos* (ch. iv. 1) to liken the licentious women of *Samaria* to well-nourished cows of the fat pastures of *Basan*. Then the *Kamus*

brings forward a collective form *buthun* (بُثْنٌ) perhaps from the sing.

*bathan* = بَثَنٌ, like أَسَدٌ from *asad*) in the signification pastures (رياض); pastures, however, that are damp and low, with a rich vegetation. That the word is ancient, may be seen from the following expression of *Châlid ibn el-Welîd*, the victor on the *Jarmûk*: "Omar made me governor of *Damascus*; and when I had made it into a *buthêne*, i.e. a stoneless fertile plain (easy to govern and profitable), he removed me." *Jâkût* also mentions this expression under *Bethenîje*. *Châlid* also uses the diminutive as the nomads do (he was of the race of *Machzûm*); probably the whole word belongs only to the steppe, for all the women who were called *buthêne*, e.g. the beloved of the poet *Gemîl*, and others mentioned in the "*Diwân of Love*" (*Diwân es-sabâbe*), were Beduin women.

After what has been said, we cannot assign to the Hebr. בֶּתֶן any other signification than that of a fertile stoneless plain or low country. This appellation, which was given, properly and originally, only to the heart of the country, and its most valuable portion, viz. the *Nukra*, would then a *potiori* be transferred to the whole, and when the kingdom of *Basan* was again destroyed, naturally remained to that province, of which it was the proper designation.

<sup>1</sup> Orient. mss. in the Royal Library at Berlin; Sect. Sprenger, No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> If writers mention *Haurân* alone, they mean thereby, according to the usage of the language of the *Damascenes*, and certainly also of the

chief town of the same. Nawâ was the residence (*menzil*) of Job;" and Ibn er-Râbi says, p. 62 of his essay on the excellences of Damascus:<sup>1</sup> "To the prophets buried in the region of Damascus belongs also Job, and his tomb is near Nawâ, in the district of Hauran." Such passages prove at the same time the identity of the Nukra with Batanæa; for if the latter is said to be recognisable from the fact of Job's home being found in it, and we find this sign in connection with the Nukra in which Nawâ with its surrounding country is situated, both names must denote one and the same district.

That, according to the last citation, Job's tomb is also shown in the Nukra, has been already observed in my *Reisebericht*, S. 121. Jâkât, under *Dér Êjûb*, thus expresses himself: "The Monastery of Job is a locality in Hauran, a Damascene province, in which Job dwelt and was tried of God. There also is the fountain which he made to flow with his foot, and the block of rock on which he leant. There also is his tomb." What Kazwîni says in his *Wonders of Creation* (*'agâib el-machlûkât*), under *Dér Êjûb*, accords with it: "The Monastery of Job lies in one of the Damascene provinces, and was the place of Job's residence, in which God tried him. There

prophet Ezekiel (ch. xlvii. 16, 18), the plain of Haurân as far as the borders of the Belkâ, including the mountains of Haurân, the Legâ, and Gêdûr; it is only in the district itself, where special divisions are rendered necessary, that the three last mentioned parts are excluded. If writers mention *Haurân* and *Bethenije* together, the context must determine whether the former signifies the whole, and the latter the part, as in the above quotation from Makdeshi, or whether both are to be taken as co-ordinate, as in a passage of *Istachri* (edited by Möller, Gotha 1839): "And *Haurân* and *Bethenije* are two provinces of Damascus with luxuriant corn-fields." Here the words are related to one another as Auranitis (with the chief town Bostra) to Batanæa (with the chief town Adratum, i.e. *Edré'ât*), or as the *Haurân* of the Beduins and the Nukra of the same. The boundary between both is the *Wâdi 'Irâ*, which falls into the *Zêdi* south of *Edré'ât*.

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of Arab. MSS. collected in Damascus, No. 26.

also is the fountain which sprang forth at the stamping of his foot, when at the end of his trial God commanded him, and said: Strike with thy foot—(thus a fountain will spring forth, and) this shall be to thee a cool bath and a draught (*Korân*, xxxviii. 41 sqq.). There is also the rock on which he sat, and his tomb.” Recurring to the passage of the *Koran* cited, we shall see that the stone of Job, the fountain and the tomb, are not situated in the Monastery itself, but at some little distance from it.

I came with my *cortége* out of Gôlân, to see the remarkable pilgrim fair of *Muzérîb*, just when the Mekka caravan was expected; and since the Monastery of Job, never visited by any one now-a-days, could not lie far out of the way, I determined to seek it out, because I deluded myself with the hope of finding an inscription of its founder, ‘Amr I., and in fact one with a date, which would have been of the greatest importance in reference to the history of the Ghassanides,—a hope which has remained unfulfilled. In the evening of the 8th of May we came to *Tesîl*. Here the Monastery was for the first time pointed out to us. It was lighted up by the rays of the setting sun,—a stately ruin, which lay in the distance a good hour towards the east. The following morning we left *Tesîl*. Our way led through luxuriant corn-fields and fields lying fallow, but decked with a rich variety of flowers in gayest blossom, to an isolated volcanic mound, *Tell el-Gumû*,<sup>1</sup> from which we intended to reconnoitre the surrounding country. From this point, as far as the eye could reach, it swept over fields of wheat belonging to the communities of *Sahm*, *Tell Shihâb*, *Tesîl*, *Nawâ*, and *Sa’dîje*, which covered a region which tradition calls the home of Job. True, the volcanic chaos (*el-wa’r*) extended in the west to the distance

<sup>1</sup> “Hill of the heaps of riders.” The hill is said to have been named after a great engagement which took place there in ancient days. Among the ‘Aneze the *gem*, גִּמ, plur. *gunû*, is a division of 400–600 horsemen.



of some three miles up the hill on which we stood, and on the north the plain was bounded partly by *Tell el-Gábba* and the "tooth of Nawâ" (*sinn Nawâ*), a low ridge with a few craters; but towards the E. and S. and S.W. the plain was almost unbounded, for isolated eminences, as *Tell 'Ashtarâ*, *T. Ash'arî*, *T. Shihâb*, *T. el-Chammân*, and others, rose above the level of the plain only like mole-hills; and the deep gorges of the *Meddân*, *Jarmûk*, *Hît*, and *Muchêbi*, were sudden and almost perpendicular ravines, either not seen at all, or appeared as dark marks. The plain slopes gently and scarcely perceptibly towards *Kufr el-mâ*, *Kufr es-sâmîr*, *Zêzûn*, and *Bendek*; and the *Naher el-'Owêrid*, a river abounding in water, resembled in its level bed a glistening thread of silver. If this district had trees, as it once had,—for among the ruins one often discovers traces of vineyards and garden walls, which it can have no longer, since the insecurity and injustice of the country do not admit of men remaining long in one and the same village, therefore not to take hold upon the soil and establish one's self, and become at home anywhere,—it would be an earthly paradise, by reason of its healthy climate and the fertility of its soil. That even the Romans were acquainted with the glorious climate of Hauran, is proved by the name *Palæstina salutaris*, which they gave to the district.<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of Damascus say there is no disease whatever in Haurân; and as often as the plague or any other infectious disease shows itself in their city, thousands flee to Hauran, and to the lava-plateau of the Legâ. This healthy condition may arise from the volcanic formation of the country, and from the sea-breeze, which it always has in connection with

<sup>1</sup> This appellation is erroneously given to the province of Petra (*Palæstina tertia*) in Burckhardt's Travels (Gesenius' edition, S. 676). Böcking also, *Not. dign. or.* pp. 139, 345, and 373, is guilty of this oversight. Comp. thereon, Mommsen, *Verzeichniss der röm. Provinzen aufgesetzt um .297*, in the *Transactions of the Berlin Acad. der Wissensch.* 1862, S. 501 f.

its position, which is open towards the west. Even during the hottest days, when *e.g.* in the *Ghûta* a perfect calm prevails, so that no breeze is felt, this cool and moist sea-breeze blows refreshingly and regularly over the plain; and hence the Hauranitic poet never speaks of his native country without calling it the "cool-blowing Nukra" (*en-nukra el-'adije*). But as to the fertility of the district, there is indeed much good arable land in the country east of the Jordan, as in *Irbid* and *Suwêl*, of the same kind as between Salt and 'Ammân, but nowhere is the farming, in connection with a small amount of labour (since no manure is used), more productive than in Hauran, or more profitable; for the transparent "Batanæan wheat" (*hinta bethenîje*) is always at least 25 per cent. higher in price than other kinds. Hence the agriculture of that region also, in times of peace and security (during the first six centuries after Christ), produced that fondness for building, some of the magnificent memorials of which are our astonishment in the present day; and, in fact, not unfrequently the inscriptions testify that the buildings themselves owe their origin to the produce of the field. Thus, in the locality of *Nâhite* in the Nukra, I found the following fragment of an inscription: . . . *Μασαλέμου Ράββου κτίσμα ἐξ ἰδίων κόπων γεωργικῶν ἐν ἔτι σπ*, Masalemos son of Rabbos set up (this memorial) out of the produce of his farming in the year 280. Of a like kind is the following remains of two distichs in Murduk: . . . *δρός τε σαόφρων | . . . μεγαρόν | . . . ἰσ ἀνάπαυμα μέγιστον | . . . γεωπονίης*. In *Shakkâ* the longer inscription of a mausoleum in a state of good preservation begins:

*Βάσσος ἔης πάτρης μεγακύδεος ἀγλαὸν ὄμμα  
'Εκ σφετέρου καμάτοιο γεωπονίης τέ μ' ἔδειμεν.*

Bassos, beaming eye of the honourable city of his birth,  
Has built me out of the produce of his own tillage.

Similar testimonies are to be found in the inscriptions in Burckhardt.

After a long sojourn on the hill, which was occasioned by the investigation of some interesting plants in the crater of the mound, we set out for *Sa'dije*, which is built on the slope of a hill. After a good hour's journey we arrived at the *Makâm Êjûb*, "the favoured tomb of Job," situated at the southern base of the hill, and rendered conspicuous by two white domes, and there we dismounted. The six attendants and alumni of the Makâm, or, as the Arabs thoughtfully call them, "the servants of our master Job" (*châdimîn séjidna Êjûb*), received us, with some other pilgrims, at the door of the courtyard, and led us to the basin of the fountain of Job, by the side of which they spread out their mantles for us to rest upon under the shade of a walnut tree and a willow. While the rest were engaged in the duties of hospitality, the superior of the Makâm, the Sheikh Sa'id el-Darfûri (from Darfûr) did not leave us, and made himself in every way obliging. Like him, all the rest of the inhabitants of the place were black, and all unmarried; their celibacy, however, I imagine, was only caused by the want of opportunity of marrying, and the limited accommodation of the place. Sheikh Sa'id believed himself to be fifty years of age; he left his home twenty years before to go on pilgrimage to Mekka, where he "studied" four years; the same length of time he sojourned in Medîna, and had held his present office ten years. Besides his mother tongue, he spoke Arabic and a little Turkish, having been in Constantinople a few years before. His judgment of the inhabitants of that city is rather harsh: he charges them with immorality, drunkenness, and avarice. In one year, said he, I could hardly save enough to travel by the steamer to Chôdscha Bêk (Odessa). How different was my experience of the inhabitants of this city! I was there three months, during

which time I had nothing to provide for, and left with ninety *Mânôt* (imperials), which just sufficed to set up these dilapidated relics again. A Russian ship brought me to Smyrna, whence I travelled by the *Nemsâwi* (Austrian Lloyd steamer) to Syria.

According to the account given by the inhabitants of Sa'dîje, the *Makâm* has been from ancient times a negro hospice. These Africans, commonly called '*Abîd*' in Damascus, and in the country *Tekârine*, come chiefly from Tekrûr in Sûdân; they first visit Mekka and Medîna, then Damascus, and finally the *Makâm* of Job. Here they sojourn from twenty to thirty days, during which time they wash themselves daily in Job's fountain, and pray upon Job's stone; and the rest of the day they either read or assist the dwellers in the *Makâm* in their tillage of the soil. When they are about to leave, they receive a testimonial, and often return home on foot across the Isthmus of Suez, often by water, chiefly from Jâfâ, by the Austrian Lloyd ship to Egypt, and thence to their native country. These pilgrims, so far as the requirements of their own country are concerned, are *litterati*; and it appears as though by this journey they obtained their highest degree. I have frequently met them in my travels. They are known by their clean white turban, and the white broad-sleeved shirt, which reaches to the ankles, their only garment. They carry a small bundle over the shoulder upon a strong staff, which may serve as a weapon of defence in case of need. In this bundle they carry a few books and other effects, and above this their cloak. They are modest, taciturn men, who go nimbly onward on their way, and to whom one always gladly gives a supper and a night's lodging.

We visited the holy places in the company of the Sheikh Sa'id. The *Makâm*, and the reservoir, which lies fifty paces to the front of it, are surrounded by a wall. This reservoir is filled by a strong, rapid, and cold stream of water, which

comes from the fountain of Job, about 400 paces distant. The fountain itself springs up by the basalt hill on which the village and the Job's stone are situated; and it is covered in as far as the reservoir (called *birke*), in order to keep the water fresh, and to guard against pollution. Between the fountain and the Makâm stand a half-dozen acacias and a pomegranate, which were just then in full bloom. The Makâm itself, on which the wretched habitations for the attendants and pilgrims adjoin, is a one-storey stone building, of old material and moderate circumference. The first thing shown us was the stone trough, called *gurn*, in which Job bathed at the end of his trial. The small space in which this relic stands, and over which, so far as I remember, one of the two domes is raised, is called *wadjet séjîdnâ Êjûb*, "the lavatory of our lord Job." Adjoining this is the part with the tomb, the oblong mound of which is covered with an old torn green cloth. The tomb of *Sa'd* was more carefully tended. Our Damascene travelling companions were divided in their opinions as to the person whose tomb was near that of Job, as in Syria it is hardly possible to find and distinguish the makâms of the many men of God (*rigâl Allâh*) or favoured ones of God (*auliâ*) who bear the same names; but a small white flag standing upon the grave informed us, for it bore the inscription: "This is the military emblem (*râje*) of our lord *Sa'd abû Merzûka*."

Perhaps the preservation of the Makâm of Job is due to the tomb of *Sa'd*, as its endowments have long since disappeared, while the tomb of *Sa'd* still has its revenues. From 'Aglûn it receives tribute of oil and olives yearly. And several large vegetable gardens, which lie round about the Makâm, and are cultivated by its attendants, must also contribute something considerable towards its maintenance. In these gardens they grow *dura* (maize), tobacco, turnips, onions, and other things, for their own use and for sale.

The plants, which can be freely watered from the fountain of Job, are highly esteemed. The government levies no taxes on the Makâm, and the Arabs no tribute; and since, according to the popular belief, the Beduin horse that is watered from the *birke* dies, the Beduins do not even claim the rights of hospitality,—a fortunate circumstance, the removal of which would speedily cause the ruin of the hospice. From nightly thieves, who not unfrequently break through the walls of the stables in the villages of the plain, and carry off the smaller cattle, both the Makâm and the village are secure; for if the night thieves come, they see, as every one in Hauran testifies, a surging sea around the place, which prevents their approach.

From the Makâm we ascended the hill of the village, on the highest part of which is the stone of Job (*Sachrat Êjûb*). It is inside a small Mussulman hall of prayer, which in its present form is of more modern origin, but is undoubtedly built from the material of a Christian chapel, which stood here in the pre-Muhammedan age. It is an unartistic structure, in the usual Hauranitish style, with six or eight arches and a small dome, which is just above the stone of Job. My Mussulman attendants, and a Hauranite Christian from the village of Shemiskîn, who had joined us as we were visiting the *Sachra*, trod the sacred spot with bare feet, and kissed the rock, the basaltic formation of which is unmistakeable. Against this rock, our guide told us, Job leaned “when he was afflicted by his Lord” (*hîn ibtelâ min rabbuh*).<sup>1</sup> While these people were offering up their ‘*Asr* (afternoon) prayer in this place, Sa’îd brought me a handful of small long round

<sup>1</sup> As is generally known, the black stone in Mekka and the *Sachra* in Jerusalem are more celebrated than the stone of Job; but less revered are the *Mebrak en-nâka* in Bosrâ, the thievish stone of Moses in the great mosque at Damascus, the *doset en-nebi* on the mountain of el-Higâne, and others.

stones and slag, which the tradition declares to be the worms that fell to the ground out of Job's sores, petrified. "Take them with thee," said he, "as a memento of this place; let them teach thee not to forget God in prosperity, and in misfortune not to contend with Him." The frequent use of these words in the mouth of the man might have weakened them to a set phrase: they were, however, appropriate to the occasion, and were not without their effect. After my attendants had provided themselves with Job's worms, we left the Sachra. These worms form a substantial part of the Hauranitish tradition of Job, and they are known and revered generally in the country. Our Christian attendant from Shemiskîn bound them carefully in the broad sleeve of his shirt, and recited to us a few verses from a *kasîde*, in which they are mentioned. The poem, which a member of our company, the dervish *Regeb*, wrote down, is by a Hauranite Christian, who in it describes his unhappy love in colours as strong as the bad taste it displays. The lines that are appropriate here are as follows:—

*Min 'azma nârî nâra jôm el-qijâma,  
Tûfâna Nûha 'dmû' a 'ênî 'anuh zôd.  
Jâ' qûba min hoznî hizânûh qisâma  
Min belwetî Ejûba jerta' bihe 'd-dâd.*<sup>1</sup>

The fire of hell at the last day will kindle itself from the glow of my pain,  
And stronger than the flood of Noah are the tear-streams of mine eyes.  
The grief of Jacob for his son was but a small part of my grief;  
And, visited with my misery, Job was once the prey of worms.<sup>2</sup>

The village, which the peasants call *Shêch Sa'd*, and the nomads *Sa'dîje*, is, as the name implies, of later origin, and perhaps was founded by people who fled hither when oppressed elsewhere, for the sake of being able to live more peacefully under the protection of the two tombs. That the

<sup>1</sup> The metre forms two spondeo-iambics and trochæo-spondaics.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. vol. ii. p. 158 of the foregoing Commentary.

place is not called *Êjûbje*, is perhaps in order to distinguish it from the Monastery of Job.

In less than a quarter of an hour we rode up to the *Dêr Êjûb*, a square building, standing entirely alone, and not surrounded by ruins. When the Arabian geographers call it a village, they reckon to it the neighbouring Sa'dîje with the Makâm. It is very extensive, and built of fine square blocks of dolerite. While my fellow-traveller, M. Dörrens, was engaged in making a ground-plan of the shattered building, which seemed to us on the whole to have had a very simple construction, I took some measurements of its sides and angles, and then searched for inscriptions. Although the ground-floor is now in part hidden in a *mezbele*,<sup>1</sup> which has been heaped up directly against the walls, on the east side, upon the architrave, not of the chief doorway, which is on the south, but of a door of the church, is found a large Greek inscription in a remarkable state of preservation. The architrave consists of a single carefully-worked block of dolerite, and at present rests almost upon the ground, since the rubbish has filled the whole doorway. The writing and sculpture are hollowed out.

In the centre is a circle, and the characters inscribed at each side of this circle are still undeciphered; the rest of the inscription is easy to be read: αὕτη ἡ πύλη κυρίου δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ· τοῦτο τὸ ὑπέρθυρον ἐτέθη ἐν χρόνοις Ἡλίου εὐλαβεστ(άτου) ἡγουμ(ένου) μ(ηνί) Ἰουλίῳ κε ἰνδ(ι)κ(τίωνος) ιε τοῦ ἔτους πηντακοσιοστοῦ τρικοστοῦ ἕκτου κυρίου Ἰ(ησ)οῦ Χ(ριστ)οῦ βασιλεύοντος. The passage of Scripture, Ps. cxviii. 20, with which this inscription begins, is frequently found in these districts in the inscriptions on church portals.

This inscription was an interesting discovery; for, so far as I know, it is the oldest that we possess which reckons

<sup>1</sup> On the word and subject, *vid.* vol. ii. 152 of the foregoing Commentary.



according to the Christian era, and in the Roman indiction (*indictio*)<sup>1</sup> we have an important authority for determining its date. Now, since there might be a difference of opinion as to the beginning of the "kingdom of Christ," I was anxious to have the judgment of an authority in chronology on the point; and I referred to Prof. Piper of Berlin, who kindly furnished me with the following communication:—" . . . The inscription therefore furnishes the following data: July 25, indict. xv., year 536, κυρίου Ιοῦ Χοῦ βασιλεύοντος. To begin with the last, the Dionysian era, which was only just introduced into the West, is certainly not to be assumed here. But it is also by no means the birth of Christ that is intended. Everything turns upon the expression βασιλεύοντος. The same expression occurs once in an inscription from Syria, *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* 8651: βασιλεύοντος Ιουστινιανου τῷ ια ἔτει. The following expression, however, occurs later concerning Christ on Byzantine coins: *Rex regnantium* and Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων (after Apoc. xvii. 14, xix. 16), the latter under John Zimiszes (died 975), in *De Saulcy, Pl.* xxii. 4. But if the βασιλεία of Christ is employed as the era, we manifestly cannot refer to the epoch of the birth of Christ, but must take the epoch of His ascension as our basis: for with this His βασιλεία first began; just as in the West we sometimes find the calculation begins *a passione*. Now the fathers of the Western Church indeed place the death (and therefore also the ascension) of Christ in the consulate of the two *Gemini*, 29 A.D. Not so with the Greek fathers. Eusebius takes the year of His death, according to one supposition, to be the 18th year of Tiberius, *i.e.* 785 A.U.C. = 32 A.D. Supposing we take this as the first year *regnante Jesu Christo*, then the year 536, of the inscription of the Monastery of Job, is reduced to our era, after the birth of Christ, by adding 31. Thus we have the

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Gibbon, ed. Smith, ii. 333.—TR.

number of the year 567, to which the accompanying xv. *indictio* corresponds, for  $567 + 3 = 570$ ; and  $5_{15}^{79}$  has no remainder. XV. is therefore the indiction of the year 567, which more accurately belongs to the year from 1st Sept. 566 to 31st Aug. 567. And since the day of the month is mentioned in the inscription, it is the 25th July 567 that is indicated. For it appears to me undoubted that the indications, according to the usual mode of computation among the Greeks, begin with the 1st Sept. 312. Thus a Sidonian inscription of Dec. 642 A.D. has the I. indiction (*Corp. Inscr. Gr.* 9153). . . .”

Thus far Prof. Piper’s communication. According to this satisfactory explanation of its date, this inscription is perhaps not unqualified to furnish a contribution worth notice, even for the chronology of the life of Jesus, since the Ghassinides, under whom not only the inscription, but the Monastery itself 300 years earlier, had its origin, dwelt in Palestine, the land of Christ; and their kings were perhaps the first who professed Christianity.

The “festival of the Monastery of Job,” which, according to *Kazwîni’s* Syrian Calendar,<sup>1</sup> the Christians of the country celebrated annually on the 23d April, favours the pre-Muhammedan importance of the Monastery. This festival in *Kazwîni’s* time, appearing only by name in the calendar, had undoubtedly ceased with the early decline of Christianity in the plain of Hauran, for the historically remarkable exodus of a large portion of the Ghassinides out of the cities of Hauran to the north of Georgia had taken place even under the chalîfate of Omar. The Syrian Christians of the present day celebrate the festival of Mâr Gorgius (St George), who slew the dragon (*tennîn*) near Beirût, on the 23d April. A week later (the 1st May, oriental era) the Jews of Damascus have the *sôm Êjûb* (the fast of Job), which lasts twenty-

<sup>1</sup> *Calendarium Syriacum Cazwinii*, ed. Guil. Volck, Lips. 1859, p. 15.

four hours. In *Kazwîni's* calendar it is erroneously set down to the 3d May.

Moreover, with reference to the Monastery, it must be mentioned that, according to the history of *Ibn Kethîr*,<sup>1</sup> the great Greco-Ghassinide army, which, under the leadership of Theodoric, a brother of the Emperor Heraclius, was to have repulsed the attack of the Mussulmans on Syria, revolted in its neighbourhood in the 13th year of the Hegira (*Higra*), while the enemy was encamped on the south bank of the *Meddân*, and was drawn up near *Edre'ât*. After several months had passed came the battle known as the "battle of the *Jarmûk*," the issue of which cost the Byzantines Syria. The volcanic hollows of the ground, which for miles form a complex network of gorges, for the most part inaccessible, offer great advantages in defensive warfare; and here the battle near *Edre'î*, in which 'Og king of Bashan lost his kingdom, was probably fought.

According to the present division of the country, the Monastery of Job and the *Makâm* are in the southern part of *Gêdûr*, an administrative district, which is bounded on the north by the *Wâdî Bêrût*, on the east by the *W. el-Horêr* and the high road, on the south by the *Jarmûk*, and on the west by the *W. Hit* and by a range of volcanic mounds, which stretch to the south-east corner of the Snow-mountain (*el-Hermôn*); this district, however, has only a nominal existence, for it has no administration of its own. Either it is added to *Haurân*, or its revenues, together with those of *Gôlân*, are let out to the highest bidder for a number of years. *Gêdûr* is the natural north-western continuation of the plain of *Haurân*; and the flat bed of the *Horêr*, which does not form a gorge until it comes to the bridge of *Sîra*, forms no boundary proper. Moreover, the word is not found in ancient geography; and the Arabian geographers, even

<sup>1</sup> Comp. A. v. Kremer, *Mittelsyrien*, etc., Vienna 1853, S. 10.

the later ones, who recognised the idea of *Gêdûr*, always so define the position of a locality situated in *Gêdûr*, that they say it is situated in the *Haurân*. Thus *Jâkût* describes the town of el-Gâbîa, situated in western *Gêdûr*, and in like manner, as we have seen above, *Nawâ* and the Monastery of Job, etc.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that, as the *Gêdûr* of the present day is reckoned in the *Nukra*, so this country also in ancient days, at least as far as its northern watershed, has belonged to the tetrarchy of *Batanæa*.

The Monastery of Job is at present inhabited. A certain sheikh, *Ahmed el-Kâdirî*, has settled down here since the autumn of 1859, as partner of the senior of the Damascene '*Omarîje* (the successors of the Chalif 'Omar), to whose family endowments (*waqf*) the Monastery belongs, and with his family he inhabits a number of rooms in the inner court, which have escaped destruction. He showed us the decree of his partner appointing him to his position, in which he is styled Sheikh of the *Dêr Êjûb*, *Dêr el-Lebwe*, and '*Ashtarâ*. *Dêr el-Lebwe*, "the monastery of the lion,"<sup>2</sup> was built by the Gefnide *Eihem ibn el-Hârith*; and we shall have occasion to refer to '*Ashtarâ*, in which Newbold,<sup>3</sup> in the year 1846, believed he had found the ancient capital of Basan, '*Ashtarôt*, further on. But the possessor of all these grand things was a very unhappy man. While we were drinking coffee with him, he related to us how the inhabitants of *Nawâ* had left

<sup>1</sup> *Jâkût* says under *Gêdûr*, "It is a Damascene district, it has villages, and lies in the north of *Haurân*; according to others, it is reckoned together with *Haurân* as one district." The last words do not signify that *Gêdûr* and *Haurân* are words to be used without any distinction; on the contrary, that *Gêdûr* is a district belonging to *Haurân*, and comprehended in it.

<sup>2</sup> The name of this monastery, which is about a mile and a half north-east of the *Dêr Ejûb*, is erroneously called D. el-lebû in Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria* (ed. Gesenius, S. 449). The same may be said of D. en-nubuwwa in *Annales Hamzæ*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 11A.

<sup>3</sup> C. Ritter, *Geogr. v. Syr. u. Pal.* ii. 821 [*Erdk.* xv. Pt. 2, p. 821].

him only two yoke (*feddân*) of arable land from the territory assigned to him, and taken all the rest to themselves. The harvest of that year, after the deduction of the *bedhâr* (the new seed-corn), would hardly suffice to meet the demands of his family, and of hospitality; and for his partner, who had advanced money to him, there would be nothing left. In Damascus he found no redress; and the Sheikh of Nawâ, *Dhiâb el-Medhjeb*, had answered his last representation with the words, "He who desires Job's inheritance must look for trials." Here also, as in Arabia generally, I found that intelligence and energy was on the side of the wife. During our conversation, his wife, with one of her children, had drawn near; and while the child kissed my hand, according to custom, she said: "To-morrow thou wilt arrive at *Muzêrib*; *Dhiâb* will also be going thither with contributions for the pilgrims. We put our cause in thy hands, arrange it as seems thee best; this old man will accompany thee." And as we were riding, the Sheikh *Ahmed* was also obliged to mount, and his knowledge of the places did us good service on *Tell Ashtarâ* and *Tell el-Ash'arî*. In *Muzêrib*, where the pilgrim fair and the arriving caravans for Mekka occupied our attention for five days, we met *Dhiâb* and the *Ichtiârîje* (elders of the community) of Nawâ; and, after some opposition, the sheikh of the Monastery of Job obtained four *feddân* of land under letter and seal, and returned home satisfied.

The case of this man is no standard of the state of the Hauranites, for there are so many desolated villages that there is no lack of land; only round about *Nawâ* it is insufficient, since this place is obliged to take possession of far outlying fields, by reason of its exceedingly numerous agricultural population.<sup>1</sup> The more desolate a land exposed to

<sup>1</sup> That the Sheikh *Ahmed* was permitted to take up his abode in the Monastery, was owing to a religious dread of his ancestor (*gidd*), '*Abdel-Kâdir el-Gilâni*, and out of courteousness towards his partner.

plunder becomes, the more populous must its separate towns become, since the inhabitants of the smaller defenceless villages crowd into them. Thus the inhabitants of the large town of *Kenâkir* at the present time till the fields of twelve neighbouring deserted villages; and *Salt*, the only inhabited place in the *Belkâ*, has its corn-fields even at a distance of fifteen miles away. The poet may also have conceived of Job's domain similarly, for there were five hundred ploughmen employed on it; so that it could not come under the category of ordinary villages, which in Syria rarely have above, mostly under, fifty yoke of oxen. According to the tradition, which speaks of "Job's villages" (*diâ' Êjûb*), these ploughmen would be distributed over several districts; but the poet, who makes them to be overwhelmed by one ghazwe, therefore as ploughing in one district, will have conceived of them only as dwelling in one locality.

It might not be out of place here to give some illustration of the picture which the poet draws of Job's circumstances and position as a wealthy husbandman. *Haurân*, the scene of the drama (as we here assume), must at that period, as at present, have been without protection from the government of the country, and therefore exposed to the marauding attacks of the tribes of the desert. In such a country there is no private possession; but each person is at liberty to take up his abode in it, and to cultivate the land and rear cattle at his own risk, where and to what extent he may choose. Whoever intends doing so must first of all have a family, or as the Arabs say, "men" (*rigâl*), i.e. grown-up sons, cousins, nephews, sons-in-law; for one who stands alone, "the cut off one" (*maktû'*), as he is called, can attain no position of eminence among the Semites, nor undertake any important enterprise.<sup>1</sup> Then he has to make treaties with all the nomad

<sup>1</sup> In the present day the household is called '*ashîra*, and all families of importance in *Haurân* are and call themselves '*ashâir* (عشائر); but the

tribes from which he has reason to fear any attack, *i.e.* to pledge himself to pay a yearly tribute, which is given in native produce (in corn and garments). Thus the community of *el-Higâne*, ten years since, had compacts with 101 tribes; and that Job also did this, seems evident from the fact that the poet represents him as surprised not by neighbouring, but by far distant tribes (Chaldæans and Sabæans), with whom he could have no compact.<sup>1</sup> Next he proceeds to erect a *chirbe*, *i.e.* a village that has been forsaken (for a longer or shorter period), in connection with which, excepting the relations, slaves, and servants of the master, all those whom interest, their calling, and confidence in the good fortune of the master, have drawn thither, set about

ancient word *batn* does also occur, and among the Semitic tribes that have migrated to Mauritania it is still in use instead of the Syrian *'ashira*. *Batn*, collect. *butân*, is the fellowship of all those who are traced back to the בְּתֵן of one ancestral mother. Thus even in Damascus they say: *nahn ferd batn*, we belong to one family; in like manner in the whole of Syria: this foal is the *batn* of that mare, *i.e.* its young one; or: I sold my mare without *batn*, or with one, two, three-fourths of her *batn*, *i.e.* without her descendants, or so that the buyer has only 6 or 12 or 18 *kîrât* right of possession in the foals she will bear. In all these applications, *batn* is the *progenies uteri*, not the *uterus* itself; and, according to this, בְּנֵי בְתֵן, ch. xix. 17, ought to be explained by "all my relations by blood."

<sup>1</sup> These sudden attacks, at any rate, do not say anything in favour of the more southerly position of *Ausitis*. If the Beduin is but once on his horse or *delûl*, it is all the same to him whether a journey is ten days longer or shorter, if he can only find water for himself and his beast. This, however, both hands of marauders found, since the poet distinctly represents the attacks as having been made in the winter. The general ploughing of the fallow-lying *wâgiha* of a community (it is called *shiqâq el-wâgiha*), ready for the sowing in the following autumn, always takes place during January and February, because at this time of the year the earth is softened by the winter rains, and easy to plough. While engaged in this work, the poet represents Job's ploughmen as being surprised and slain. Hence, for the destruction of 500 armed ploughmen—and they were armed, because they could only have been slain with their weapons in their hands in consequence of their resistance—at least 2000 horsemen were necessary. So large a *ghazwe* is, however, not possible in the summer,

the work. Perhaps ch. xv. 28 has reference to Job's settlement.<sup>1</sup>

With reference to the relation of the lord of a village (*ustâd beled*, or *sâhib dé'a*) to his work-people, there are among the dependants two classes. The one is called *zurrâ'*, "sowers," also *fellâhin kism*, "participating husbandmen," because they share the produce of the harvest with the *ustâd* thus: he receives a fourth while they retain three-fourths, from which they live, take the seed for the following season, give their quota towards the demands of the Arabs, the village shepherds, the field watchmen, and the scribe of the community (*chatîb*); they have also to provide the farming implements and the yoke-oxen. On the other hand, the *ustâd* has to provide for the dwellings of the people, to pay the land-tax to the government, and, in the event of a failure of the crops, murrain, etc., to make the necessary advances, either in money or in kind at the market price, and without

but only in the winter, because they could not water at a draw-well, only at the pools (*ghudrân*) formed by the winter rains. For one of these raids of the Chaldæans, *Haurân*, whither marauding bands come even now during the winter from the neighbourhood of Babylon in six or seven days, lay far more convenient than the country around *Ma'ân* and *'Akaba*, which is only reached from the Euphrates, even in winter, by going a long way round, since the *Nufûd* (sandy plains) in the east, and their western continuation the *Hâlât*, suck in the rain without forming any pools. On the other hand, however, this southern region lay nearer and more convenient for the incursions of the Sabæans, viz. the Keturæan (Gen. xxv. 3), i.e. Petræan tribe of this name. The greater or less distance, however, is of little consequence here. Thus, as the *Shemmar* of *Negd* from time to time make raids into the neighbourhood of Damascus, so even the tribes of *Wâdi el-Korâ* might also do the same. Moreover, as we observed above, the poet represents the sudden attacks as perpetrated by the Sabæans and Chaldæans, probably because *they only*, as being foreign and distant races which never had anything to do with Job and his men, and therefore were without any consideration, could practise such unwonted barbarities as the robbery of ploughing heifers, which a *ghazwe* rarely takes, and the murder of the ploughmen.

<sup>1</sup> [Verbally, ch. iii. 14b, which we, however, have interpreted differently, accords with this.—DEL.]



any compensation. This relation, which guarantees the maintenance of the family, and is according to the practice of a patriarchal equity, is greatly esteemed in the country; and one might unhesitatingly consider it therefore to be that which existed between Job and his ploughmen, because it may with ease exist between a single *ustâd* and hundreds, indeed thousands, of country people, if ch. i. 3 did not necessitate our thinking of another class of country people, viz. the *murâbi'in*, the "quarterers." They take their name from their receiving a fourth part of the harvest for their labour, while they have to give up the other three-fourths to the *ustâd*, who must provide for their shelter and board, and in like manner everything that is required in agriculture. As Job, according to ch. i. 3 (comp. on ch. xlii. 12), provided the yoke-oxen and means of transport (asses and camels), so he also provided the farming implements, and the seed for sowing. We must not here think of the paid day-labourer of the Syrian towns, or the servants of our landed proprietors; they are unknown on the borders of the desert. The hand that toils has there a direct share in the gain; the workers belong to the *aulâd*, "children of the house," and are so called; in the hour of danger they will risk their life for their lord.

This rustic labour is always undertaken simultaneously by all the *murâbi'in* (it is so also in the villages of the *zurrâ'*) for the sake of order, since the *ustâd*, or in his absence the village sheikh, has the general work of the following day announced from the roof of his house every evening. Thus it is explained how the 500 ploughmen could be together in one and the same district, and be slain all together.

The *ustâd* is the sole judge, or, by deputy, the *sheikh*. An appeal to the government of the country would be useless, because it has no influence in Hauran; but the servant who has been treated unjustly by his master, very frequently

turns as *dachil fi 'l-haqq* (a suppliant concerning his right) to his powerful neighbour, who is bound, according to the customs of the country, to obtain redress for him (comp. ch. xxix. 12-17). If he does not obtain this by persuasion, he cries for force, and such a demand lies at the root of many a bloody feud.

Powerful and respected also as the position, described in ch. xxix., of such a man is, it must, according to the nature of its basis, fall in under strokes of misfortune, like those mentioned in ch. i. 14-19, and change to the very opposite, as the poet describes it in ch. xxx.

After these observations concerning the agricultural relations of Hauran, we return to the tradition of Job. As we pursue the track of this tradition further, we first find it again in some of the Christian writers of the middle ages, viz. in Eugesippus (*De distanc. loc. terr. sanct.*), in William of Tyre (*Histor. rerum a Francis gest.*), and in Marino Sanuto (*De secretis fid. cruc.*). The passages that bear upon the point are brought together in Reland (*Palest.* pp. 265 sq.); and we would simply refer to them, if it were possible for the reader to find his way among the fabulous confusion of the localities in Eugesippus and Sanuto.

The oldest of these citations is from Eugesippus, and is as follows: One part of the country is the land of *Hus*, out of which Job was; it is also called *Sueta*, after which Bildad the Suhite was named. Sanuto tells us where this locality is to be sought. "*Sueta* is the home of Baldad the Suite. Below this city (*civitas*), in the direction of the Kedar-tribes, the Saracens are accustomed to assemble out of Aram, Mesopotamia, Ammon, Moab, and the whole Orient, around the fountain of *Fiale*; and, on account of the charms of the place, to hold a fair there during the whole summer, and to pitch their coloured tents." In another place he says: *fontem Fialen Medan, i.e. aquas Dan, a Saracenis nuncupari.*

Now, since according to an erroneous, but previously prevalent etymology, "the water of Dan" (יַרְדֵּן = יַרְיָן) denoted the Jordan, and since we further know from Josephus (*Bell.* iii. 10, 7) that the *Phiala* is the small lake of *Râm*, whose subterranean outflow the tetrarch Philip is said to have shown to be the spring of the Jordan, which comes to light deeper below, we should have thought the country round about the lake of *Râm*, at the south foot of *Hermôn*, to be the home of Job and Bildad. This discovery would be confirmed by the following statement of Eugesippus (in Reland, *loc. cit.*): "The river *Dan* flows under ground from its spring as far as the plain of *Meldan*, where it comes to light. This plain is named after the fair, which is held there, for the Saracens call such an one *Meldan*. At the beginning of the summer a large number of men, with wares to sell, congregate there, and several Parthian and Arabian soldiers also, in order to guard the people and their herds, which have a rich pasture there in the summer. The word *meldan* is composed of *mel* and *dan*." It is indeed readily seen that the writer has ignorantly jumbled several words together in the expression *meldan*, as *mê Dan*, "water of Dan," and *mêdân* or *mîdân*, "market-place;" perhaps even also *leddân*, the name of the great fountain of the Jordan in the crater of the *Tell el-Kâdi*. In like manner, the statement that the neighbourhood of *Phiala*, or that of the large fountain of the Jordan, might formerly have been a fair of the tribes, is false, for the former is broken up into innumerable craters, and the latter is poisoned by the swamp-fevers of the *Hâle*; but as to the rest, both Eugesippus and Sanuto seem really to speak of a tradition which places Job's or Bildad's home in that region. And yet it is not so: their tradition is no other than the Hauranitish; but ignorance of the language and geography of the country, and some accidental circumstances, so confused their representations, that it is difficult to find out what is right. The first clue is given us

by the history of William of Tyre, in which (l. xxii. c. 21) it is said that the crusaders, on their return from a marauding expedition in the *Nukra*, wished to reconquer a strong position, the *Cavea Roob*, which they had lost a short time before. "This place," says the historian, "lies in the province of *Suite*, a district distinguished by its pleasantness, etc.; and that Baldad, Job's friend, who is on that account called the *Suite*, is said to have come from it." This passage removes us at once into the neighbourhood of *Muzérîb* and the Monastery of Job, for the province of *Suete* is nothing but the district of *Suwét* (صويت),<sup>1</sup> the north-western boundary of which is formed by the gorge of the *Wâdî Rahûb*. The *Cavea Roob*, which was first of all again found out by me on my journey in 1860, lies in the middle of the steep bank of that wadi, and is at present called *maghâret Rahûb*, "the cave of R.," or more commonly *mu'allakat Rahûb*, "the swinging cave of R.," and at the time of the Crusades commanded the dangerous pass which the traveller, on ascending from the south end of the Lake of Galilee to *Edréât* by the nearest way, has to climb on hands and feet. In another passage (xvi. 9), where the unhealthy march to *Bosrá* is spoken of, Will. of Tyre says: "After we had come through the gorge of *Roob*, we reached the plain which is called *Medan*, and where every year the Arabs and other oriental tribes are accustomed to hold a large fair." This plain is in the vicinity of *Muzérîb*, in which the great pilgrim-fair is held annually. We find something similar in xiii. 18: "After having passed Decapolis<sup>2</sup> we came to the pass of *Roob*, and further on into the plain of *Medan*, which stretches far and wide in every direction, and is intersected

<sup>1</sup> *Reisebericht*, S. 46; comp. Ritter, *Syr. u. Pal.* ii. 1019 [*Erdk.* xv. Pt. 2, p. 1019].

<sup>2</sup> Here in the more contracted sense, the district of *Gadara*, *Kefârât*, and *Irbid*.

by the river *Dan*, which falls into the Jordan between *Tiberias* and *Scythopolis* (*Bisân*).” This river, the same as that which Sanuto means by his *aquæ Dan* (*Mê Dán*), is none other than the *Wâdi el-Meddân*, called “the overflowing one,” because in the month of March it overflows its banks eastward of the *Gezzâr*-bridge. It is extremely strange that the name of this river appears corrupted not only in all three writers mentioned above, but also in Burekhardt; for, deceived by the ear, he calls it *Wâdi Om el-Dhan*.<sup>1</sup> The *Meddân* is the boundary river between the *Suwêt* and *Nukra* plains; it loses its name where it runs into the *Makran*; and where it falls into the valley of the Jordan, below the lake of *Tiberias*, it is called *el-Muchêbî*.

We have little to add to what has been already said. The *Fiale* of Sanuto is not the Lake Râm, but the round *begge*, the lake of springs of *Muzêrib*, the rapid outflow of which, over a depth of sixty to eighty feet, forms a magnificent waterfall, the only one in Syria, as it falls into the *Meddân* near the village of *Tell Shihâb*.

The unfortunate confusion of the localities was occasioned by two accidental circumstances: first, that both, the springs of the Jordan below *Bâniâs* and the lake of *Muzêrib*, have a village called *Rahûb* (רחוב) in their vicinity, of which one is mentioned in Judg. xviii. 28 sq., and the other, about a mile below the *Cavea Roob*, is situated by a fountain of the same name, from which village, cavern, and wadi derive their names; secondly, that there, as here, there is a village *Abîl* (אַבִּיל): that near Dan is situated in the “meadow-district of ‘Ijôn” (*Merg ‘Ijûn*); and that in the *Suwêt* lies between *Rahûb* and the *Makran*, and was visited by Seetzen as well as by myself. Perhaps the circumstance that, just as the environs of *Muzêrib* have their *Mîdân*,<sup>2</sup> so the environs of

<sup>1</sup> Burekhardt, *Travels in Syr. and Pal.* (ed. Gesenius, S. 392).

<sup>2</sup> The word *el-mîdân* and *el-mêdân* signifies originally the hippodrome

*Bániás* have their *Ard el-Mejádín*, "region of battle-fields," may also have contributed to the confusion; thus, for example, the country sloping to the west from the *Phiala* towards the *Hále*, between *Gubbátá ez-zét* and *Za'úra*, is called, perhaps on account of the murderous encounters which took place there, both in the time of the Crusades and also in more ancient times. It is certainly the ground on which the battle narrated in the book of Joshua, ch. xi., took place, and also the battle in which Antiochus the Great slew the Egyptian army about 200 B.C.

What we have gained for our special purpose from this information (by which not a few statements of Ritter, K. v. Raumer, and others, are substantiated), is not merely the fact that the tradition which places Job's home in the region of *Muzéríb* existed even in the middle ages (which the quotation given above from *Makdeshí*, who lived before the time of the Crusades, also confirms), and even came to the ears of the foreigners who settled in the country as they then passed through the land, but also the certainty that this tradition was then, as now, common to the Christians and the Mussulmans, for the three writers previously mentioned would hardly have recorded it on the testimony of the latter only.<sup>1</sup>

then the arena of the sham-fight, then the place of contest, the battle-field, and finally a wide level place where a large concourse of men are accustomed to meet. In this sense the Damascenes have their *el-mîdân*, the Spanish cities their *almeidân*, and the Italians their *corso*.

<sup>1</sup> [Estôri ha-Parchi, the most renowned Jewish topographer of Palestine, in his work *Caftor wa-ferach*, completed in 1322 (newly edited by Edelman, published by Asher, Berlin, 1852, S. 49), says דאר אייב lies one hour south of נבו, since he identifies *Nawâ* with the Reubenitish *Nebô*, Num. xxxii. 38, as *Zora'* with יעזר, Num. xxxii. 35; 'so that he explains עין ארץ by יעזר ארץ, although he at the same time considers the name, according to Saadia, as one with אלגוטה (*el-Ghuta*). His statements moreover are exact, as one might expect from a man who had travelled for seven years in all directions in Palestine; and his conclusion, ארץ עין היא ארץ קדם לארץ ישראל כנגד טבריא, perfectly accords with the above treatise.—DEL.]

There can be no doubt as to which of these two religions must be regarded as the original mother of this tradition. The Hauranite Christians, who, from their costume, manners, language, and traditions, undoubtedly inherited the country from the pre-Muhammedan age, venerate the Makâm perhaps even more than the Muhammedans; which would be altogether impossible in connection with the hostile position of the two religious sects towards one another, and in connection with the zealous scorn with which the Syrian Christians regard the religion of Islam, if the Hauranitish tradition of Job and the Makâm were of later, Muhammedan origin. It is also possible that, on a closer examination of the Makâm and the buildings about the Sachra, one might find, besides crosses, Greek inscriptions (since they are nowhere wanting in the Nukra), which could only have their origin in the time before the occupation of Islam (635 A.D.); for *after* this the Hauranite Christians, who only prolong their existence by wandering from *chirbe* to *chirbe*, have not even built a single dwelling-house, much less a building for religious worship, which was forbidden under pain of death in the treaty of Omar. But in connection with the pre-Islam Monastery of Job, which owed its origin only to the sacred tradition that held its ground in that place, are monumental witnesses that this tradition is pre-Islamic, and has been transferred from the Christians to the Mussulmans, required? We may go even further, and assert that Muhammed, in the Sur. xxxviii. 41 sqq. of the *Korân*, had the Hauranitish tradition of Job and the localities near *Sa'dîje* definitely before his mind.

We must regard the merchandise caravans which the inhabitants of *Tehâma* sent continuously into the "north country," *esh-shâm*,<sup>1</sup> and the return freight of which consisted chiefly of Hauranitish corn, as proof of a regular

<sup>1</sup> In Jemen and Higâz, Syria may have been called *Shâm* in the earliest times. The name was taken into Syria itself by the immigration of the

intercourse between the east Jordanic country and the west of the Arabian peninsula in the period between Christ and Muhammed. Hundreds of men from Mekka and Medina came every year to *Bosrá*; indeed, when it has happened that the wandering tribes of Syria, which were, then also as now, bound for Hauran with the *kél*, *i.e.* their want of corn, got before them, and had emptied the granaries of *Bosrá*, or when the harvests of the south of Hauran had been destroyed by the locusts, which is not unfrequently the case, they will have come into the *Nukra*<sup>1</sup> as far as *Nawâ*, sometimes even as far as Damascus, in order to obtain their full cargo.

If commerce often has the difficult task of bringing together the most heterogeneous peoples, and of effecting a reciprocal interchange of ideas, it here had the easy work of sustaining the intercourse among tribes that were originally one people, spoke one idiom, and regarded themselves as all related; for

Jemanic tribes of *Kudâ'a*, and others, because they brought with them the name of Syria that was commonly used in their native land.

<sup>1</sup> The remarkable fair at *Muzêrib* can be traced back to the earliest antiquity, although *Bosrá* at times injured it; but this latter city, from its more exposed position, has been frequently laid in ruins. It is probable that the merchants of Damascus pitched their tents for their *Kasaba*, *i.e.* their moveable fair, twice a year (in spring and in autumn) by the picturesque lake of *Muzêrib*. If, with the tradition, we take the *Nukra* to be the home of Job, of the different ways of interpreting ch. vi. 19 there is nothing to hinder our deciding upon that which considers it as the greater caravan which came periodically out of southern Arabia to Hauran (*Bosrá* or *Muzêrib*). *Têmâ* with its well, *Heddâg* (comp. Isa. xxi. 14), celebrated by the poets of the steppe, from which ninety camels (*sânâât*) by turns raise a constantly flowing stream of clear and cool water for irrigating the palms and the seed, was in ancient times, perhaps, the crossing point of the merchant caravans going from south to north, and from east to west. Even under the Omajad Chalifs the Mekka pilgrim-route went exclusively by way of *Têmâ*, just as during the Crusades so long as the Franks kept possession of *Kerak* and *Shôbak*. An attempt made in my *Reisebericht* (S. 93–95) to substitute the Hauranitish *Têmâ* in the two previously mentioned passages of Scripture, I have there (S. 131) given up as being scarcely probable.



the second great Sabæan migration, under 'Amr and his son *Ta'labē*, had taken possession of Mekka, and left one of their number, *Rabī'a ibn Hāritha*, with his attendants (the Chuzā'ites), behind as lord of the city. In the same manner they had become possessed of *Jathrib (el-Medīna)*, and left this city to their tribes *Aus* and *Chazreg*: the remainder of the people passed on to *Peræa* and took possession of the country, at that time devastated, as far as Damascus, according to *Ibn Sa'id*, even including this city. By the reception of Christianity, the Syrian Sabæans appear to have become but slightly or not at all estranged from their relatives in the *Higâz*, for Christianity spread even here, so that the Cæsars once ventured to appoint a Christian governor even to the city of *Mekka*. This was during the lifetime of the Gefnite king 'Amr ibn *Gebele*. At the time of Muhammed there were many Christians in Mekka, who will for the most part have brought their Christianity with the Syrian caravans, so that at the commencement of Islâm the Hauranitish tradition of Job might have been very well known in Mekka, since many men from Mekka may have even visited the *Makâm* and the *Sachra*, and there have heard many a legend of Job like that intimated in the *Korân* xxxviii. 43. Yea, whoever will give himself the trouble to investigate minute commentaries on the Koran, especially such as interpret the Koran from the tradition (*hadīth*), e.g. the *Kitâb ed-durr el-muchtâr*, may easily find that not merely *Kazwīnî*, *Ibn el-Wardî*, and *Jākût*, whose observations concerning the Monastery of Job have been given above, but also much older authorities, identify the Koranish fountain of Job with the Hauranitish.

A statement of Eusebius, of value in connection with this investigation, brings us at one stride about three hundred years further on. It is in the *Onomastikon*, under *Καρναίμ*, and is as follows: "*Astaroth Karnaim* is at present (about 310 A.D.) a very large village (*κώμη μεγίστη*) beyond the

Jordan, in the province of Arabia, which is also called *Batanæa*. Here, according to tradition (ἐκ παραδόσεως), they fix the dwelling (οἶκος) of Job." On the small map which accompanies these pages, the reader will find in the vicinity of the Makâm the low and somewhat precipitous mound, not above forty feet in height, of *Tell 'Ashtarâ*, the plateau of which forms an almost round surface, which is 425 paces in diameter, and shows the unartistic foundations of buildings, and traces of a ring-wall. Here we have to imagine that 'Astarot Karnaim. Euseb. here makes no mention whatever of the city of *Astaroth*, the ancient capital of *Basan*, for this he does under 'Ασταρῶθ; the hypothesis of its being the residence of king 'Og, which Newbold<sup>1</sup> set up here, consequently falls to the ground. The κόμη μεγίστη of Eusebius must, in connection with the limited character of the ground, certainly be somewhat contracted; but the identity of the localities is not to be doubted in connection with the great nearness of the οἶκος (the Makâm).<sup>2</sup> Let us compare another statement that belongs here; it stands under 'Ασταρῶθ Καρναίμ, and is as follows: "There are at the present time two villages of this name in *Batanæa*, which lie nine miles distant from one another, μεταξὺ ΑΔΑΡΩΝ καὶ ΑΒΙΛΗC." Jerome has *duo castella* instead of two villages, by which at

<sup>1</sup> C. Ritter, *Geogr. v. Syr. u. Pal.* ii. 819 sqq. [*Erdk.* xv. 2, p. 819 sqq.]. The information of Newbold, which is printed in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, i. 215 sq., is unfortunately little to be relied on, and is to be corrected according to the topography of the mound given above.

<sup>2</sup> A small, desolated stone village, situated a quarter of an hour's journey from the mound of 'Ashtarâ, which however has not a single house of any importance, has two names among the inhabitants of that region, either *Chirbêt 'Ijûn en-Nile* (the ruins near the Nila-springs) or *Chirbêt 'Ashtarâ*, which can signify the ruins of 'Ashtarâ and the ruins near 'Ashtarâ. Since it is, however, quite insignificant, it will not be the village that has given the name to the mound, but the mound with its buildings, which in ancient days were perhaps a temple to Astarte, surrounded by a wall, has given the name to the village.

least the *κώμη μεγίστη* is somewhat reduced; for that it is one of these two castles<sup>1</sup> can be the less doubtful, since they also regulate the determining of the respective localities. If the reading *ABIAHC* is correct, only *Abil* (ܐܒܝܠ) in the north of Suwêl can (since, without doubt, the Arabian names of the places in Hauran existed in Eusebius' day) be intended; and *AAAPΩN* ought then to be changed into *AAAPΩN*, in order to denote the large village of *El-hârâ*, on the lofty peak of the same name in the plain of Gêdûr. *El-hârâ* lies to the north, and *Abil* to the south of 'Ashtarâ. If, however, as is most highly probable, instead of *ABIAHC* (which form Euseb. does not use elsewhere, for he calls the town of *Abil* 'Αβέλ, and the inscription in *Turra* has the form πόλεως 'Αβέλως), *ABIAHC* is to be read, which corresponds to the 'Αβιδά of Ptolemy (*ed. Wilberg*, p. 369) and the modern 'Abidîn near Bêtirrá, thus the name of the other village is to be changed from *AAAPΩN* to *APAPΩN* (for which the *Cod. Vat.* erroneously has *APAPΩN*), the modern 'Arâr.<sup>2</sup> 'Abidîn, however, lies nine miles west, and 'Arâr nine miles east of 'Ashtarâ.

Now, as to the second village, and its respective castle, which is mentioned in the second citation from the *Onomastikon*, I believe that both Euseb. and Jerome intend to say there are two villages, of which the one has the byname of the other; consequently the one is called *Astarôt* (*Karnaim*), and the other *Karnaim* (*Astarôt*). Twelve miles west of 'Ashtarâ lies

<sup>1</sup> [The meaning of "castle," as defined by Burckhardt, *Travels in Syr.* etc. p. 657, should be borne in mind here. "The name of *Kala'at* or *castle* is given on the Hadj route, and over the greater part of the desert, to any building walled in and covered, and having, like a *Khan*, a large courtyard in its enclosure. The walls are sometimes of stone, but more commonly of earth, though even the latter are sufficient to withstand an attack of Arabs."—Tr.]

<sup>2</sup> Some, in connection with this word, have erroneously thought of the city of *Edre'ât*, which Eusebius calls 'Αδρά in the immediately preceding article 'Αδραά, and in the art. *Εδρασί*.

the Golanite village of *Kornêje* (קֶרְנֵיָה), which in old *Kanêtra* I have taken up in my trigonometrical measurements.

We find also a third passage in the *Onomast.* which belongs here; it is under *Ἰαβώκ* in *Cod. Vat.*, under *Ἰδουμαία* in *Cod. Leid.* and *Vallarsi*, and runs: "According to the view of a certain one (*κατά τινος*), this region is the land of *Asitis* (*Ausitis*), the home of Job, while according to others it is Arabia (*ἡ Ἀραβία*); and again, according to others, it is the Land of *Sîhôn*." Whether genuine or not, this passage possesses a certain value. If it is genuine, Jerome would have left it accordingly untranslated, because he would not be responsible for its whole contents, for he not unfrequently passes over or alters statements of Eusebius where he believes himself to be better informed; but, taken exactly, he could only have rejected the views of those who seek Job's native country on the *Jabbok* (if the passage belongs to the art. *Ἰαβώκ*) or in Edom (if it belongs to *Ἰδουμαία*), or in the *Belká*, the land of *Sîhôn*; but not the view of those who make Arabia (*Batanæa*) to be *Ausitis*, for the statement of Eusebius with reference to this point under *Καρναίμ* he translates faithfully. If the passage is not genuine, it at any rate gives the very early testimony of an authority distinct from Eusebius and Jerome in favour of the age of the Hauranitish tradition concerning Job, while it has only a single (*κατά τινος*) authority for the view of those who make Edom to be *Ausitis*, and even this only when the passage belongs to *Ἰδουμαία*.

By means of these quotations from the *Onomastikon*, that passage of Chrysostom (*Homil. V. de Stud.* § 1, tom. ii. p. 59), in which it is said that many pilgrims from the end of the earth come to Arabia, in order to seek for the dunghill on which Job lay, and with rapture to kiss the ground where he suffered (— — ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν τρέχοντες, ἵνα τὴν κοπρίαν ἴδωσι, καὶ θεασάμενοι καταφιλήσωσι τὴν γῆν), appears also to obtain its right local refer-

ence. This Arabia is certainly none other than that which Eusebius explains by ἡ καὶ Βαταναία, and that κοπρία or *mezbele* to be sought nowhere except near the *Makâm Êjûb*. And should there be any doubts upon the subject, ought they not to be removed by the consideration that the proud structure of the Monastery of Job, with its spring festivals mentioned above, standing like a Pharos casting its light far and wide in that age, did not allow either the Syrian Christians or the pilgrims from foreign parts to mistake the place, which tradition had rendered sacred, as the place of Job's sufferings?

There is no monastery whose origin, according to an unimpeachable testimony, belongs to such an early date as that of the Monastery of Job. According to the chronicles of the peoples (*ta'rich el-umem*), or the annals of *Hamze el-Isfahâni* (died about 360 of the Hegira), it was built by 'Amr I., the second Gefnide. Now, since the first Ghassanid king (*Gefne* I.) reigned forty-five years and three months, and 'Amr five years, the Monastery would have been in existence about 200 A.D., if we place the beginning of the Gefnide dynasty in the time 150 A.D. Objections are raised against such an early date, because one is accustomed on good authority to assign the origin of monasteries to about the year 300 A.D. In the face of more certain historical dates, these objections must remain unheeded, for hermit and monastery life (*rahbanîja*) existed in the country east of Jordan among the Essenes and other societies and forms of worship, even before Christianity; so that the latter, on its appearance in that part, which took place long before 200 A.D., received the monasteries as an inheritance: but certainly the chronology of the Gefnide dynasty is not reliable. *Hamze* fixes the duration of the dynasty at 616 years; *Ibn Saïd*,<sup>1</sup> in his history of the pre-Islamic Arabs, at

<sup>1</sup> Wetzstein, Catal. Arab. mss. collected in Damascus, No. 1, p. 89.

601 years; and to the same period extends the statement of *Mejānishi*,<sup>1</sup> who, in his topography of the *Ka'be*, says that between the conquest of Mekka by *Ta'lebe* and the rule of the *Kosī* in this city was 500 years. On the contrary, however, *Ibn Jusef*<sup>2</sup> informs us that this dynasty began "earlier" than 400 years before Islamism. With this statement accord all those numerous accounts, according to which the "rupture of the dyke" (*sél el-'arim*), the supposed cause of the Jemanic emigration, took place rather more than 400 years before Islamism. If therefore, to content ourselves with an approximate calculation, we make Islamism to begin about 615 (the year of the "Mission" was 612 A.D.), and the Gefnide dynasty, with the addition of the "earlier," 415 years previous, then the commencement of the reign of Gefne I. would have been 200 A.D., and the erection of the Monastery shortly before 250.

When the tribe whose king later on built the Monastery migrated from Jemen into Syria, the Trachonitis was in the hands of a powerful race of the *Kudá'ides*, which had settled there in the first century of our era, having likewise come out of Jemen, and become tributary to the Romans. This race had embraced Christianity from the natives; and some historians maintain that it permitted the *Gefnides* to settle and share in the possession of the country, only on the condition that they likewise should embrace Christianity. In those early times, these tribes, of course, with the new religion received the tradition of Job also from the first hand, from the Jews and the Jewish Christians, who, since the battle of the Jewish people with the Romans, will have found refuge and safety to a large extent in Peræa, and especially in the hardly accessible Trachonitis. The *Nukra* also, as the most favoured region of Syria and Palestina, will have had its

<sup>1</sup> Wetzst. Catal. Arab. MSS. collected in Damascus, No. 24, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Hamzæ Isfahan. Annales*, ed. Gottwald, Vorrede, p. xi.

native population, among which, in spite of the frequent massacres of Syrians and Jews, there will have been many Jews. Perhaps, moreover, the protection of the new Jemanic population of Hauran again attracted Jewish settlers thither; Nawâ<sup>1</sup> at least is a place well known in the Talmud and Midrash, which is mentioned, as a city inhabited by the Jews among those who are not Jews, and as the birth-place of several eminent teachers.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, in Syria the veneration of a spot consecrated by religious tradition is independent of its being at the time inhabited or desolate. The supposed tombs of Aaron near *Petra*, of Hud near *Gerash*, of Jethro (*Su'êb*) in the valley of *Nimrîn*, of Ezekiel in *Melîhat Hiskîn*, of Elisha on the *el-Jesha'* mountains, and many other *mezâre* (tombs of the holy, to which pilgrims resort), are frequently one or more days' journey distant from inhabited places, and yet they are carefully tended. They are preserved from decay and neglect by vows, by the spring processions, and especially by the piety of the Beduins, who frequently deposit articles of value near the *mezâre*, as property entrusted to the care of the saint. The Makâm of Job may also have been such a consecrated spot many centuries before the erection of the Monastery, and perhaps not merely to the Jews, but also to the Aramæan and Arab population. The superstitious veneration of such places is not confined among the Semites to a particular religious sect, but is the common heritage of the whole race; and the tra-

<sup>1</sup> If *Nawâ* is not also of Jewish origin, its name is nevertheless the old Semitic נָוָה, "a dwelling" (ch. v. 3, 24, viii. 6, xviii. 15), and not, as *Jâkût* supposes, the collective form of *nawât*, "the kernel of a date."

<sup>2</sup> [No less than three renowned teachers from *Nawâ* appear in the Talmud and Midrash: ר' שילא דנָוָה, *Schila* of *Nawa* (*jer. Sabbath* cap. ii., *Wajikra rabba* cap. xxxiv., *Midrasch Ruth* on ii. 19a), ר' פלמיא דנָוָה, (*Midr. Koheleth* on i. 4b) and ר' שאול דנָוָה (*ib.* on xii. 9a). נָוָה is mentioned as an enemy of the neighbouring town of חלמיש in *Wajikra rabba* c. xxiii., *Midr. Echa* on i. 17a, and *Midr. Schir* on ii. 1.—DEL.]

dition of Job in particular was, originally, certainly not Israelitish, but Aramæan.

Job is not mentioned in the writings of Josephus, but we do find there a remarkable passage concerning Job's native country, the land of the Usites, viz. *Ant.* i. 6: "*Aram*, from whom come the *Aramæans*, called by the Greeks *Syrians*, had four sons, of whom the first was named *Oύσης*, and possessed *Trachonitis* and *Damascus*." The first of these two, *Trachonitis*, has usually been overlooked here, and attention has been fixed only on *Damascus*. The word *el-Ghûta* (الغوة), the proper name of the garden and orchard district around *Damascus*, has been thought to be connected in sound with 'Us, and they have been treated as identical: this is, however, impossible even on philological grounds. *Ghûta* would certainly be written עִיטָה in Hebrew, because this language has no sign for the sound *Gh* (ġ); but Josephus, who wrote in Greek, ought then to have said *Γούσης*, not *Oύσης*, just as he, and the LXX. before him and Eusebius after him, render the city עֵינָה by *Γάζα*, the mountain עֵיבָל by *Γαιβάλ*, the village עֵי by *Γαί*, etc. In the same manner the LXX. ought to have spoken of a *Γαυσίτης*, not *Αύσίτης*, if this were the case. Proper names, also, always receive too definite and lasting an impress for their consonants, as γ and ט, to be easily interchanged, although this is possible with the roots of verbs. Moreover, if the word עֵינָה had had the consonant נ (נ), Josephus must have reproduced it with τ or θ, not with σ, in accordance with the pronunciation (especially if he had intended to identify עֵינָה and *Ghûta*). And we see from Ptolemy and Strabo, and likewise from the Greek mode of transcribing the Semitic proper names in the Haurânite inscriptions of the Roman period, e.g. *Μάθιος* and *Νάταπος* for ماضي and نصر, that in the time of Josephus the sound of γ had already been divided into ص and ض; comp. *Abhandl. der Berlin. Acad. d. Wissenschaft*, 1863,



S. 356 f. Hence it is that Josephus manifestly speaks only of one progenitor *Oῦσης*, therefore of one tribe; while the word *Ghûta*, often as a synonym of *buq'a* (בִּקְעָה), denotes a low well-watered country enclosed by mountains, and in this appellative signification occurs as the proper name of several localities in the *most widely separated parts of Arabia* (comp. *Jákût*, *sub voce*), which could not be the case if it had been = אֶרֶץ עֵין.<sup>1</sup> The word *Ausitis* used by the LXX. also has no formation corresponding to the word *Ghûta*, but shows its connection with עֵין אֶרֶץ by the termination; while the word *Ghûta* rendered in Greek is *Γουθατά* (in Theophanes Byzant. *Γουθαθά*), in analogy e.g. with the form *Ῥεβλαθά* for *Ribla* (Jos. Ant. x. 11).<sup>2</sup>

But why are we obliged to think only of Damascus, since Josephus makes *Trachonitis* also to belong to the land of the *Usites*? If we take this word in its most limited signification, it is (apart from the eastern *Trachon*) that lava plateau, about forty miles long and about twenty-eight broad, which is called the *Legá* in the present day. This is so certain, that one is not obliged first of all to recall the well-known inscription of the temple of *Mismîa*, which calls this city situated in the *Legá*, *Μητροκόμη τοῦ Τράχωνος*. From the western border of this *Trachon*, however, the Monastery of Job is not ten miles distant, therefore by no means outside the radius that was at all times tributary to the *Trachonites* (*Arab el-wá'r*), a people unassailable in their habitations in the clefts of the

<sup>1</sup> On the name 'Us, as the name of men and people, may be compared the proper names 'As and 'Aus, together with the diminutive 'Owês, taken from the genealogies of the Arabs, since the Old Testament is wanting in words formed from the root עֵין, and none of those so named was a Hebrew. In Hebr. they might be sounded עֵין, and signify the "strong

one," for the verbal stems *عصى*, *عوص*, *عص* (comp. *عصب*, *عصر*, *عصم*, and others) have the signif. "to be compressed, firm, to resist"

<sup>2</sup> On this word-formation comp. *Reisebericht*, S. 76.

rocks.<sup>1</sup> According to this, the statement of Josephus would at least not stand in open contradiction to the Hauranitic tradition of Job. But we go further, and maintain that the Monastery of Job lies exactly in the centre of *Trachonitis*. This word has, viz. in Josephus and others, a double signification—a more limited and a wider one. It has the more limited where, together with *Auranitis*, *Batanæa*, *Gamalitica*, and *Gaulonitis*, it denotes the separate provinces of the ancient kingdom of *Basan*. Then it signifies the *Trachonitis κατ' ἐξοχήν*, i.e. the wildest portion of the volcanic district, viz. the *Legâ*, the *Haurân* mountain range, the *Safâ* and *Harra* of the *Râgil*. On the other hand, it has the wider signification when it stands alone; then it embraces the whole volcanic region of Middle Syria, therefore with the more limited *Trachonitis* the remaining provinces of *Basan*, but with the exception, as it seems, of the no longer volcanic *Galadine* (North Gilead). In this sense, therefore, as a geographical notion, *Trachonitis* is almost synonymous with *Basan*.

Since it is to the interest of this investigation to make the assertion advanced sure against every objection, we will not withhold the passages in support of it. Josephus says, *Ant.* xv. 10, 3, the district of *Hûle* (*Οὐλαθά*) lies between Galilee and *Trachonitis*. He might have said more accurately, “between Galilee and *Gaulonitis*,” but he wished to express that the great basaltic region begins on the eastern boundary of the *Hûle*. The word *Trachonitis* has therefore the *wider* signification. In like manner, in *Bell.* iii. 10 it is said the lake of *Phiala* lies 120 stadia east of Paneion (*Bâniâs*) on the way to the *Trachonitis*. True, the *Phiala* is a crater, and therefore itself belongs to *Trachonitis*, but between it and *Bâniâs* the lava alternates with the chalk formation of the *Hermôn*, whereas to the south and east of the *Phiala* it is

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10, 3; *Zeitschr. für allg. Erdkunde*, New Series, xlii. 213.

everywhere exclusively volcanic; Trachonitis has therefore here also the *wider* signification. *Ant.* xvii. 2, it is said Herod had the castle of *Babúpa* built in Batanæa (here, as often in Josephus, in the signification of Basan), in order to protect the Jews who travel from Babylon (*viâ* Damascus) to Jerusalem against the Trachonite robbers. Now, since this castle and village (the *Bétirrá* mentioned already), which is situated in the district of *Gamalítica* on an important ford of the *Muchébi* gorge between 'Abidin and Sebbûte, could not be any protection against the robbers of Trachonitis in the more limited sense, but only against those of Golan, it is manifest that by the Trachonites are meant the robbers of Trachonitis in the *wider* sense. Aurelius Victor (*De Hist. Cæs.* xxvii.) calls the Emperor M. Julius Philippus, born in *Bosrá*, the metropolis of Auranitis, quite correctly *Arabs Trachonites*; because the plain of Hauran, in which Bosra is situated, is also of a basaltic formation, and *therefore* is a part of the Trachonitis. The passage of Luke's Gospel, iii. 1, where it says Herod tetrarch of Galilee, and Philip tetrarch of Ituræa and Trachonitis, also belongs here. That Philip possessed not perhaps merely the Trachonitis (similar to a province assigned to a man as banishment rather than for administration, producing little or no revenue) in the more *limited* sense, but the whole Basanitis, is shown by Josephus, who informs us, *Ant.* xvii. 11, 4 and freq., that he possessed Batanæa (in the more restricted sense, therefore the fruitful, densely populated, profitable Nukra), with Auranitis, Trachonitis, etc. We must therefore suppose that in the words τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας in Luke, one district is meant, which by Ἰτουραίας is mentioned according to the marauding portion of its population, and by Τραχωνίτιδος more generally, according to its trachonitic formation.<sup>1</sup> Ioannes Malalas

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius in his *Onomast.* also correctly identifies the two words, at one time under Ἰτουραία, and the other time under Τραχωνίτις. After

(*Chronogr. ed. Dindorf*, p. 236), who, as a Syrian born, ought to be well acquainted with the native usage of the language, hence calls Antipas, as a perfectly adequate term, only toparch of Trachonitis; and if, according to his statement (p. 237), the official title of this Herod was the following: Σεβαστὸς Ἡρώδης τοπάρχης καὶ θεσμοδότης Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων, βασιλεὺς τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος, it is self-evident that "king of Trachonitis" here is synonymous with king of Basan. In perfect harmony with this, Pliny says (*H. N.* v. 18) that the ten cities of Decapolis lay within the extensive tetrarchies of Trachonitis, which are divided into separate kingdoms. Undoubtedly Pliny adds to these tetrarchies of Trachonitis in the wider sense, which are already known to us, *Galadine* also, which indeed belonged also to the pre-Mosaic *Basan*, but at the time of Josephus is mostly reckoned to *Peræa* (in the more limited sense).

On the ground of this evidence, therefore, the land of the Usites of Josephus, with the exception of the Damascene portion, was Trachonitis in the wider sense; and since the *Makâm Êjûb* is in the central point of this country, this statement accords most exactly with the Syrian tradition. It is clear that the latter remains untouched by the extension of

what we have said elsewhere (*Reisebericht*, S. 91 ff.) on the subject, surely no one will again maintain that the peaceful villages of the plain of Gêdûr were the abodes of the Ituræans, the wildest of all people (*Cic. Phil.* ii. 11; *Strabo*, xvi. 2). Their principal hiding-places will have been the Trachonitis in the more restricted sense, but one may seek them also on the wooded mountains of *Gôlân* and in the gorges of the *Makran*. That Ptolemy and Josephus speak only of the Trachonites and never of the Ituræans (in the passage *Ant.* xiii. 11, 3, Ἰτουμαία is to be read instead of Ἰτουραία), and Strabo, on the other hand, speaks only of the latter, favours the identity of the two; of like import is the circumstance, that Pliny (*H. N.* v. 23) makes the inhabitants of the region of Bætarrâ (*Bêtirrà*) Ituræans, and Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 2) Trachonites. But in spite of the identity of the words *Trachonitis* and *Ituræa*, one must not at the same time overlook the following distinction. If the Trachonites are called after the country, it must be the description of all the inhabit-

the geographical notion in Josephus, for without knowing anything more of a "land of the Usites," it describes only a portion of the same as the "native country of Job;" and again, Josephus had no occasion to speak of Job in his commentary on the genealogies, therefore also none to speak of his special home within the land of the Usites. Eusebius, on the other hand, in his *De Originibus* (ix. 2, 4), refers to this home, and says, therefore limiting Josephus' definition: *Hus, Traconitidis conditor, inter Palæstinam et Cœlesyriam tenuit imperium; unde fuit Iob.*

With this evidence of agreement between two totally independent witnesses, viz. the Syrian tradition and Josephus, the testimony of the latter in particular has an enhanced value; for, although connected with the Bible, it nevertheless avails as extra-biblical testimony concerning the Usites, it comes from an age when one might still have the historical fact from the seat of the race, and from an authority of the highest order. True, Josephus is not free from disfigurements, where he has the opportunity of magnifying his people, himself, or his Roman patrons, and of depreciating an enemy; but here he had to do with nothing more than the statement of the residence of a people; and since the word *Οὔσης* also

ants of the country, whereas the Ituræans, if they gave the name to the country, are not necessarily its exclusive population. The whole of the district of which we speak has a twofold population in keeping with its double character (rugged rock and fruitful plain), viz. cattle-rearing freebooters in the clefts of the rocks, and peaceful husbandmen in the plain; the former dwelling in hair tents (of old also in caves), the latter in stone houses; the former forming the large majority, the latter the minority of the population of the district. If writers speak of the *Ituræans*, they mean exclusively that marauding race that hates husbandry; but if they speak of the *Trachonites*, the connection must determine, whether they speak of both classes of the population, or only of the marauding Trachonites (the Ituræans), or of the husbandmen of the plain (of the provinces of *Batanæa* and *Auranitis*). The latter are rarely intended, since the peaceful peasant rarely furnishes material for the historian.

has no similarity in sound with the words *Damascus* and *Trachonitis*, that might make a combination with them plausible, we may surely have before us a reliable historical notice here, or at least a tradition which was then general (and therefore also for us important), while we may doubt this in connection with other parts of the genealogies, where Josephus seems only to catch at that which is similar in sound as furnishing an explanation.

But that which might injure the authority of Josephus is the contradiction in which it seems to stand to a far older statement concerning *Ausitis*, viz. the recognised postscript of the LXX. to the book of Job, which makes Job to be the Edomitish king Jobab. This identification, it may be said, can however only have been possible because *Ausitis* was in or near Edom. But the necessity of this inference must be disputed. It is indeed unmistakeable that that postscript is nothing more than a combination of the Jews beyond Palestine (probably Egyptio-Hellenistic), formed, perhaps, long before the LXX.,—such a vagary as many similar ones in the Talmud and Midrash. From the similarity in sound of *Ἰωβάβ* with *Ἰώβ*, and the similarity in name of *Zapá*, the father of *Jobab*, with a son of Re'ûël and grandson of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 13), Job's descent from Esau has been inferred. That Esau's first-born was called *Elîphaz* and his son *Temân*, seemed to confirm this combination, since (in accordance with the custom<sup>1</sup> of naming the grandson as a rule after his grandfather) *Elîphaz* the Temanite might be regarded as grandson of that *Elîphaz*, therefore like Job as great-grandson of Esau and *πέμπτος ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ*. The apparent and certainly designed advantages of this combination were: that Job, who had no pedi-

<sup>1</sup> From this custom, which is called the grandfather's "living again," the habit, singular to us, of a father calling his son *jâ abî*, "my father!" or *jâ bêî*, "my little father," as an endearing form of address, is explained.

gree, and therefore was to be thought of as a non-Israelite, was brought into the nearest possible blood-relationship to the people of God, and that, by laying the scene in the time of the patriarchs, all questions which the want of a Mosaic colouring to the book of Job might excite would be met. Now, even if the abode of Job were transferred from the land of 'Us to Edom, it would be only the consequence of his combination with *Jobab*, and, just as worthless as this latter itself, might lead no one astray. But it does not seem to have gone so far; it is even worthy of observation, that מְבַרְרָה (from *Bosra*, the Edomite city<sup>1</sup>), being attached to the misunderstood υἱὸς Ζαρά ἐκ Βοσόρρας, Gen. xxxvi. 33, is reproduced in the LXX. by μητρὸς Βοσόρρας, as also that Job's wife is not called an Edomitess, but a γυνὴ Ἀράβισσα. And it appears still far more important, that Ausitis lies ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Ἀραβίας, so far as the central point of Ἰδουμαία is removed by the addition καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας, and Job's abode is certainly removed from the heart of Idumæa. The *Cod. Alex.* exchanges that statement of the place, even in a special additional clause, for ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων τοῦ Εὐφράτου, therefore transfers Ausitis to the vicinity of the Euphrates, and calls the father of Jobab (= Job) Ζαρέθ ἐξ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου (מְבַרְרָה). Nevertheless we attach no importance to this variation of the text, but rather offer the suggestion that the postscript gives prominence to the observation: οὗτος (viz. Ἰώβ) ἐρμηνεύεται ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It need hardly be mentioned that one is not to think of the Hauran-  
itish *Bosra* (بصرى), since this name of a city only came into use some  
centuries after Christ.

<sup>2</sup> [It is indeed possible that the Hebrew text is meant here, for Philo  
usually calls the Hebrew Χαλδαῖστί, and the Talmud describes the  
Jewish country-dialect as סורסי; it is possible, and even more probable,  
that it is a Syrian, i.e. Aramæan Targum—but not less possible that it  
is a Syrian original document. According to Malalas (*ed. Dindorf*,

If we compare the postscript of the LXX. with the legend of Islam, we find in both the Esautish genealogy of Job; the genealogy of the legend is: Êjûb ibn Zârih (זָרִיחַ) ibn Reû'îl ibn el-'Ais ibn Ishâk ibn Ibrâhîm; and we may suppose that it is borrowed directly from the LXX., and that it reached Arabia and Mekka even in the pre-Islamic times by means of the (Arabian) Christians east of Jordan, who had the Old Testament only in the Greek translation. Even the Arabic orthography of the biblical proper names, which can be explained only on the supposition of their transfer from the Greek, is in favour of this mode of the transmission of the Christian religion and its legends to the people of the Higaz. Certainly there can be no doubt as to an historical connection between the postscript and the legend, and therefore it would be strange if they did not accord respecting the home of Job. The progenitor el-'Ais (עֲאִישׁ), in the genealogy of the legend, is also a remarkable counterpart to the Ausitis ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς Ἰδουμ. καὶ Ἀρ., for it is a blending of עֲשׂוּ and עֲרֵ, and it has to solve the difficult problem, as to how Job can be at the same time an *Usite* and an *Esauite*; for that Job as an *Aisite* no longer belongs to Idumæa, but to the district of the more northern Aramæans, is shown *e.g.* from the following passage in *Muqîr ed-dîn's* History of Jerusalem: "Job belonged to the people of the Romans (*i.e.* the *Aisites*<sup>1</sup>), for he sprang

p. 12), Origen understands ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου elsewhere of a Hebrew original, but in *c. Celsum* iii. 6 he describes the Hebrew language in relation to the Syriac and Phœnician as ἑτέρα παρ' ἀμφοτέρων, and the Homilies on Job in *Opp. Origenis*, ed. Delarue, ii. 851, say: *Beati Job scriptura primum quidem in Arabia Syriace scripta, ubi et habitabat.* —DEL.]

<sup>1</sup> We will spare ourselves the ungrateful task of an inquiry into the origin of this 'Ais and his Protean nature. Biblical passages like Lam. iv. 21, or those in which the readings אָרָם and אֲדוּם are doubtful, or the erroneous supposition (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 7) that the *Ben-Hadad* dynasty in Damascus is of Edomitish origin, may have contributed to his rise. Moreover, he is altogether one and the same with the *Edom* of the



from *el-'Ais*, and the Damascene province of *Batanæa* was his property."

The *κοπρία* of the LXX., at ch. ii. 8, leads to the same result; that it is also found again as *mezbele* in the later legend, is a further proof how thoroughly this accords with the LXX., and how it has understood its statement of the position of *Ausitis*. It may also be maintained here, that it was only possible to translate the words בְּתוֹךְ הָאֵפֶר by ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας ἔξω τῆς πόλεως when "heap of ashes" and "dung-hill" were synonymous notions. This, however, is the case only in Hauran, where the dung, as being useless for agricultural purposes, is burnt from time to time in an appointed place before the town (*vid.* ii. p. 152<sup>1</sup>), while in every other part of Syria it is as valuable and as much stored up as among us. If the LXX. accordingly placed the *κοπρία* of Job in Hauran, it could hardly represent *Ausitis* as *Edom*.

But how has the *Ausitis* of the LXX. been transferred hither? Certainly not as the "land of 'Us" (in the sense of the land of *Basan*, land of *Haurân*), for without wasting a word about it, there has never been such an one in the country east of the Jordan: but as "the land of the Usites" in the sense of the Arabic *diâr 'Us* (dwelling-place of the Usites) or *ard benî 'Us*. A land receives designations of

Jewish tradition: he is called the father of *Rûm*, *Asfar*, *Sôfar*, *Sîfûn* (מֶלֶךְ הַצִּפּוֹן), and *Nidr* (*Hamz. Isfah. Ann.* p. ۷۹, l. 18, read نصر for نصر, and *Zeitschr. d. d. m. Gesellsch.* ii. 239, 3, 6, read *ennidr* for *ennefer*), i.e. of the Messiah of the Christians (according to Isa. xi. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Comp. ii. p. 158, note, of the foregoing Commentary. [The Arabic version of Walton's Polyglot translates after the *Peschito* in accordance with the Hebr. text: "on the ashes (*er-remâd*)," whereas the Arabic translation, of which Tischendorf brought back fifteen leaves with him from the East, and which Fleischer, in the *Deutsch. Morgenl. Zeitschr.* 1864, S. 288 ff., has first described as an important memorial in reference to the history of MSS., translates after the *Hexapla* in accordance with the LXX.: "on the dunghill (*mezbele*) outside the city."—DEL.]

this kind with the settlement of a people in it; they run parallel with the proper name of the country, and in the rule vanish again with that people. These designations belong, indeed, to the geography of the whole earth, but nowhere have they preserved their natural character of transitoriness more faithfully than in the lands where the Semitic tongue is spoken. It is this that makes the geographical knowledge of these countries so extremely difficult to us, because we frequently take them to be the names of the countries, which they are not, and which—so far as they always involve a geological definition of the regions named—can never be displaced and competently substituted by them. In this sense the *land of the Usites* might, at the time of the decay of both Israelitish kingdoms, when the ארם דמיאק possessed the whole of Peræa, very easily extend from the borders of Edom to the gates of Damascus, and even further northwards, if the Aramæan race of 'Us numbered many or populous tribes (as it appears to be indicated in בל מלכי ארץ העין, Jer. xxv. 20), in perfect analogy with the tribe of *Ghassân*, which during five hundred years occupied the country from the Ælanitic Gulf to the region of *Tedmor*, at one time settling down, at another leading a nomadic life, and Hauran was the centre of its power. By such a rendering the 'Αραβία of the post-script would not be different from the later *provincia Arabia*, of which the capital was the Trachonitish *Bostra*, while it was bounded on the south end of the Dead Sea by Edom (*Palæstina tertia*).

But should any one feel a difficulty in freeing himself from the idea that *Ausitis* is to be sought only in the *Ard el-Hâlât* east of *Ma'ân*, he must consider that the author of the book of Job could not, like that legend which places the miraculous city of *Iram* in the country of quicksands, transfer the corn-fields of his hero to the desert; for there, with the exception of smaller patches of land capable of culture, which we may

not bring into account, there is by no means to be found that husbandman's Eldorado, where a single husbandman might find tillage for five hundred (ch. i. 3), yea, for a thousand (ch. xlii. 12) yoke of oxen. Such numbers as these are not to be depreciated; for in connection with the primitive agriculture in Syria and Palestine,—which renders a four years' alternation of crops necessary, so that the fields must be divided into so many portions (called in Hauran *wâgihât*, and around Damascus *auguh*, <sup>اوج</sup>), from which only one portion is used annually, and the rest left fallow (*bûr*),—Job required several square miles of tillage for the employment of his oxen. It is all the same in this respect whether the book of Job is a history or poem: in no case could the *Ausitis* be a country, the notorious sterility of which would make the statement of the poet ridiculous.

Our limited space does not admit of our proving the worth which we must acknowledge to the tradition, by illustrating those passages of the Old Testament scriptures which have reference to עין and ארץ עין. But to any one, who, following the hints they give, wishes again to pursue the investigations, elsewhere useless, concerning the position of the land of the Usites, we might indicate: (1) that עין the first-born of Aram (Gen. x. 23) is the tribe sought, while two others of this name—a Nahorite, ch. xxii. 21, and a Horite, ch. xxxvi. 28—may be left out of consideration; the former because the twelve sons of Nahor need not be progenitors of tribes, and the latter because he belongs to a tribe exterminated by the Edomites in accordance with Deut. ii. 12, 22: (2) that ארץ העין, Jer. xxv. 20, is expressly distinguished from ארם in the 21st verse, and—if one compares the round of the cup of punishment, Jer. ch. xxv., with the detailed prophecies which follow in ch. xlvi.–li., to which it is a proœmium that has been removed from its place—corresponds to רמשק (with *Hamât* and *Arpad*), ch. xlix. 23: (3) that there-

fore Lam. iv. 21, where *יִשְׁבֵּת בְּאֶרֶץ עֵיִן* would be devoid of purpose if it described the proper habitable land of Edom, must describe a district extending over that, in which the Edomites had established themselves in consequence of Assyria having led away captive the Israelitish and Aramæan population of the East Jordanic country and Cœle-Syria. In connection with Jer. xxv. 20 one must not avoid the question whether *עֵיִן* is the name of the *אֶרֶם דְּמִשְׁק* that has been missed. Here the migration of the Damascene Aramæans from *Kîr* (Am. ix. 7) ought to be considered, the value of the Armenian accounts concerning the original abode of the Usites tested, what is erroneous in the combination of *קִיר* with the river *Kur* shown and well considered, and in what relations both as to time and events that migration might have stood to the overrunning of Middle Syria by the Aramæan *Sôbæan* tribes (from Mesopotamia) under Hadad-ezer, and to the seizure and possession of the city of Damascus by Rezon the *Sôbæan*? Finally, one more tradition might be compared, to which some value may perhaps be attached, because it is favoured by the stone monuments, whose testimony we are not accustomed otherwise to despise in Palestine and Syria. The eastern portal of the mosque of *Benî Uméja* in Damascus, probably of the very temple, the altar of which king Ahaz caused to be copied (2 Kings xvi. 10), is called *Gérûn* or the Gerun gate: the portal in its present form belongs to the Byzantine or Roman period. And before this gate is the *Gérûnîje*, a spacious, vaulted structure, mostly very old, which has been used since the Mussulman occupation of the city as a *mêda'a*, i.e. a place for religious ablutions. The topographical writings on Damascus trace these two names back to a *Gérûn ibn Sa'd ibn 'Ad ibn 'Aus* (*עֵיִן*) *ibn Iram* (*אֶרֶם*) *ibn Sâm* (*שָׁם*) *ibn Núh* (*נוֹחַ*), who settled in Damascus in the time of Solomon (one version of the tradition identifies him with *Hadad*, Jos. Ant. viii. 7),

and built in the middle of the city a castle named after him, in which a temple to the planet (*kôkeb*) *Mushteri*, the guardian-god of the city, has been erected. That this temple, which, as is well known, under Theodosius, at the same time with the temple of the sun at Ba'lbek, passed over to the Christians, was actually surrounded with a strong, fortified wall, is capable of proof even in the present day. In this tradition, which has assumed various forms, a more genuine counterpart of the biblical  $\gamma\gamma$  appears than that 'Ais which we have characterized above as an invention of the schools, viz. an 'Aus (عوس), father of the Adite-tribe which is said to have settled in the Damascene district under that *Gérân*, and also ancestor of the prophet *Hûd*, lost to the tradition, whose *makâm* on the mountains of *Su'et* rises far above *Gerash* the city of pillars, this true *Iram dhât el-'imâd*, the valley of the Jabbok and the *Sawâd* of Gilead.

It is with good reason that we have hitherto omitted to mention the *Aîsîtai* of Ptolemy v. 18 (19). The Codd. have both *Aîsêitai* and *Aîsîtai*; different Semitic forms (e.g. the name of the بنى حيس, which, according to Jâkût, once dwelt in the Harra of the *Ragil*) may lie at the basis of this name, only not the form  $\gamma\gamma$ , which ought to be *Oûsîtai*, or at least *Aûsîtai* (which no Cod. reads). As to the abodes of the *Aîsîtai*, Ptolemy distributes them under nine greater races or groups of races, which in his time inhabited the Syrian steppe. Three of these had their settlements in the eastern half of the Syrian steppe towards the Euphrates or on its western banks: the *Kavχαβηνοί* in the north, the *Aîsîtai* in the middle, and the *Ὀρχηνοί* in the south. According to this the *Aîsîtai* would have been about between *Hît* and *Kûfa*, or in that district which is called by the natives *Ard el-Wudjan*, and in which just that race of the Chaldæans might have dwelt that plundered Job's camels.

There we are certainly not to seek the scene of the drama of Job; and if the Edomites were dispersed there (Lam. iv. 21), they were not to be envied on account of their fortune. But if the *Αἰσῖται* are to be sought there, we may not connect the *Καυχαβηνοί* with the village of *Cochabe* (كُوكْبَا) on the Hermon (Epiphan. *Hær.* x. 18), in order then to remove the *Αἰσῖται*, dwelling "below them," to Batanæa.

And now, in concluding here, I have still to explain, that in writing these pages I was not actuated by an invincible desire of increasing the dull literature respecting the *ארץ עמ* by another tractate, but exclusively by the wish of my honoured friend that I should furnish him with a contribution on my visit to the *Makâm Êjûb*, and concerning the tradition that prevails there, for his commentary on the book of Job.

As to the accompanying map, it is intended to represent the hitherto unknown position of the *Makâm*, the Monastery, and the country immediately around them, by comparing it with two localities marked on most maps, *Nawâ* and the castle of *Muzêrîb*. The latter, the position of which we determined in 1860 as 32° 44' north lat. and 35° 51' 45" east long. (from Greenwich), lies three hours' journey on horseback south of the Monastery. The *Wâdi Jarmûk* and *Wâdi Hît* have the gorge formation in common with all other wadis that unite in the neighbourhood of *Zêzûn* and form the *Makran*, which is remarkable from a geological point of view: a phenomenon which is connected with the extreme depression of the valley of the Jordan. For the majority of the geographical names mentioned in this essay I refer the reader to Carl Ritter's *Geographie von Syrien und Palästina*;¹ others will be explained in my *Itinerarien*, which will be published shortly.

¹ Translated by W. L. Gage, and published by T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1866, 4 vols.

## A D D E N D A.

Vol. i. p. 428, line 18.

*Munach* is the regular servant of *Dechî*, and when the tone-syllable of *Dechî* is preceded by *Metheg*, the accentuation changes it ordinarily into *Munach*, with the exception only of three words, Prov. ii. 13, Job xxii. 4, xxxix. 26, in which the *Metheg* remains and the *Munach* takes its place by the tone-syllable of *Dechî*. Our מִירָאֲתָן is one of these three.

Vol. ii., p. 126, note, line 2.

Yet then one might expect the *plur.* גִּיתִים like גִּיתִים, on which account it is better to retain the derivation from בֵּית, *bat*, fut. يَبْدِيت *jabîtu*.

## THE MODE OF TRANSCRIBING THE ARABIC WORDS.

$t = \text{ت}, \text{ث}$ ;  $th = \text{ث}, \text{ت}$ ; ' $g$  [soft, the ' over the  $g$  has been generally omitted, as liable to be mistaken for an accent in connection with vowels], or, in accordance with the predominant pronunciation,  $g = \text{ج}$ ;  $h$  or  $hh = \text{ح}$ ;  $ch = \text{خ}$ ;  $dh = \text{ذ}$ ;  $z = \text{ز}, \text{ز}$ ;  $sh$  or  $sch = \text{ش}$ ;  $s$  or  $ss = \text{س}, \text{ص}$ ;  $d$  or  $dd = \text{ض}$ ;  $t$  or  $tt = \text{ط}, \text{ط}$ ;  $z = \text{ظ}$ ; ' =  $\text{ع}, \text{ع}$ , e.g. 'Ain =  $\text{ع}, \text{ع}$ , Gumû' =  $\text{ع}, \text{ع}$ ;  $gh = \text{غ}$ ;  $k$  ( $k$ ) or  $q = \text{ق}, \text{ق}$ ;  $k$  ( $c$ ) =  $\text{ك}, \text{ك}$ . The exact transcription is sometimes omitted where the word occurs more frequently, e.g. *Haurân*, *Makâm*. Instead of *ijj* and *uvw* are written *îj* and *ûw*. The vowels  $a$  and  $e$  correspond to the *Fath* (فتح), and  $u$  and  $o$  to the *Damm*; nevertheless the use of  $o$  is limited to the emphatic and guttural consonants, including  $r$ , while  $a$ , according to rule, is subject to this limitation only in nominal forms,—in verbal forms it is also combined with the rest of the consonants,  $\hat{a}$ ,  $\hat{e}$  ( $ei$ ,  $ai$ ), and  $\hat{o}$  ( $au$ ) are = *Fath* followed by *Elif*, *Jod*, or *Waw*,  $\hat{u}$  = *Damm* followed by *Waw*. The sign for *Hamza* is ' , e.g. *mala'a* =  $\text{ملا}, \text{ملا}$ ). The *Tenwîn* (Nunation) is only expressed exceptionally, e.g. '*gelle* =  $\text{جِلَّة}, \text{جِلَّة}$  as it is generally pronounced, especially when the word stands out of its connection as the root form, not '*gellat-un* (the nunized nominative). Perfect consistency has not been attainable in a book, the printing of which, together with the working in of constantly accumulating material, has occupied nearly two years.



[The consonantal notation is given above according to the variation that has been rendered necessary by the want of casts for printing according to the system adopted by Dr Delitzsch. We were obliged to have recourse to the old notation, which is clumsy and confusing, *e.g.*  $hh = \text{ح}$ ,  $tt = \text{ط}$ ,  $\text{ل}$ , and in one or two instances a  $\cdot$  has been used in the  $tt$  thus,  $t't$ , to represent  $\text{ل}$  (with *Teshdid*). This applies to the first volume; but in the second I have adopted a change, which occurred to me later, viz. to use Roman letters among the Italics to represent the stronger consonants, or *vice versâ*, Italics among Roman letters. The advantage of this will be seen more especially in the exact reproduction of geographical names, as by means of it the spelling is not affected, and at the same time the Arabic letters are fairly distinguished. Suffice it to remind the student that the  $j$  is to be pronounced as Engl.  $y$ , being =  $\text{ي}$ .

## ABBREVIATIONS

Have been rarely used in the translation, and those used are mostly familiar and self-evident. The names of critics are given in full in the earlier part, and though abbreviated, as constantly recurring, need no explanation here. "The Arabic Version referred to is that of the London Polyglot; the Syriac, the ancient Syrian version.  $b.$  and  $j.$  in connection with Talmud citations signify respectively the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds;  $b.$  with the names of persons, *ben* (*bar*), son." The Biblical references are according to the *Hebrew* divisions, *e.g.* Ps. xcii. 11 (10), as also the division of ch. xl. xli.

The references to *Biblical Psychology* in this edition are according to the pages of the translation, Clark, 1867.—TR.]

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